The Play of Texts and Fragments

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF MARTIN CROPP

Edited by

J.R.C. COUSLAND & JAMES R. HUME

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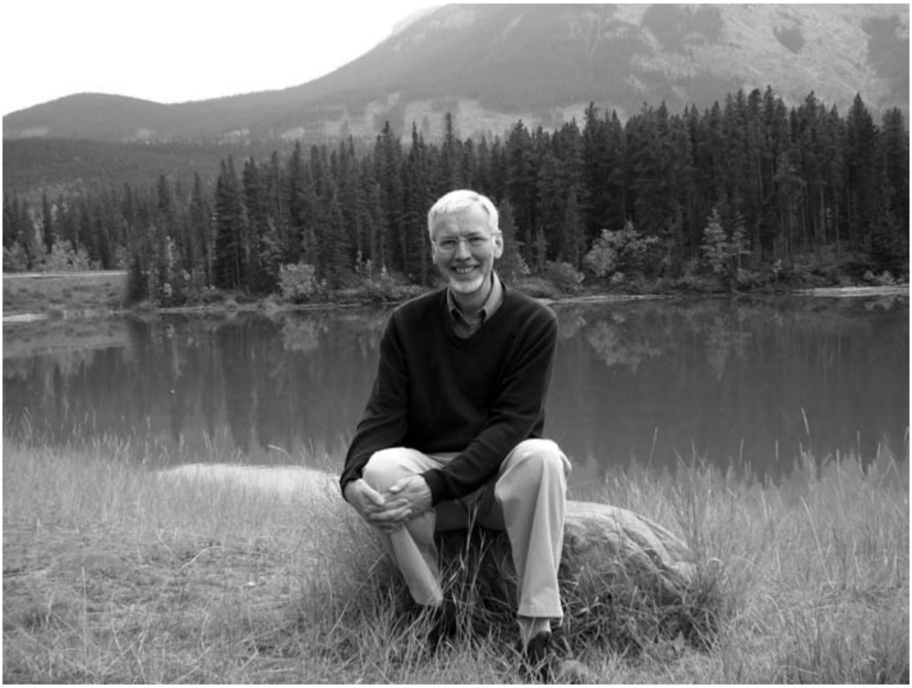

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Frontispiece: Martin Cropp

Figure 1: Girls at the Arkteia. Photo: Kahil (1977)

Figure 2: Women at the Adonia. Detail from Attic red-figure vase. British Museum E 241.

PREFACE

In 1986 Martin Cropp, Elaine Fantham, and S.E. Scully dedicated a volume of essays to Desmond Conacher. They opened their preface by noting that despite "Desmond Conacher's deceptive modesty, all of us who have been his colleagues or pupils, whether we share his professional field of Greek tragedy or are scholars of drama in other cultures, have quickly learnt to cherish his good judgment, his breadth of interests, and his sheer human kindness, enriched by a delicate irony which reflects his long affection for Euripides" (Cropp, Fantham, and Scully 1986: viii). Anyone who knows Martin well would agree that there is scarcely a more fitting accolade for Martin himself, and it is fair to say that the contributors to this volume, be they his pupils, his colleagues, or friends of long standing (or all of these together!), have had occasion to be warmly grateful for these qualities in him, as well as for his manifold contributions to his discipline.

For various reasons this volume has taken longer than expected to appear. The editors are especially grateful to all the contributors for their unfailing patience and good humour. They would especially like to thank C.W. ("Toph") Marshall for his generous assistance at every stage of the project, as well as Justina Gregory, Elaine Fantham and Jonathan Edmondson for their helpful advice and contributions along the way. Thanks are due to Elizabeth Cropp for the highly characteristic photo of Martin that serves as the book's frontispiece, and to the Trustees of the British Museum and *Antike Welt* for permission to include the book's illustrations. Dragana Bozickovic ably undertook the challenging task of preparing several of the book's indexes, and the editors would also like to thank Caroline Van Erp and Johannes Rustenburg at Brill for their splendid job in transmuting a complicated and difficult manuscript into an elegant volume.

The abbreviations used in this volume generally conform to those in the third edition of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (edited by S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth).

Lastly, in the final stages of the book's preparation we learned of the passing of one of the volume's contributors, Sir Charles Willink. His demise represents a considerable loss to the study of Greek Tragedy, and we commiserate with all of his family, friends, and colleagues.

J.R.C.C.
J.R.H.

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

MARTIN CROPP

William Slater

I met Martin Cropp when I returned to the Toronto area in 1972. Like me he had had another life beside classics, and like me he had returned to the haven of classical Greek after sampling the real world, where the negotiating skills he acquired in the Civil Service were later put to splendid use in the administrative posts and positions he was to hold. Toronto in those distant days was a very different place from what it had been and was to be. But it still retained some of the aura of a place for gentlemen scholars, eschewing the vulgarities of a degree factory, imitating Oxbridge and Harvard of old. But by 1970 that facade was beginning to fade, faculty were hard to find; Toronto was desperately importing bright minds from Saskatchewan, some of them my old friends,—immortalized in "Zinger and Me"—and from further afield; it also needed students for its bright new graduate programmes. To be sure, Classics was not at the forefront of this or any other movement, but eventually would-be doctoral students started arriving from distant shores, especially Europe, just as later one of the unexpected results of the Vietnam War was a flood of US mediaevalists. Thus it was that Martin Cropp, Oxford trained, was washed up by fortune on the distant shores of Trinity College, where he must have felt thrust back into a strange version of an earlier world but with central heating.

I had come from four years in Berlin and a year in the Hellenic Centre, but the ideas in these revolutionary centres had not yet reached Toronto. The study of classical poetry was conducted in the leisurely matter one associated with the undemanding curriculum of Oxbridge, an unwieldy reading list accompanied by close textual reading of selected classical authors, with the emphasis on line by line translation. Classical authors were to be absorbed as once John Quincy Adams or Jowett's men had absorbed them, by a painless osmosis, carefully avoiding the Germanic vulgarities of hypodochmiacs or polyspastic choriambs. Classical authors were old and trusted friends with whom one could safely commune in quiet libraries; the biographical fallacy was either unknown or ignored or its critics deplored. The Greeks were really just like us. One could be politely reproved for failing to get to know Pindar as a human being. This

cheerful symbiosis with the distant past was all rather comforting.

Now of course Electra and her peers really may live in the Danforth, and by a strange compensation the gratifying proximity of the ancient Greeks has vanished. Anyone reading the essays that follow is left with the overwhelming impression that many—though not all—of them would have been scarcely comprehensible to the students of a previous generation; what would "control of the text" have meant? Classics does move, though perhaps not always forward. Even so, here there is little to be discerned of the frothier effusions that have bubbled to the surface in these later years, some of which it is true have lost their effervescence, as fashions chased each other across the Dionysiac landscape like rabbits in a cabbage patch. That avoidance of the extreme and academically chic is as it should be, for Martin himself has always been a robustly sober scholar, every bit as precise and sure footed in his academic tasks as he was on the squash court. (I can attest with embarrassment how difficult it was to get him out of the middle of that court.)

Still, essays like these are snapshots of a time in the history of classics, and if it was difficult for the students of 1970 Toronto to imagine what the future would hold, so it is worth reminding the present youth how far away they are from the mentality of graduate study in 1970 Canada, with its traditions and certainties. Martin has spent all these years undeviatingly in the study of Greek tragedy, but in his lifetime that study has been a topic in a state of Heraclitean flux, or even Horatian flood. At its worst it became both incomprehensible and overwhelming, even for those who were part of the adventurous flotilla, who set forth tentatively at first on the waters of New Criticism, only to lose themselves later in the fogs of Semiotics and the murk of Deconstruction. But in 1970 the voyage was easier: one read Norwood and Bowra, admittedly with a sense of unease at their off the cuff superficialities. But one did not know what else to do, and there was real resistance to change. Those that could, read Wilamowitz; no one read Schadewaldt or the others who came after and who could have set them right about so much. (Oxford had conveniently declared Schadewaldt to be a Nazi, which saved students the trouble of reading him.)

Ancient history was the first to create change, perhaps in part because of the new classics in translation courses. Social history, anthropology and sociology all required that we distanced ourselves from the ancients. New objectivity was gained at the cost of old immediacy; in tragedy the chorus was no longer speaking to us. "Euripides is saying to us here . . ." was no longer quite so acceptable in the lecture room. Euripidean

chronology was no longer tied to those "clear" references to events in Thucydides. Typical then that Martin's first work early sought to put Euripidean chronology on the scientific footing of metrical development, and there it has remained, even if scholars may fine tune the dates, as indeed Dr. Marshall does here. (Dr. Battezzato indeed provides an example of the complexity of research in ancient metre, which is part of the necessary equipment of all those who deal with the text of drama.) At the root of this research was precisely a dissatisfaction that we all felt with the subjective assertions that pervaded the historical criticism that had been dominant. Dr. Scodel offers us here the paradox that Alcibiades is important for being absent from the *Philoctetes*, and one could presumably add that a lot of other politicians are too. The attraction of tying plays to contemporary historical circumstances is still with us, and is perfectly legitimate; but its more modern proponents are usually aware of the problems and cautious with their proposals. What is omnipresent in drama is political thinking, as Rush Rehm reminds us in his discussion of the mechanisms of privilege and as usual he provides provocative parallels from his own homeland. Not surprisingly for a well known and successful producer of Greek plays, he maintains firmly that they have still something to tell us. Martin, as one well versed in the problems of university administration, would be the first to agree.

Martin's earlier work in the 70s and 80s dealt primarily with questions of text and arose from the kind of work he did for his doctoral thesis on the *Herakles*, and his central concern has always been about details of establishing of a text and its meaning, the traditional study of classical scholars of literature. Inevitably there are questions will always remain unanswerable but worth retailing, if only because they are central. Sir Charles Willink gives a good example of the problem/solution raised by a textual contradiction in *Antigone*, the kind of *machomenon* that has been part of the classical scholar's armoury since antiquity. The problem is there; the answers vary; the debate is essential and valuable in itself. In yet another way Ian Storey also tackles an old *desperandum* regarding the number of the chorussmen of the *Suppliant Women* and sets out clearly the possibilities and probabilities, but taking full account of the stage realities, as befits a scholar who has occupied himself with producing plays. These are the questions that enliven the texts, even if most of us may throw up our hands in despair and pass by on the other side. Just because generations of scholars have tried to give answers does not require than any answer will ever command assent; but we know better the parameters

perhaps within which an answer is possible; and the aim is to hone our capacity for judgement.

The one person who cannot avoid a textual crux is the commentator, but it was inevitable that as Martin made the logical step to the full commentary, the questions became broader inasmuch as they are unavoidable. Here we have an excellent example as Professor Kovacs in the footsteps of Dodds asks about as basic a question as any critic can ask, the role of Apollo in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. It is a question that the play itself raises but does not answer; indeed, as he shows, the question itself is more tricky than it seems, and tragedy as usual shows that it is better at questions than answers. It has been oddly a feature of the purely textual commentary that a question not raised directly by the text did not need comment; this too was perhaps never acceptable save as a self imposed limitation. Yet it is precisely such complex questions as the role of the gods that most interest our students, and the very different role of Apollo in Euripides' *Ion* or *Orestes* is as likely to stir debate. Yet even here the modern emphasis is not so much on why the writer is writing what he does, as on how it was understood by an audience, for religion like theatre is a community activity; in theoretical terms, the productive aspect gives way to reception. Professor Porter neatly illustrates this with some good questions about audience reaction to *Antigone*, while Professor Gibert starts from the fragmentary *Antiope* and asks about "the quiet man" in Athens and in tragedy, a fundamental issue about how the Greeks thought that one survives in a society, and asks how the play deals with it.

But one is struck by the demands placed on the modern commentator required to deal with issues never raised in classes a generation ago. Metre and history after all had always been hotly debated in tragic commentary, but now Professor Liapis regards it as obvious that he must look closely at vase painting if he wishes to understand the *Rhesus*, just as Professor Podlecki seeks backing in art for the *Andromeda*. Only art lets us frame the possibility that Prometheus was surpisingly popular in 430. It is not so long ago in the pre-*LIMC* world that a commentary on the *Theogony* never saw fit to mention a vase. But just as compelling if entirely different is Michael Lloyd's study of politeness theory—which I suspect most of us did not know existed until he brought it to our attention at Calgary in one of his famously witty talks. Here is a fruitful mechanism for explaining texts and character which has never been fully utilized, and which is remarkably germane to criticism of drama in a dead language. It will seem an oddity of literature that the ancient scholiasts to Homer felt justified in commenting on such matters in explicating character.

Not everything belongs in a commentary. Dr. Murnaghan imagines the audience of tragedy as survivors, certainly a paradox but intended to force us see drama from a new angle, very much in the modern mode of shaking the reader free of preconceptions. Many such approaches do not immediately impact on the way we read a specific text, but do sometimes force us to refine our attitudes about tragedy generally and to consider the seemingly simple phenomenon of Greek drama as unendingly complex. In the same way Dr Michelini asks us to confront the meaning of "*parapleromatikon*" as an ancient description of the *Phoenissae*, not—it may be safely asserted—a term we would ever have employed. What is the mentality that lies behind such a statement? Others essays in this volume show how varied are the attitudes which different scholars can bring to the same object of scholarship. Anyone who writes a commentary inevitably has to answer the general problems in their own mind before tackling the specific problems arising from the text. But some scholars are happier with specifics than generalizations: Martin I know from conversation has pronounced views of the overall meaning of tragedy in ancient life, but has firmly and carefully kept them to himself. Many of us as we age conceive a desire to say something about the great questions: after all we have spent our lives studying ancient texts, and it seems reasonable to ask what we thought we were doing, and if it was worthwhile. Most of us thankfully think better of such an urge, and indeed some of these elderly effusions turn out to be rambling reminiscences, better left unread in second hand bookstores. Some it is true are of incidental value in explaining why one scholar disliked another, or left some work undone. But there is another more profitable tendency that strikes scholars as they near retirement, and that is to become interested in fragments. There may be deeper psychological reasons to be excogitated here, but if one has laboriously developed some concept of the whole, why not turn one's gaze to the fragments that were once a whole, and to their lost and unforthcoming context? Who better qualified than those who have written the commentaries on the surviving dramas? Martin Cropp with two volumes of fragments down and two to go must rank with R. Kannicht as the foremost exponent of making sense of the *disiecta membra* of Euripides, who was we remember himself torn to shreds by dogs in one version. He once with amazing skill persuasively reconstructed for me a post-Euripidean play from Hyginus.

This observation is perhaps confirmed by the contribution of Donald Mastronarde, whose "what if?" reconstruction of the *Phoenissae* from its

fragments produces a remarkably optimistic result about our chances of reconstructing plays. Alas, he also admits that this optimism is not to be assumed for all plays. But as a scientific test in a controlled environment, it is a valuable corrective to extreme scepticism. It also encourages one to think that the commentator who has spent a life on Euripides, may indeed have by some strange osmosis actually picked up some supra-textual perceptions of how Euripides would or could operate. All too often with truly tragic frequency classicists, who spend their lives constrained by the few texts that fortune has preserved, begin to see with lamentable certainty the scenes and characters that never existed. It requires courage, judgement and much experience to venture into the fragmentary unknown, and we shall wish Martin, who possesses both those qualities in abundance, a speedy and successful conclusion to his fragments. It is fitting that several of the authors in this volume have dwelt on some of the most remarkable of the lost plays.

Martin was president, and very successfully so, of the Canadian Classical Association. He was equally a good administrator and hardworking chair of his department, as it expanded into graduate work. Contrary to a well known assumption, the study of classics does not lead to positions of great emolument or even tangible reward. It does not in my experience guarantee that the reading of classical authors leads to administrative skill or rhetorical fluency or even elementary social competence. We could wish it did, and undoubtedly it sometimes could, as shining examples like President John Adams or the three sons of Asquith attest. So I would like to make this personal comment. For me, Martin was at his best at the head of a table, where his natural gifts as a persuasive negotiator produced on his listeners the same sense of reasonableness that one finds in his written work. Always there was the sense for what was pragmatic and central, carefully distinguished from the peripheral and superficial, and more often than not elegantly phrased in good humoured mockery. Furthermore, it is a rare thing in academic life, especially for those in administration, but no one ever doubted his integrity or his decency. I and all those friends who contributed to this volume would like to think, no matter how perversely and self-interestedly, that study of the classics, of tragedy and even its fragments, had something to do with that.

PART TWO

EURIPIDES AND HIS FRAGMENTARY PLAYS

CONSOLATION IN EURIPIDES' *HYPSIPYLE*

James H. Kim On Chong-Gossard

The fragments of the *Hypsipyle* constitute the largest surviving portion of all Euripides' lost plays, with entire scenes surviving in relative completion. The nature of this survival allows us to indulge in thematic interpretations in a way that is simply impossible with other fragments whose preservation is woefully less complete. One theme in the *Hypsipyle* that has not received enough attention is consolation. It has long been recognized that the *Hypsipyle* fragments contain consolatory gestures which, along with their underlying doctrines, would become standard in the later genre of the *consolatio* letter.[1] The present study focuses on the theme of consolation itself, and how the play explores the positive and negative implications and results of consolation by its enactment. This theme is first broached in Hypsipyle's lullaby to Opheltes, then sustained in the chorus women's attempt to console Hypsipyle by advice-giving (παραίνεσις). Her refusal to take the chorus' advice hints that consolation will be ineffective in this play, as one might expect in any tragedy. Yet in midplay, when Hypsipyle is about to be killed on suspicion of murdering the queen's baby, Amphiaraus attempts to console the queen, and thereby secures Hypsipyle's release. This successful effort at consolation was so famous in antiquity that Amphiaraus' lines were preserved not only on papyrus, but were also quoted centuries after Euripides' day by Marcus Aurelius, Clement of Alexandria, and others. The fragmentary *Hypsipyle* therefore seems to make consolation a thematic issue by featuring both felicitous and infelicitous attempts at consolation, by illustrating more than one way of handling grief, and thereby engaging an audience in a reconsideration of tragic revenge.

Because it is quite unlike any other genre in ancient literature, Greek tragedy has distinct advantages for exploring the theme of consolation. Firstly, tragedy is already about grief, narrating the stories of mythical heroes who endure terrible sufferings, often the loss of loved ones, in

[1] Kassel 1958 and Ciani 1975 are the most comprehensive studies on consolatory gestures in tragedy. References to the *Hypsipyle* fragments are made at Kassel 1958: 11–12, and Ciani 1975: 105–110, 120.

extraordinary circumstances. Lamentation of the dead (or of oneself) is a feature of virtually every tragedy, so that its very nature invited the ancient playwrights to explore strategies for dealing with loss. Secondly, tragedy is theatre; it acts out the gesture of consolation, how persons might offer it, and how mourners might react to it. Unlike a philosophical letter of consolation, in which a writer has to imagine how its recipient might respond, tragedy performs that response instantly. That it does this is not surprising, since (in the words of Sheila Murnaghan 2000: 107) tragedy is "as much about the experience of surviving others' deaths as it is about dying."

In the remains of the monody and *parodos*, Hypsipyle mourns her abduction and slavery; instead of lamenting the loss of a loved one (although it is possible she mentions her long lost sons in the missing portion), she is actually lamenting herself, inasmuch as exile and slavery are a kind of living death. When the fragments become cohesive, we find Hypsipyle singing a lullaby to her infant charge, Opheltes. One of the first words to survive within a complete sentence from Hypsipyle's lullaby is παραμύθια, a cognate of the παραμυθητικὸς λόγος used by later writers (such as Aristotle and Pseudo-Plutarch) to discuss the genre of the *consolatio*. Here, παραμύθια is linked with song. Not only is Hypsipyle singing in lyric metre (752 f.10 is itself dactylic); she is also performing a song as a lullaby for an infant, and the topic of the song is the nature of song itself. The theme of the entire scene (both the lullaby and the choral dialogue to come) is this very link between song and consolation, or more specifically, a debate about which genre of song can bring consolation to Hypsipyle's kind of suffering.

The debate begins with Hypsipyle's observations of what genres are absent:

> οὐ τάδε πήνας, οὐ τάδε κερκίδος
> ἱστοτόνου παραμύθια Λήμνι' ἃ
> Μοῦσα θέλει με κρέκειν, ὅ τι δ' εἰς ὕπνον 12
> ἢ χάριν ἢ θεραπεύματα πρόσφορα
> παιδὶ πρέπει νεαρῷ
> τάδε μελῳδὸς αὐδῶ.

10 Λήμνι' ἃ Battezzato Λήμνια P
11 θέλει Morel μέλει P

> *Hypsipyle*: These are not, these are not Lemnian consolations for (the labour of) the weft-thread and web-stretching shuttle that the Muse wants me to cause to resound, but that which for sleep or joy or suitable comfort suits a little child—this I sing.[2] (Eur. *Hyps.* 752 f.9–14)

Hypsipyle is nostalgic for a lost genre of song, the kind that the women of Lemnos used to sing to relieve their fatigue at the loom. Like a lullaby, the loom-songs would have accompanied a woman's daily tasks. By invoking them as παραμύθια, the semantics of which range from "consoling" to "alleviating," Hypsipyle highlights the absence of both consolation and alleviation in her present circumstances. She is a slave, reduced to babysitting; the songs she is compelled to sing nowadays bring neither alleviation of fatigue, nor consolation for her misfortune in exile.

In counterpoint with Hypsipyle's wistfulness for the songs of a former life is the timely arrival of the chorus women, who are presumably neighbours. They address her as "friend" (φίλα, 752 f.15) and try their best to console her:

> *Chorus*: Or are you singing of the fifty-oared Argo, forever celebrated by your mouth, or the sacred golden-wooled fleece which the dragon's eye guards on the oak tree's boughs, or are you remembering the island of Lemnos, around which the Aegean roars as the circling waves thunder? Here, to the Nemean meadow! The whole Argive plain is shining with bronze weapons! Against the work built by Amphion's lyre, swift-footed Adrastus [...] who has summoned the might [...] intricate shield-devices [...] and golden bows [...] (Eur. *Hyps.* 752 f.19–37)[3]

Any act of consolation faces a challenge from the start. Consolation may be a universal gesture showing compassion for common human misfortune, but each addressee's situation and personality is specific, and the consoler's challenge is to make commonplace sentiments and statements of sympathy have engaging meaning. The chorus women remark that Hypsipyle is well known for always singing about the ship Argo, the search for the golden fleece, and the island of Lemnos. Therefore this is not the first time they have heard Hypsipyle complaining, nor is it their

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[2] English translations of the Ancient Greek are my own. Passage and line numbers are based on Cropp 2004. Luigi Battezzato (2005: 189) makes the useful emendation from Λήμνια in line 10 to Λήμνι' ἅ, giving an object for the objective infinitive construction implied in Μοῦσα θέλει με κρέκειν. Battezzato also insists (2005: 184) that τάδε, uttered twice in line 9, cannot mean "here" as suggested by Bond and accepted by others.

[3] For the Greek text of this and upcoming passages, consult Cropp 2004. I do not reprint it here in the interest of space.

first attempt at παραίνεσις. They decide to begin with two standard consolatory gestures:[4]

- **You have friends**. Consolers often establish a rapport with the bereaved as people who care about them, rather than as disinterested strangers giving advice.[5] The chorus women address Hypsipyle as φίλα at 752f.15, and will do so again at 752g.33.
- **Distraction of the mind**. A consoler suggests community activities in which the bereaved might participate, like a dance or a festival. Some connection to the present is sought in order to bring the bereaved out of a fixation on the past.[6] In this case, the chorus women suggest that watching Adrastus' army in the Nemean meadow would be diverting, and they are lavish in their tales of eye-candy: a plain shining with bronze, golden bows, intricate shield-devices, etc. As Maria Ciani (1975: 90) noted, one of the doctrines that would become commonplace in the genre of the *consolatio*, and which Greek tragedy prefigures, is the consoler's duty to choose the opportune moment to intervene through *logos*, which is the principal means of consolation. In the *Hypsipyle*, the timing of the consolatory *logos* is not random. Admittedly, to the modern reader, it might not appear that the best time for the chorus to console Hypsipyle is while she is babysitting; nonetheless, their suggestion that Adrastus' army is a welcome distraction could only have come when the army happened to be marching by.

Hypsipyle, however, is not interested and rejects the chorus' advice in a clever way. Much is lost, but when the text returns:

> *Hypsipyle*: … rushing over the swell of the calm sea to fasten the cables, him whom the river's daughter, Aegina, bore: Peleus; and in the middle by the mast the Thracian lyre cried out an Asian mournful lament, singing the

[4] See the appendix in Ciani (1975: 117–129) for an exhaustive catalogue of consolatory *topoi* in tragedy (e.g., sympathy; words as medicine; uselessness of tears; the need to endure; etc.). Not all of these are relevant to the *Hypsipyle*.

[5] Cf. Soph. *Electra* 233–235, 251; and *Alcestis* 369–370. For the theme of friend's advice as φάρμακον, cf. Euripides fr. 1079 N.1–2 ("For mortals, there is no other medicine for pain like the advice of a good man and of a friend"), and Euripides fr. 962 N.1–2 ("One medicine is established for one disease, and another for another; on the one hand, the kindly-minded speech of friends for the grieving person …"). See also Kassel (1958: 3–5) for a discussion of friendship in the *consolatio*.

[6] Compare the invitation to Hera's festival at Eur. *Electra* 167–174. Soph. *Electra* 155–163 also reminds the protagonist that she has family concerns in the present, not just the past.

> orders for the rowers for the long sweeps of their oars, now a swift stroke, now a rest for the pinewood blade. These, these my spirit longs to see, but let someone else cry out the labours of the Danaans.
>
> (Eur. *Hyps.* 752g.3–17)

Hypsipyle entertained Jason and his Argonauts on Lemnos, and even though she did not go on the actual search for the fleece, she knows all about it, remembers Jason's crew by name, and can cite their genealogies (so that she mentions Peleus as the son of Aegina, the daughter of a river god). All these things are memories of her happy past, and it is the loss of that former life that she is fixated on. Echoing the οὐ τάδε, οὐ τάδε in her lullaby (752f.9), at 752g.15 she insists that τάδε … τάδε are the things she longs to see—Peleus, Orpheus, and the rest of the Argonauts—and someone else can sing about what the Argives are undertaking. The suggestion that watching the advancing army would be diverting, is ludicrous in her eyes; she has her own topic of song to sing about (namely, memories of the past), and she'll stick to it. As Ruth Scodel phrases it (1997: 93), "the Argo […] belongs to a different genre, the erotic lament, and Hypsipyle insists on selecting her own genre."

So, the chorus women try another tack:

> *Chorus*: I have heard from wise men the story of how long ago, upon the waves, Europa, the Tyrian daughter of Phoenix, left her city and father's halls and came to holy Crete, nurse of Zeus and nurse of the Curetes; (Europa) who unto her three sowings of children bequeathed the power over the land and a happy rule. And I have heard of another woman, an Argive, queen Io … her bed … came to a [horn]-bearing destruction. If god should set these things in your mind … indeed, oh friend … moderation … [he] will not abandon [you] … your father's father …
>
> (Eur. *Hyps.* 752g.18–35)

This chorus' armament of consolatory platitudes is unabating. They employ:

- **Non tibi soli** (or, "not to you alone"). The bereaved is told that he or she is not the first to suffer, but that others have lost a wife, or a father, or a child, or suffered a similar fate. This is often bolstered in tragedy through the use of:
- an **exemplum**, an apposite illustrious figure (usually mythological) whom the mourner might imitate.[7] In this case, the chorus women

[7] See Ciani (1975: 120–121) for an exhaustive list of *non tibi soli* in tragedy. Some of the most poignant *exempla* are *Alcestis* 903–911; Soph. *Electra* 147–151, 835–849; *Antigone* 824–838.

assure Hypsipyle that she is not the first woman to be abducted to a foreign land. Io and Europa were both abducted by Zeus, and they ended up happy—they became mothers!

- **Moderation is best**. This trope, familiar enough from all of Greek literature, is popular in consolations because of the perceived tendency to grieve excessively.[8] Only a glimpse of this motif survives in the chorus women's antistrophe: . . .]ς δή, φίλα, τὸ μέσον (Eur. *Hyps.* 752g.33).
- A moment later, there is a hint at **an appeal to divine agency**; a consoler assures the sufferer that the gods will make things right.[9] Hypsipyle's grandfather is the god Dionysus, and the fragmentary comment of the chorus (π]ατέρος πατέρα, 752g.35) might be a reminder that she should trust in her divine father to eventually come to her aid.

Hypsipyle is not amused. She takes the chorus' platitudes and throws them back in their faces. Again, much is lost, but she ends the dialogue with a counter-*exemplum* of her own (perhaps the last in a series of counter-*exempla*, now lost):

> *Hypsipyle*: . . . sang a lament for the huntress Procris, whom her husband slew . . . Death was her portion. But as for my woes, what wailing or song or lyre's music that breaks into wailing with tears (even though Calliope assists) could approach my pains? (Eur. *Hyps.* 752h.2–9)

Hypsipyle can think of her own mythological *exemplum* that suits her situation better: Procris, who was accidentally killed by her husband Cephalus while hunting. Lamentations might have brought comfort to those who mourned Procris; Procris herself found death (and is therefore presumably happier for it); but for Hypsipyle, one not dead but still living with her misfortunes, there is no song (even if the Muse Calliope were joining in) that comes close to comforting her. So she sings herself into a paradox—she explores the inefficiency of song, while saying so in a song itself.

One would expect Hypsipyle's choice of *exemplum* to resonate (even ironically) with other events in the play, for such is Euripides' hallmark craft. Luigi Battezzato (2005: 194) argues that the chorus' invocation of Europa and Io, who found prosperity in their sons, effectively anticipates Hypsipyle's rescue by her sons. Battezzato also asks the question that has

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[8] For exhortations to moderation in grief, cf. *Helen* 253; *Alcestis* 890–892; *Medea* 158–159; Soph. *Electra* 140–144.

[9] For an appeal to divine agency in consolation, cf. Soph. *Electra* 174–176; *Medea* 155–158; *Trachiniae* 138–140.

plagued my mind: "Perché Procri?" (2005: 195). Why indeed? He suggests that Procris represents a stark contrast to the *exemplum* of Europa; in the fuller version of the Procris myth, Procris left her homeland of her own free will, resided on Crete as a wise woman, succeeded in solving Minos' infertility, then returned home, dying dramatically at her husband Cephalus' hands using the very gifts (including the unerring shaft) she had received from Minos. Hypsipyle's choice of Procris as the alternative *exemplum* is therefore "una scelta mitologica virtuosisticamente appropriata, anche se non ovvia" (2005: 196). I would add another possibility; very soon in this play, she will be like Cephalus, in that she will cause the accidental death of the person she loves (namely, the infant Opheltes). And in addition, all this mythological word play is metatheatrical, because the audience knows that Hypsipyle is herself a mythological character, and her story—being enacted before us—will enter the canon of *exempla* that can be used by another tragic character in the future, maybe even in the next play.

Hypsipyle's rejection of the chorus' παραίνεσις is significant, for Euripides is playing with the tragic convention that a protagonist is usually unreceptive to gestures of consolation, and is quite good at inverting those gestures.[10] An audience familiar with Electras and Medeas might have expected Hypsipyle's story to become an "anti-consolation" drama, exploring the negative reaction to consolation; the resistance of advice as a sign of heroic isolation; the acceptance of loss as the less natural and less "human" response to grief; or the exposure of consolatory gestures as empty and ingenuous, or to quote Michael Lloyd (1986: 7) writing about Euripides' *Electra*, "appropriate to normal life, but (that) cannot do justice to exceptional situations."

But the *Hypsipyle* is not the *Electra*. In mid-play, something completely new happens. Hypsipyle's infant ward Opheltes is killed by a snake, and the boy's mother (the queen Eurydice) binds Hypsipyle and plans to kill her. The seer Amphiaraus rushes in to Hypsipyle's defence and addresses the queen directly. This is a new paradigm: a male character pleads for a slave woman's life by consoling a vengeful mother on the loss of her infant son … and the mother evidently takes the

[10] Cf. Admetus at *Alcestis* 926–941, who responds to the chorus with remarks usually made by consolers, not mourners; and Electra at Soph. *Electra* 140–152, who invokes the kind of *exempla* that a consoler would usually offer as a reminder that the mourner is not the first to suffer. See also Chong-Gossard (2003) for more on Euripidean heroines' conventional rejection of advice.

advice![11] Suddenly, the *Hypsipyle* becomes unique as one of the few Greek tragedies to show both unsuccessful and successful acts of consolation.

Amphiaraus arrives on stage in the proverbial nick of time, just as Hypsipyle has given up all hope of rescue. After he assures the queen that his gaze is σώφρων, Eurydice unveils herself, attesting that Amphiaraus would never be standing there now looking into her face, if she had not heard from all reports that he was σώφρων. His reputation alone makes her receptive to listen to his explanations, and she even compliments him, "you are not unworthy" (Eur. *Hyps*. 757.86).

Amphiaraus' defence speech unfortunately survives mostly in tatters, but two important sections are intact. The opening lines of his *rhesis* state his intention to make Eurydice ἤπιος ("kindly, lenient"), his interest in justice, and the shame he would feel before Phoebus should he utter anything false. In the fragments of about twenty-seven lines, he apparently narrates the death of Opheltes by the snake, which he interprets as an omen (ὄρνιθα δ' Ἀργείο[ισι, Eur. *Hyps*. 757.112) for the march of the Seven against Thebes. This is followed by his famous consolation passage:

> *Amphiaraus*: But what I now counsel, lady, take from me. No mortal man was ever born who does not suffer; he buries his children, and begets new ones, and he himself dies; yet mortals bear these things hard, though they are bringing dust to dust. One must reap life like ears of corn, and one man lives, another does not; why should one lament these things, which must be trod according to (our) nature? (Eur. *Hyps*. 757.121–128)

Another sixteen fragmentary lines conclude the *rhesis*; Amphiaraus clearly asks for permission to bury the boy's body (θάψαι δὸς ἡμ[ῖν, Eur. *Hyps*. 757.130), and may describe the establishment of the Nemean games in Opheltes' hounour (ἀγῶνά τ' αὐτῶ[ι, 757.135; Νεμέας κατ' ἄλσ[ος, 757.141), which will ensure that he is remembered (μνησθήσετα[ι, 757.139).

As a consoler, Amphiaraus has an authority that female choruses do not have. Not only is he male; he also has a reputation for being σώφρων—a word that defies precise rendering into English, with a meaning ranging from "chaste" to "moderate" to "self-controlled." This reputation is well-deserved, given his other role as the unlucky husband duped into marching with the Seven, details of which he seems to have narrated in 752k.15–20. Webster (1967b: 214–215) was surely right in recognising Amphiaraus as a "just man compelled to take a wrong course of action,"

[11] See Cropp (2004: 173–175) on the likely reconstruction that Eurydice readily accepts Amphiaraus' advice.

who "moves unperturbed to foreseen disaster and death." The consolation he offers is both for the dead Opheltes and for himself, and in it he employs standard gestures:

- **The nature of human life.**[12] No mortal man was ever born who will not suffer; everyone dies; we shouldn't groan about it. This is doubly poignant, for Amphiaraus knows all about suffering; and he follows his own advice, for he is not the sort of man to groan at the misfortunes (namely, certain death in battle) that he knows life has in store for him.
- **Praise of the dead.**[13] In modern grief studies, it has often been observed that people who lose a loved one do not want to forget, and are afraid that "moving on" implies forgetting the loved one. Amphiaraus' consolatory lines come directly after a fragmentary narrative about the war against Thebes, and precede the details of how the Nemean games will be established in Opheltes' memory. Thus the child's death is meant to be associated with the grand undertaking that serves the larger community, or, in Webster's words, "part of the fabric of events called the Seven against Thebes" (1967: 214). Perhaps Eurydice takes Amphiaraus' advice precisely because he assures her that Opheltes will never be lost, but immortalized through the Games. She can move on without forgetting.
- Meanwhile, there is a striking absence of the "you have friends" motif. Amphiaraus significantly does not try to make Eurydice his friend; he addresses her as ὦ ξένη (757.75), and she him as ὦ ξένε (757.82), predisposing the queen to take his advice as objective.

The *Hypsipyle* is a dramatic experiment which transforms the anticipated moment of death (motivated by revenge, or seeming justice) into rescue. The closest parallels are the *Ion*, where the intervention of the Pythia arrests Ion's attack on Creusa (who, after all, had plotted to kill him!); and the end of the fragmentary *Antiope*, where one expects Lycus to get his comeuppance at the hands of Amphion and Zethus, yet he is surprisingly spared by Hermes *ex machina*, and all is forgiven. The *Hypsipyle* goes one step further than either of these plays. Euripides not only provides the

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[12] This consolatory gesture is familiar from *Alcestis* 893–894, and *Trachiniae* 126–131, about how misfortunes press upon all mortals in their turn; and Soph. *Electra* 1171–1173 and *Alcestis* 418–419, where death is described as a debt everyone must pay.

[13] Praise of the dead operates in several scenes in the *Alcestis* (616, 623–624; 991–1005; 1083), and Adrastus' funeral speech in Euripides' *Suppliants* is the longest and most sustained example of praise of the dead in extant tragedy.

last-minute rescue that preserves Hypsipyle's life. He also effects this rescue not by the arrival of a *deus* or other agent of the god, but by the arrival of a mortal man who, despite having prophetic powers, bases his pleas for forgiveness on consolatory *topoi* (the nature of human life, assurance of the commemoration of the dead) and the weight of his own reputation as σώφρων, rather than on any claim to represent the gods' will. Some might object, however, that Amphiaraus' role as Hypsipyle's advocate is nothing special, since Euripides has to preserve the myth (although he does invoke the god that he speaks truthfully); Hypsipyle must live, so the queen must be placated. But I would argue that the choice to give Amphiaraus a defence speech doubling as a consolation was clearly a memorable innovation. Other plot devices were in order; Amphiaraus could have rescued Hypsipyle by force (as Peleus rescues Andromache in *Andromache)*. At Eur. *Hyps*. 757.72, Amphiaraus himself states that he will defend Hypsipyle through piety (τὸ εὐσεβές) rather than force (τό βίαιον), implying that force might have been the anticipated option. But Euripides chooses a less violent, more humane solution.

It is to this humane element that Eurydice reacts, in an apparently positive manner. The first two lines of Eurydice's response are in fragments, but she appears to invoke her dead son, ὦ παῖ (757.145). Then four lines are preserved:

> *Eurydice*: One must look to the characters and the deeds and the lives of the evil and the good, and have much confidence in those who are σώφρων, but with the unjust not consort at all. (Eur. *Hyps*. 757.147–150)

By saying she will put confidence in those who are σώφρων, she clearly intends to follow Amphiaraus' advice about sparing Hypsipyle (and we know Hypsipyle lives). The word σώφρων itself implies the "moderation is best" motif, which Eurydice ostensibly wants to follow. Eurydice could have rejected the consolation and continued with seeking revenge, as characters like Electra do, but instead, this play—this "tragedy"—ends happily.

Conclusions

Although I have spent much time demonstrating how the scenes of consolation in the *Hypsipyle* utilize stock *topoi* found elsewhere in tragedy (and which indeed anticipate the structure of the philosophical *consolatio* genre), Euripides' *Hypsipyle* is more than a sophistic experiment about

how best to console. Since the gestures are acted out in a play, surely they are tested for engaging meaning rather than assembled as mere ingredients in a consolatory spectacle. We all know there are times in grieving when platitudes ring hollow. Sometimes we do not want to be told that life must go on. This is where Greek tragedy stands out as a powerful genre for exploring the implications of grief. To the extent that tragic men and women can have "realistic" or "believable" reactions to a crisis, tragedy puts consolation to the test by demonstrating how words might indeed be therapeutic (or not), or how the commonplace gestures of consolation might be effective (or not). Therefore I think it crucial to consider how Euripides contrasts the responses of his two consoled women: Hypsipyle, who rejects consolation, and Eurydice, who accepts it (and surprisingly, we might suppose).

Hypsipyle is the grieving protagonist, once a princess of Lemnos, then separated from her twins, abducted by pirates, now a nursemaid. She is unreceptive to consolation because she is fixated on the past. One might argue that this is a perfectly normal reaction; modern grief studies have shown that many bereaved persons "hold on" to nostalgic memories too tenaciously, and do not let go or move on. Hypsipyle's song about the Argo is the nostalgia that she refuses to abandon. One would expect her dour preoccupation with the past to be eclipsed by the dangerous threats of the present; yet even when arrested and in chains, she cries, "Oh prow of Argo, stirring the water white from the brine! Oh my two sons, how wretchedly I perish!" (Eur. *Hyps.* 757.43–47). As the chorus women said, the Argo is always celebrated by her mouth; even at the moment of death, Hypsipyle cannot get the Argo, or her sons by Jason, out of her mind. It is not until the recognition duet at the end of the play, when she is miraculously reunited with those very sons (who, by the way, were staying as guests in the palace the whole time!), that Hypsipyle finds relief; only by engaging with her past (indeed, narrating specific horrific memories in song, including the Lemnian women's slaughter of their men, 759a.76–78) and learning about her boys does she find a song which consoles her.

Eurydice, in contrast, is the vengeful mother, planning to take revenge against Hypsipyle for killing the infant deliberately. Amphiaraus proves that the death was accidental and does not require revenge. This is why the consolatory gesture is necessary: it reinforces that Eurydice does not have anyone to blame, and that therefore she must accept death and be consoled by the child's memorialization. How many people who have suffered the loss of a loved one wanted to blame someone? Whom do

we blame for an accident? In tragedy, there is almost always a person to blame: Agamemnon for sacrificing Iphigenia, Clytemnestra for killing Agamemnon, Admetus himself for allowing Alcestis to die—but the case of Eurydice is unique in tragedy in that the death of her child is an accidental one, and she needs to be persuaded to react to that loss with dignity and acceptance. And she does! Could this be a possible model that Euripides holds up as a tragic alternative? If so, it is another classic example of what many scholars have recognized as Euripides' characteristic mutability, changing what he does all the time. Usually in tragedy, characters are motivated by jealousy or revenge to take drastic measures, often resulting in disaster for all concerned. But the *Hypsipyle* suddenly becomes an anti-revenge drama. Fiona McHardy (2004: 114) argues that the "vengeful women of tragedy have become embodiments of uncivilized values which cannot be condoned in civilized democratic Athens." If so, perhaps the *Hypsipyle* has a civilized message: this is what can happen when a vengeful woman like Eurydice actually takes sound advice.

If the play is indeed thematically "about consolation," it is important that the narrative ends happily for Hypsipyle, but not for Eurydice. It is unfortunate that we are missing those sections of the play that would have informed the audience whether Eurydice finds closure for her grief. Even if she did so on a grand scale, the play is nonetheless a sober reminder that the gods or fate work in mysterious ways, and that one person's loss can be linked with another person's rescue (without the knowledge of either person); but we, the all-knowing audience, who are permitted to see all sides of the issue, can find comfort that losses (like the death of an infant) are not the end of a story. Sometimes even an infant's death serves a larger purpose; and that, perhaps, is the greatest consolation of all.[14]

[14] My thanks are due to Dr Han Baltussen, Senior Lecturer in Classics at the University of Adelaide, Australia, who first invited me to participate in his inter-institutional research project, "Acts of Consolation: ancient approaches to loss and sorrow from Cicero to Shakespeare," analysing the similarities and differences in the expression and healing of grief in literature from ancient Greece and Rome through to medieval and renaissance Europe. In 2005, I enjoyed a wonderful sabbatical at the University of Adelaide, where I began preliminary research for this article.

Congratulations also to Martin Cropp, a gentleman in multiple senses, whose life-long interest in Euripides and in the promotion of Euripides' fragments renders him the single most appropriate and worthy dedicatee of this study.

EURIPIDES' *ANTIOPE* AND THE QUIET LIFE*

John Gibert

The "great debate" between the Zeus-born twins Amphion and Zethus in Euripides' *Antiope* has attracted a great deal of attention, and there is broad consensus concerning its general course and many points of detail.[1] The debate occurred early, probably in the first episode, and may have had no direct consequence for the plot; it offered a contrast of βίοι—values and lifestyles promoted and exemplified by the two young men. Fifteen or more fragments totaling more than 60 lines enable us to form a fairly clear impression of these βίοι; luckily, assignment to one or the other of the twins is attested or safely deduced in all but a few cases, and the two sides are about equally represented. The contrasting ideals are often identified as versions of the *vita activa* and the *vita contemplativa*. Zethus advocates hard work, manly strength, care of property, and the ability to help oneself and one's family and friends both privately and publicly. Amphion appreciates music and pleasure, and generally the finer things in life. In some fragments assigned to him, we see a tension between the desire to avoid the trouble of public life and the belief that his intellectual excellence does in fact benefit the city; this can be more or less satisfactorily explained by external testimonies (collected as F 182b ii in Kannicht 2004) to the effect that the focus of the contest shifted from music to the basis of wisdom and utility of excellence.

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[1] The editions of Kambitsis 1972, Kannicht 2004, and Collard 2004 are indispensable. Collard (2004: 266–268) ably summarizes what is known about the debate and provides a wealth of information in his commentary on individual fragments. In this essay, translations of *Antiope* are his. Although I venture to disagree with him on various points, my debt will be obvious; this also seems a fit occasion to thank both him and Martin for honoring me with the invitation to join them in the work on *Euripides: Selected Fragmentary Plays II*.

Many details of the debate can be interpreted politically, and political interpretation becomes unavoidable in what is taken as the second stage of Amphion's response. About this, naturally, there is much less scholarly consensus. Still, most interpretations share a broad outline, which goes something like this: After Amphion makes a favorable first impression with a musical performance and conversation with the chorus, Zethus enters and attacks music, along with what he sees as the typical vices of its practitioners. Amphion not only defends his craft, but accepts Zethus' criterion of utility and asserts that his ideal wins on this count, too. According to a probably justifiable inference from Horace (*Epist.* 1.18.43–44), he then graciously defuses the conflict and yields to his brother's immediate request that he join him in the hunt.

It is hardly surprising that some see this course of events as an unambiguous victory for Amphion: how could Euripides not prefer the musician's point of view? Others are more cautious about the notion of a victor but still, in effect, side with Amphion when they say that he takes the argument onto Zethus' own ground. Once attention is focused on whether music and intellect really provide the benefit Amphion claims for them, Zethus and his ideal are left without much interest or appeal. In this essay, I dispute two widely if not universally shared assumptions underlying this general approach. The first is that Zethus promotes community service. The second is that Amphion, who unmistakably refers to an ideal of ἀπραγμοσύνη, "quietism," is somehow at odds with the political life imagined as the background to the debate, while his brother is not. In my view, Zethus, who nowhere invokes the traditional aristocratic claim of usefulness (encoded, for example, in χρηστός and related words), falls pointedly short of an ideal of service. While Amphion, on the other hand, endorses ἀπραγμοσύνη, it is far from clear what he means by this ideal. It follows that Zethus should not be constructed as the opposite of just one type of quietist. On the contrary, I suggest, his ideal represents something an Athenian might well have recognized as another variety of quietism. Or rather, both he and Amphion have the potential to be selfish élitists, though each of course sees himself in a more favorable light.

Aside from the concluding argument for Zethus as a potentially selfish elitist, the present essay concentrates on clearing away obstacles (as I see them) to a just interpretation of the debate. In a companion piece, I plan to use further details of the background, scenic form, plot, and language to develop my own view of the twins and the political significance of their debate. To anticipate the conclusion of that argument somewhat,

I believe each brother represents a kind of unrealized potential. While each sees the other's way of life as toxic, neither has any actual accomplishment to his credit, any proof of maturity. The dramatic world of *Antiope* is not such as to develop either twin's youthful excess into full-blown disaster. The events of the play may have put them (or at least Amphion, about whom there is more evidence) to the test, but the essential point is their predicted future as rulers of Thebes and builders of its walls. When seen against this background, the debate implies that citizens can contribute in different ways and should tolerate each other's choices.

So far the argument steers clear of date and reference to actual political events. There is, of course, a notorious problem concerning the date of *Antiope*, and our honorand has done more than anyone to bring it the attention it deserves. A scholion on Aristophanes, *Frogs* 53 would put the original production of *Antiope* (along with *Hypsipyle* and *Phoenissae*) within a year or two of 409 BCE, but metrical evidence points firmly to the 420's or early 410's. It must be emphasized that the methods of Cropp and Fick, both philological (incorporating detailed study of resolution types as well as rates of occurrence) and statistical (helped in the case of *Antiope* by the large size of the sample) have made the metrical argument extraordinarily strong. Moreover, the contrary evidence of the scholion may be accounted for by assuming a not uncommon corruption of *Antigone* (for which a date in the last stage of Euripides' career is acceptable) to *Antiope*.[2] As a result, several scholars now admit that the traditional late date of *Antiope* rests on a shaky foundation, but none have yet offered supporting arguments for an earlier production or explored its political resonances.[3] In the companion to this essay, I will also attempt these tasks.

[2] Cropp and Fick 1985: 76; cf. 74 on *Antigone*. Examples of confusion between *Antigone* and *Antiope* in manuscripts are collected by Kannicht 2004: 261 (on *Antigone*, test. i).

[3] Huys 1994: 73–74, Podlecki 1996: 143, Van Looy in Jouan and Van Looy 1998: 220–221. Kannicht (2004: 274) does not clearly abandon the late date derived from the scholion, but when noting that metrical evidence points to the years 427–416, he adds that mention of Oenoe in fr. 179, since Schaal (1914: 7) often said to yield 411 as a *terminus post quem*, seems to him to cut the other way. After weighing the question carefully, Collard (2004: 269) opts for the traditional late date.

Zethus and Service

Much of what Zethus values is clearly *compatible* with an ideal of community service, but also with selfish élitism. To begin with undisputed points, Zethus directly advocates hard work in the form of digging, plowing, and tending flocks, and he urges his brother to stop wasting his time (188.2 ματᾴζων) and leave to others "these petty trifles" (188.5 τὰ κομψὰ ταῦτ' ... σοφίσματα, the last term embracing both musical and intellectual pursuits). His criticisms of Amphion imply that he also values manly appearance (185.2–3), moderation in drinking (183.2), and care of property (183.2, 187.1–3). Amphion's reply indicates that Zethus had criticized him for softness and weakness (199). This is already more than enough to constitute the notion of "(noble) nature" implicitly praised by Zethus no fewer than three times (185.2, 186, 187.5–6).

Zethus' ideal includes a few further details liable to more than one interpretation. In 185.4–7 (or 4–8: for the different line-counts, see below), he lists activities for which Amphion has rendered himself unfit. Recovery of his exact words from the quoting source, Callicles in Plato's *Gorgias*, is beset with difficulties, but it is clear that the activities he recommends fall into traditional categories for the display of manly excellence: effective speech and effective action. The question is to what extent they also suggest activities characteristic of the citizen in a polis, or even the democratic Athenian polis.[4] There is general agreement that maximal interpretation along the latter lines should find in δίκης βουλαῖσι (line 4) a reference to speaking in lawsuits, and in "keep yourself close behind a hollow shield" (lines 5–6 or 6–7, ἀσπίδος κύτει / ... ὁμιλήσειας), a reference to hoplite fighting. The longer reconstruction offered *exempli gratia* by Dodds and favored by Kambitsis and Collard accommodates two additional forms of speaking, which Kambitsis (1972: 37) interprets as persuasive speech in the Assembly (185.5 οὔτ' εἰκὸς ἂν καὶ πιθανὸν οὐδὲν ἂν λάκοις) and in the Council (185.7–8 οὔτ' ἄλλων ὕπερ / νεανικὸν βούλευμα βουλεύσαιό τι). The shorter reconstruction favored by Kannicht reduces the speaking opportunities (and the number of lines) by one, but may still be thought (as it is by Collard) to allude to public speaking in the (democratic) Assembly. Clearly, however, Zethus' words do not

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[4] Within the fiction, Zethus and Amphion belong to the pre-polis past, live in the countryside on the frontier between Boeotia and Attica, and believe they are slaves; nevertheless, like many other tragic characters in comparable circumstances, they speak as if they were citizens of a classical polis, or even of democratic Athens.

require interpretation in terms of Assembly or Council. His activity in the first venue (or on the longer reconstruction, the first two) may encompass only private lawsuits, in which his goal would be effectiveness on behalf of himself, his family, and his friends. In 6–7 (or 7–8), the general language (βουλ- words) does not impose a particular political context (cf. *El.* 1011–1012) and is best taken as subsumed under the military context of the preceding line and a half about fighting. The goal would then be to advance the military cause by "energetic advice." The recurrence of βούλευμα in Amphion's reply (200.3–4), where it is most naturally restricted to a military context,[5] supports this more restrictive reading of 185, as does νεανικόν, literally "youthful," a quality less likely to be burdened with ambivalence in a military than a political setting. Arguably, so does the structure of Dodds' longer reconstruction, its four items understandable as two balanced pairs under the headings (private) lawsuits and warfare, rather than a list veering from lawsuits to Assembly to warfare to Council (or back to Assembly). We might conclude, then, that the poet Euripides looks "back" to the pre-polis ideal Peleus instructed Phoenix to instill in Achilles (Hom. *Iliad* 9.442: μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων "to be both a speaker of words and a doer of deeds") at least as much as his Zethus looks "forward" to classical Athens.

Indisputably, Zethus would have Amphion offer energetic advice on behalf of others (ἄλλων ὕπερ). We must now consider whether Zethus makes it clear that these others constitute a community wider than his circle of family and friends. At first sight, 187.4–5 seems to clinch the case. Zethus argues that a man like Amphion

> ἀργὸς μὲν οἴκοις καὶ πόλει[6] γενήσεται,
> φίλοισι δ' οὐδείς.

[5] Collard suggests that τὰς πολλὰς χέρας / νικᾷ at 200.3–4 may refer not just to physical strength (the theme of 199), *sc.* of an opponent in war (the context given by εἴς τ' αὖ πόλεμον in the previous line), but to hands raised to vote in the Assembly. I ventured this suggestion myself in an earlier version of this paper, but I have not found a good parallel for active νικᾶν in the required sense. To win in the Assembly, one must have "the hands of the many" on one's side, and for this the middle or another verb seems necessary. Since the mob (ὄχλος) in this *sententia* remains unpersuaded and on the side of ἀμαθία, any association with voting would seem to undermine Amphion. On fr. 200, see also below, n. 11.

[6] Kambitsis 1972: 36 suggests that οἴκοις and πόλει are datives of interest or *iudicantis*. Collard dismisses the latter possibility and only adduces an example after a different adjective (ἀμήχανον at Ar. *Ran.* 1429 = Eur. fr. 886) for the former. In the end, he accepts Diggle's change to οἴκοι κἂν πόλει, which strengthens the case I am making here, but in my opinion, given the difference between ἀργός and, for example, χρήσιμος, Zethus does not state a strong ideal of service on any reading.

will be useless at home and in the city, and
a nobody for his friends. (Eur. *Ant.* 187.4–5 Collard et al. 2004)

Collard's notes activate a network of associations involving both traditional aristocratic self-definition and the notion that all citizens should make themselves useful to the polis. But ἀργός is literally "inactive" or "ineffectual," and there need be nothing public-spirited in the ideal that a man be productive at home and able to help himself and his friends in the city.[7] Such activity *could* of course be a necessary or useful foundation for the state (as many ancient and modern political theorists posit), but it also fits the kind of élitist conception a strong state must weaken or harness. It therefore seems significant that civic welfare appears nowhere (with a possible exception to be addressed shortly) in fragments assigned to Zethus. I do not claim that he emerges clearly as a virulent anti-democrat, only that he does not endorse any strong commitment to the polis. As far as his presentation of it goes, the activity he recommends may be undertaken for the exclusive benefit of his private circle.

It may be objected that military activity, at least, is surely undertaken on behalf of a wider community, as ἄλλων ὕπερ in 185 suggests. Additional support has been sought in 187a, texts from the Platonic scholia and Olympiodorus that purport to paraphrase Zethus exhorting Amphion to throw away his lyre and take up weapons, to live the life of a soldier. Borthwick (1968) suggests that the paraphrases retain some Euripidean language, specifically μηδὲν ὠφελῶν in Olympiodorus' words μάτην κιθαρίζεις, μηδὲν ὠφελῶν. This is an attractive suggestion, but the question is *who* Zethus thinks should benefit. Borthwick's parallels better support mentally supplying σαυτόν than, say, πόλιν, and this would consort well with Zethus' emphasis on private property (183.2, 187, 188.6). Moreover, after στρατιωτικὸν βίον ζῆσον, Olympiodorus' paraphrase continues καὶ εὐ πόρησον (suppl. Maas) καὶ τυράννησον. Here, possibly (the corrupt text leaves room for doubt), is still more emphasis on wealth, along with political ambition in the form of tyranny. With regard to the last, scholars reasonably suspect that Olympiodorus

[7] In his note on the ἀργὸς πολίτης at *Melanippe* fr. 512, Cropp (1995: 280) observes that ἀργία was an indictable offense at Athens. Harrison (1968: 79–81) discusses it under Law of the Family, as a provision protecting the interests of children and other heirs. In the interesting passage *HF* 588–592, formerly rich men impoverished by prodigality engage in political mischief. They are blamed for this mischief and for ἀργία ("unproductivity"), not for failing to serve the state.

has allowed the views of Callicles to influence what he attributes to Zethus. It is likely enough that Zethus expatiated on military activity, but perfectly possible that he presented this, too, as an arena for personal aggrandizement. However that may be, it would clearly be unwise to conclude from Olympiodorus' testimony that he endorsed benefiting the community. We are left with the traditional notion of warfare as an arena for manly excellence, with no particular emphasis on its beneficiary.

The polis appears again in a fragment attributed to *Antiope* by Stobaeus without speaker assignment (219):

> κόσμος δὲ σιγῆς στέφανος ἀνδρὸς οὐ κακοῦ·
> τὸ δ' ἐκλαλοῦν τοῦθ' ἡδονῆς μὲν ἅπτεται,
> κακὸν δ' ὁμίλημ', ἀσθενὲς δὲ καὶ πόλει.
>
> Silence is an ornament, a crown for a man without vice;
> while chattering of this kind fastens upon pleasure,
> and makes bad company, and is a weakness too for a city.
> (Eur. *Ant.* 219 LCL)

The first, somewhat mysterious line plays a part in some scholars' preference for assignment to the Herdsman, but the disapproving tone of the rest suggests Zethus. The speaker claims that over-subtle rhetoric weakens the city; at the same time, the words ὁμίλημα and ἀσθενές may recall the value Zethus places on physical strength.[8] If Zethus is the speaker, the lines may come late in the debate, and "this blathering" may refer to the defense Amphion has just delivered. In this case, a political dimension is undeniable, but it is interesting that the fragment would then show Zethus shifting *his* ground in response to one of *Amphion's* main claims (199, 200). That responsiveness may be his main reason for mentioning the polis, since the world-view (be silent, be strong) still seems rather limited.

To sum up, the polis appears in fragments certainly assigned to Zethus only once, and there his words ἀργὸς … πόλει (or ἐν πόλει) differ appreciably from, say, χρηστός or χρήσιμος πόλει. A comparable notion of excellence that mentions the polis without being the least bit public-spirited may be found in Plato's *Meno*, where Meno defines ἀρετή as ἱκανὸν εἶναι τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράττειν, καὶ πράττοντα τοὺς μὲν φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κακῶς, καὶ αὐτὸν εὐλαβεῖσθαι μηδὲν τοιοῦτον παθεῖν (Pl. *Meno* 71e). Meno formulates public business as nothing more

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[8] Collard suggests that the words κακὸν δ' ὁμίλημα, in the first instance political "bad company," may also mean "unmanly inadequacy to fight in close company," with recollection of 185.

than an arena in which a man helps friends, harms enemies, and protects his own interests.[9] The claim in fr. 219 that rhetoric is “a weakness for a city” shows some concern for the polis, but it may not belong to Zethus, and if it does, it may come as an afterthought rather than part of his initial attack.

A fragment assigned to Amphion’s reply seems to develop the selfish implications of Zethus’ emphasis on money-making and warfare (194.2–4):

> μὴ τὰ κινδυνεύματα
> αἰνεῖτ᾽· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὔτε ναυτίλον φιλῶ
> τολμῶντα λίαν οὔτε προστάτην χθονός.
>
> Don’t praise risky undertakings: I love neither a sailor nor a
> city leader who is too venturesome. (Eur. *Ant*. 194.2–4 LCL)

By referring to κινδυνεύματα (well rendered by Collard and Cropp as “risky undertakings”) and focusing on a sailor and a leader, Amphion hints at private motives for the public activity of a man like Zethus. The risk-taking sailor is presumably (*pace* Kambitsis) the commonplace merchant pursuing profit, and the term for city leader, προστάτης χθονός, strongly evokes the competition for influence in the Athenian democracy, in which contemporary sources generally judge rivals to be engaged at least as much for the sake of individual prestige as for the public good. Amphion may be going somewhat beyond his brother’s position (a possible implication of the plural αἰνεῖτε), but Zethus left the way open for him to make this insinuation without implausible distortion.

Amphion, Zethus, and Quietism

Alongside its imputation of selfish motives to the man who takes risks, the speech of Amphion just quoted advances the positive claim that “the quiet man” is a reliable friend to his friends and best in or for the city (194.1–2):

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9 Contrast the ideals of *service* espoused by Prodicus apud Xen. *Mem*. 2.1.28, Socrates apud Xen. *Mem*. 3.7.9, and of course Pericles in the Thucydidean Funeral Oration, especially Thuc. 2.40.2 (the last a direct influence on, for example, Carter’s view of Zethus [Carter 1986: 172]).

> ὁ δ' ἥσυχος φίλοισί τ' ἀσφαλὴς φίλος
> πόλει τ' ἄριστος.
>
> The quiet man is a sure friend for friends, and best for a city.
> (Eur. *Ant.* 194.1–2 LCL)

As is well known, ἥσυχος is part of the self-definition of those late fifth-century Athenians modern scholars call "quietists." Other such words are ἀπράγμων and ἀπραγμοσύνη, which are opposed to πολυπραγμοσύνη, πολλὰ πράττειν, and the like. Quietists frequently oppose the ills of public life to private pleasure (whether seen in positive terms or merely as the absence of those ills). Such ideas are evoked at several points in Amphion's speech, and they have been much studied.[10] The highest concentration of loaded language comes in 193:

> ὅστις δὲ πράσσει πολλὰ μὴ πράσσειν παρόν,
> μῶρος, παρὸν ζῆν ἡδέως ἀπράγμονα.
>
> Whoever is very active when he may be inactive, is a fool, when he may live pleasurably without activity. (Eur. *Ant.* 193 LCL)

The association of pleasure with Amphion's musical activity in other fragments (Eur. *Ant.* 187.3, 6; 196.5) makes it tempting to conclude that he here opposes public and private spheres and proclaims his choice to avoid the former altogether, if possible. But he elsewhere (200) claims that cities are well governed by judgment (γνῶμαι or γνώμη), presumed to result from his pursuits (perhaps "wisdom poetry," music combined with philosophy).[11] In 193, then, he expresses either a private ideal in unresolved tension with this potential for public service or a different quietist value, say, political moderation. The situation is similar with our earlier example, ὁ ἥσυχος in 194. Nothing prevents seeing this quiet man in a primarily private light; alternatively, he could be the active moderate who restrains selfish adventurers. In 202, Amphion wishes to sing and say something wise, avoiding political turmoil:

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[10] Besides commentaries on *Antiope*, see, e.g., Collard on *Supp.* 577, Dunbar on Ar. *Av.* 44, Gomme and Hornblower on Thuc. 1.70.8 and (along with Rusten) on 2.63.2–3, Carter 1986 (163–173 on *Antiope*), Demont 1990 (168–174 on *Antiope*), Podlecki 1991 and 1996, and Olson 1991.

[11] The first two lines of 200 present the strongest claim that Amphion's ideal type is fit to govern; elsewhere, he is said to be best for the city (194.2), or it is merely implied that he is a better citizen than Zethus (201). Haffner 2001: 258–260 notes that 200.1–2 and 3–4 are treated as separate fragments in the manuscript of Orion's anthology and suggests that 1–2 may not belong to Amphion at all.

> ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἄιδοιμι καὶ λέγοιμί τι
> σοφόν, ταράσσων μηδὲν ὧν πόλις νοσεῖ.
>
> No, rather may I myself sing and say something wise,
> without stirring up any of the city's ills. (Eur. *Ant.* 202 LCL)

Again we can see him as apolitical, or as aspiring to benefit the city without becoming embroiled in factional conflict.

In other words, Amphion himself having evoked the extremes of private, apolitical indulgence and wise leadership (or at least advisorship), the mere occurrence of quietist buzz-words does not establish him as any one kind of ἀπράγμων. Indeed, when we look to contemporary sources for varieties known to Euripides' audience, we find not just these extremes but intermediate and composite types. Without going into detail unnecessary for present purposes, we may think of those represented by, say, Nicias (active in public life, less aggressive than his opponents in foreign policy), Antiphon (disaffected under full popular sovereignty and thus inactive by choice, except quasi-privately on behalf of friends, until revolution offers new possibilities), Crito (supposedly minding his own business, with no particular aesthetic or philosophical pretensions), and Socrates (contemplative/philosophical and not eager for public life at all, though willing to claim that only he is "political" in the truest sense because he makes himself and his associates better).[12] These represent quite a range, and we have little reason to assimilate Amphion to just one type (which would require explaining away some

[12] On Nicias, see, e.g., Thuc. 5.16.1, Carter 1986: 99–106. On Antiphon, Thuc. 8.68. On Crito, Xen. *Mem.* 2.9, Carter 1986: 111–112 (to be read along with the rather harsher analysis of Osborne 1990: 96–98). Xenophon's Ischomachus wishes to mind his own business but makes sure he is ready to speak in court if necessary (Xen.*Oec.* 11.21–25). Xenophon himself, to whom Carter compares Zethus (1986: 171), makes an interesting case study: clearly very much in sympathy with minding one's own business, he also seeks military adventure abroad and has aesthetic and philosophical ambitions; he is hardly conspicuous for service to Athens. Perhaps his example merely reminds us that categorizing individuals inevitably results in oversimplification. We should not forget a type sometimes neglected by élite sources, the anonymous working man or small-holder who tries to mind his own business *without* benefit of the resources available to a wealthy Crito or Xenophon. There is much praise for this type in Aristophanes and Euripides (surveyed by Carter 1986: 76–98); cf. Thucydides' phrase in the Periclean Funeral Oration, ἑτέροις πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις (Thuc. 2.40.2, as interpreted in Rusten's commentary *ad loc.* and in Rusten 1985), where such men are represented ideally as at least able to judge what is in the city's interest. For a typology of quietists according to character rather than activity, see Goossens 1962: 496–497.

part of what he says).[13] Fortunately, scholars no longer feel that it is necessary or desirable to achieve one-to-one correspondence between tragic creations (characters, speeches, or even passing allusions) and the political realities with which they resonate.[14]

The important corollary for this study is that Zethus is not by implication a particular kind of "activist" opposed to Amphion the "quietist." On the contrary, once we minimize or eliminate his supposed public-spiritedness, we are free to entertain the rather different associations he may have provoked in Euripides' audience. His concern for money (Eur. *Ant.* 183.2, 187, 188.6) need be no more than sound household management, and of course there is no way of specifying just how much of it he has, but if he is rich (cf. Amphion at 198.1) and advocates getting richer (as implied by Amphion's 194, which needn't of course be fair), he opens himself to traditional criticisms of acquisitiveness. One of these, as we find it in Euripides (*Supp.* 238–239), is precisely that the acquisitive rich are *useless*.[15] Zethus' preoccupation with "(noble) nature" (185, 186, 187.5) sounds the aristocrat's favorite theme; his mistrust of τέχνη (186) is likewise compatible with snobbery. He clearly values manliness and physical strength. No doubt people of all classes did, but Amphion's reply in 201 (which again needn't be fair) suggests the cult of athleticism traditionally associated with the aristocracy. If Zethus appeared as a hunter (as many infer from Hor. *Epist.* 1.18.39–43), he was engaged in another traditionally aristocratic pursuit. We saw earlier that Zethus believes in being useful to one's friends (187.5). Again, the ideal need not carry class overtones, but it is obvious that private friendships can conflict with the interests of the state. Without mentioning the state, 220 recognizes the harm that often results from yielding to φίλοι against the

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13 Thus for Carter (1986: 172), Amphion most closely resembles the Nician type, while Slings both sees him as aspiring to the role of "wise counselor," which in the poetic tradition Slings invokes does not co-exist with "decision-maker," and compares his position to that of the Platonic Socrates (Slings 1991). Slings acknowledges at the outset that the fragments "do not yield a clear-cut picture of the quiet life" (1991: 141). So also Podlecki 1996, who calls for more research into the vocabulary of quietism.

14 On this subject, several of the contributors to Pelling, ed. 1997 find a happy medium between the excesses of such earlier scholars as Delebecque 1951 and Goossens 1962 and the overreactions these provoked (starting with Zuntz 1955).

15 Those at whom the commonplace criticism of greed is aimed (e.g., Eur. *Heracl.* 3–4, *Ixion* fr. 425, fr. 886 = Ar. *Ran.* 1427–1429) are not necessarily already rich. In drama, the most frequent criticism of the rich is that they are foolish (*Archelaus* fr. 235, *Polyidus* fr. 641, *Phaethon* fr. 776 with Diggle's note [on his line 165]).

dictates of γνώμη.[16] Finally, Zethus observes in 184 that each man exerts himself and is "brilliant" (λαμπρός) in the activity in which he is at his best. Brilliance often suggests political eminence, but that possible connotation is eclipsed here by the fact that the existence of various fields of exertion is the very thing under discussion.[17] What remains is the value placed on excellence and effort, perhaps with aristocratic overtones.

As several of these examples show, traditional values are not the exclusive preserve of traditional élites. I would not argue on such evidence that Zethus comes across as a dangerous oligarch. My concern throughout has been rather to show that both he and Amphion express complementary ideals, neither of which, in the partial and undeveloped form in which it is presented and exemplified by the inexperienced young men, is conspicuously beneficial to the polis. The élite orientation of both ideals should come as no surprise (which is not to say that its meaning for an Athenian audience is easy to interpret). I shall argue elsewhere that they were presented in a balanced and essentially optimistic form that fits very well with what we know of Euripides' tragic production during the Archidamian War.

[16] 220 is transmitted by Stobaeus without speaker assignment. If it belongs in the debate at all, its significance for my argument is about the same whether the speaker is Zethus or Amphion: γνώμη (Amphion's prized competence) is pitted against the influence of friends (to which, by implication, Zethus is susceptible).

[17] Note λαμπρός of athletes in *Autolycus* fr. 282 (which has points of contact with Amphion's fr. 201). On the political connotations, see Carter 1986: 13–14 (where *Antiope* is not mentioned). Kambitsis's argument for the different meaning "vigorous" may be correct.

A FATHER'S CURSE IN EURIPIDES' *HIPPOLYTUS*[1]

Justina Gregory

The penalties that Theseus imposes on his son in the third episode of *Hippolytus* comprise an uncharacteristic rough spot in an otherwise polished play. Theseus arrives back in Trozen to find his wife a suicide, an accusatory tablet dangling from her wrist. No sooner has he absorbed the tablet's message than he calls on his father Poseidon, reminding the god of the three wishes he once promised him and asking Poseidon to destroy Hippolytus on that very day, "if indeed you granted me reliable curses" (890). When the members of the chorus implore Theseus to rescind his words, the king not only denies their request but also appends a further sanction. He banishes his son from Trozen—a sentence he can pronounce on the spot and without recourse to divine aid—to ensure that "of two fates [Hippolytus] will be struck by one" (894).

Each of these punishments poses its own difficulties, and together they create a redundancy (Herter 1940: 290) that is arguably associated with the process of revision. While certainty about the contents of the first *Hippolytus* is beyond our reach, the most plausible reconstruction will conform to the pattern of revision identified in antiquity by Aristophanes of Byzantium, a sophisticated literary critic who was in a position to read and compare both versions.[2] In what follows I suggest that while Theseus undoubtedly cursed his son in the first version of the play, his exclusive appeal to Poseidon is a feature of the revision, designed to displace onto the god some of the responsibility for Hippolytus' death. The motif of the

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[1] For Martin Cropp, in gratitude for all he has taught us about the lost tragedies of ancient Greece.

[2] By "the first *Hippolytus*" I mean the tragedy traditionally referred to as *Hippolytus Kaluptomenos*. In light of fr. B. 3–5 of the Michigan papyrus, which on Luppe's interpretation (1994: 28–29) mentions the veiling or concealment of somebody other than Hippolytus, that designation now appears doubtful. Gibert 1997 questions the order traditionally assigned to Euripides' two treatments of the Hippolytus myth and suggests that the extant *Hippolytus* may have preceded the lost version. His discussion (taken further by Hutchinson 2004) is designed to refute the notion that Euripides' principal purpose in revision was to improve Phaedra's moral character. I argue, in contrast, that Aristophanes of Byzantium's comment on the principal difference between the two plays can accommodate a different interpretation.

three wishes I regard as a second addition consequent on the first that serves to deflect blame from the god, in turn, for killing his grandson. The sentence of exile may have been another second-version innovation, affording Theseus a punishment that is temperate as well as "humanly comprehensible and rationally intelligible" (Segal 1972: 173). Despite the difficulties of integration that these additions entail, ultimately they enrich the play. They lay the groundwork for the climactic messenger speech and reinforce the structural symmetry that is one of the most striking features of the extant *Hippolytus*.

In his discussion of ancestral curses West distinguishes between elements that are fundamental to a myth and "secondary elaborations" that "enhance … the story but [are] not essential to it."[3] Phaedra's god-sent[4] passion for Hippolytus, her false accusation of her stepson, and the curse laid on him by Theseus presumably constituted the unalterable core of the Hippolytus myth; Phaedra's response to that passion, her method of implicating Hippolytus, and the form of Theseus' curse fit the category of secondary elaborations. These would have been among the elements that Euripides felt free to vary as he reworked the play. The most significant variation between the two versions is summed up by Aristophanes of Byzantium's statement in the hypothesis to the existing tragedy that in the revision "what was unseemly and deserving of condemnation has been corrected" (τὸ … ἀπρεπὲς καὶ κατηγορίας ἄξιον … διώρθωται, 29–30).[5] This statement, based as it is on Aristophanes' personal comparison of the two texts, will prove more informative about the first version than the tattered hypothesis or the largely gnomic[6] fragments of that play, provided we take into account the full range of its implications.

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[3] West 1999: 33. Plutarch is referring to the same mythical core when he speaks of the *dustuchiai* of Phaedra and Hippolytus that have been represented by all the tragedians (*Theseus* 28.2).

[4] Cf. the reference to to θεήλατοι κακοί at Eur. fr. 680.2 K (from the first *Hippolytus*) and to νόσοι θεήλατοι at Soph. fr. 680.3 R (from *Phaedra*).

[5] Although Gibert recognizes that Aristophanes was in a position to compare the two plays, his discussion (1997: 92) of lines 25–30 of the hypothesis risks leaving the impression, by its references to "the extant play" and to "the lost one," that "the lost one" was also lost to Aristophanes. Moreover, when he writes that Aristophanes "concluded that the extant play corrected the lost one," he does not acknowledge that Aristophanes is more concerned (as the perfect tense διώρθωται indicates) to contrast the tone of the two plays on the basis of his own perusal than to identify Euripides's motives for revision.

[6] Jouan 2002: 226–227 notes that sixteen of the twenty-one fragments are gnomic in character.

Aristophanes' statement has traditionally been interpreted as applying exclusively to Phaedra, and a scholarly consensus has taken hold that in revising the play Euripides improved his heroine's moral character by making her resist her illicit passion instead of acting upon it, and by having the nurse rather than the stricken queen approach Hippolytus with a sexual proposition.[7] Müller has suggested, however, that the statement should also be understood as relevant to Theseus, whose portrayal in the first *Hippolytus* was hardly calculated to please the Athenian public.[8] This is an attractive proposal, not least because the evaluative term *aprepes* as employed by ancient commentators is not limited to what is sexually inappropriate, but refers to any speech or conduct that is unsuitable or out of character.[9] Müller lists the following items as tending to redeem the king's reputation in the second version of *Hippolytus*: as the play begins Theseus is absent on a respectable *theôria* (cf. 792), not off on a rackety adventure in Hades;[10] he is persuaded of his wife's good faith by the solemn evidence of her suicide, not embarrassingly duped by a Phaedra who is alive and well; ultimately he falls victim to the machinations of the gods, not of human beings (1984: 24). Although Müller does not consider how Theseus' punishment of his son might have changed between the two versions, his proposal invites reconsideration of that aspect of the second *Hippolytus* as well.

The "three wishes" granted to Theseus by Poseidon (although in this context it is more accurate to speak of "three curses")[11] have attracted their share of critical attention, but scholars have generally been so preoccupied by the numerical aspect of the motif that they have failed to consider its function in context. The scholiast set the tone for subsequent

[7] See Barrett 1964: 30–31. While Gibert 1997: 92 n. 29 cautions that the notion of "unseemliness" does not necessarily apply to Phaedra, he does not consider the possibility that it could apply to another character besides Phaedra.

[8] Müller 1984: 24, referenced by Kannicht 2004: 460. Mills 1997: 188 comes close to this position: "[T]he characterization of Theseus in the second *Hippolytus* may be read … as a reinvention of a plot already dramatized by Euripides which 'rehabilitates' him (and also Phaedra) as far as it can." She does not, however, relate her observation to Aristophanes' statement.

[9] For example, the scholion on Soph. *Aj*. 1350 considers it *aprepes* for Agamemnon to agree that tyrants are unjust, and the scholion on Eur. *Phoen*. 1566 deems it *aprepes* for Oedipus to refer to Jocasta as his "wife" rather than his "mother."

[10] Müller assumes Theseus' absence in Hades by analogy to the versions of Seneca and Sophocles; but cf. Barrett's caution (1964: 32): "Where Theseus was in the first *Hipp*. (if he was away at all) we simply do not know."

[11] See Barrett 1964: 166.

discussion by asserting that Theseus had already used up two of his *arai*—the first to return from Hades, the second to escape from the labyrinth—so that the curse on Hippolytus was his third and last.[12] Wilamowitz (1880: 483) speculated that Euripides invented the three curses as a means of connecting a trilogy consisting of *Aegeus, Theseus*, and *Hippolytus I*. Although his theory failed to gain traction, scholars continued to occupy themselves with the numerical sequence of the three curses.

Kakridis (1928: 22–23) canvassed the numerical issue with great thoroughness, asking why, if Theseus still has two *arai* remaining, he does not use one of them later on to revoke his ill-considered prayer for his son's destruction, and conversely why, if Theseus has taken advantage of Poseidon's curses on earlier occasions, he is so doubtful of their efficacy on this occasion that he adds the sentence of exile. Because Kakridis' solution to these questions was not persuasive,[13] critics have tended to scant his more solid contributions: he demonstrates (1928: 24–28) that since the three curses are attested nowhere else in the mythical tradition concerning Theseus, the scholiast's assertion is likely to be mere guesswork, and he suggests (1928: 31) that Poseidon's gift was invented by Euripides for the second version of *Hippolytus*. Barrett, however, states categorically that Euripides "inherits a legend that Pos[eidon] promised Th[eseus] to fulfill three prayers," (1964: 166) even though he acknowledges elsewhere (1964: 40) that "we do not meet them in any other account which we possess either of the escape from the labyrinth … or of the escape from Hades." Barrett aims to dispose of the numerical problems associated with the three curses by arguing both that Theseus is drawing on Poseidon's gift for the first time and that "one curse cannot revoke another" (1964: 166). Although Barrett's first point is persuasive, his second one is not: Theseus, after all, has no sooner issued his curse than the members of the chorus implore him to retract it (ἄναξ, ἀπεύχου ταῦτα πρὸς θεῶν πάλιν, 891). However that may be, the numerical issue is not likely to have troubled Euripides. Three is a fine resonant number, one that Euripides uses in this play (1213, 1403–1404) as well as elsewhere (e.g., *Alc*. 1146) to dramatic effect but with little underlying significance. Nor is the numerical issue likely to trouble an audience caught up in the

[12] Schol. 46, 888, and 1349.

[13] In his view (1924: 30), μιᾷ at 888 signifies that Theseus is encompassing all three curses in one, and 1315–1317 should be deleted as an interpolation.

dramatic moment. As the spectators watch Phaedra's ruse play itself out, they probably will not pause to calculate how many curses remain at the king's disposal.

Without worrying about its numerical implications, the spectators might still be surprised that the curse fades so quickly from view. Theseus makes no mention of his request to Poseidon during his angry confrontation with Hippolytus. When he is subsequently informed by the messenger that Hippolytus is close to death, he does not at first connect the news to the curse. Instead he wonders aloud who is responsible: could it have been another wronged husband (1164–1165)? It is the messenger who reminds him of the ἀραί ... τοῦ σοῦ στόματος, ἃς σὺ τῷ σῷ πατρὶ / πόντου κρέοντι παιδὸς ἠράσω πέρι ("the curses issuing from your mouth which you delivered against your son to your father, lord of the sea," Eur. *Hipp.* 1167–1168 LCL).[14] The motif of Poseidon's gift appears to have only shallow roots in the action, and this circumstance supports Kakridis' idea that it was a later addition.

The sentence of exile that Theseus pronounces on his son is problematic in a different way. Although (as Barrett notes, 1964: 41) it is a focal point of the *agôn*, it seems an inadequate punishment for the crime Theseus believes his son to have committed. By way of comparison we may consider Amyntor's punishment of his son Phoenix as recounted by both Homer and Euripides. Faced with the lesser provocation of a son who (as he believes) has slept not with his wife but with his slave, Amyntor in both versions of the myth takes more drastic measures than Theseus does here: in Homer's treatment he curses Phoenix to be forever without issue (Hom. *Il.* 9.454–456) and in Euripides' he orders his slaves to put out his son's eyes with hot irons (fr. 815). During the *agôn* of our play Hippolytus himself observes that in Theseus' place he would have killed his son rather than exiled him, to which Theseus offers the lame response that death would be the easy way out (1041–1047). There is a discrepancy between that explanation and Theseus' earlier appeal to Poseidon, and an additional discrepancy between these lines and Hippolytus' subsequent observation that after reading Phaedra's letter his father would have killed him even without Poseidon's "bitter gifts" (1411), so angry was he at the time (1413).

Like the motif of the three curses, the sentence of exile is not deeply rooted in the action, and it too has been tentatively identified as a feature

[14] For the oddity of Theseus' apparent forgetfulness see Kakridis 1928: 27 n. 1, Norwood 1954: 88, and Segal 1972: 174.

of the revision. It is necessary for Hippolytus to depart from Trozen by chariot in order to set up his fatal accident, and fr. 442 ("rushing off straightway to the stable") confirms that he did so in the first version as well as the second. It is not necessary, however, for Hippolytus to depart because he has been banished by Theseus. Halleran suggests that in the first version "Hippolytus might have also been banished with exile, but his departure could equally be an (understandable) response to his father's curse."[15] Indeed, an analogous sequence of events is attested in the *Iliad*. Amyntor does not banish his son after he discovers that he has slept with his concubine; instead, Phoenix is kept a virtual prisoner by well-meaning relatives who presumably hope to smooth over the quarrel between father and son. Phoenix evades the guard set over him, however, and flees the country to put distance between himself and his enraged father (*Il.* 9. 462–480). That Homer's Phoenix goes voluntarily into exile adds credence to the notion that Hippolytus might have done the same in the first version of the play.

Although some scholars concede that the three curses and the sentence of exile may have been second-version innovations, it is usually taken for granted that Poseidon played an identical role in both plays.[16] The assumption seems to be that Theseus would otherwise have lacked the authority to curse his son. Knox, for example, explains that Theseus' curse "is not ordinary speech. By the gift conferred on him by his father Poseidon he can speak, in certain circumstances, with a power that is reserved for gods alone—his wish, expressed in speech, becomes fact. In his mouth, at this moment, speech has the power of life and death" (1952:14). But does Theseus really require a special gift from Poseidon for his curse to acquire the authority of a speech act?

The only hint that Poseidon may have played the same role in *Hippolytus I* as in *Hippolytus II* has no independent evidential value, for it is the product of frankly analogical reasoning.[17] A paleographically uncertain

[15] Halleran 1995: 27; cf. Jouan 1989–1990: 201.

[16] J.A.S. is the exception, but his thesis is perverse. In his view, the play's message is that "circumstances alter cases" (1919: 12); i.e., it is a plea for relativism. Euripides wanted to convey to the audience that Hippolytus ought to have broken his promise to the nurse, and he added Poseidon to the second version of the play to reinforce his message: the god, the audience is supposed to conclude, should have broken his promise to Theseus as well. For the curses as Euripides' invention see now Kohn 2008.

[17] I leave out of consideration the later poetic and mythographic accounts of the Hippolytus story (for which see Barrett 1964: 26–29, Kannicht 2004: 463–466). Each of these accounts presents an amalgam of different versions of the myth, and it is not possible to trace their elements to a specific source.

reading—either -ονι or -ωνι—is found in Fragment C. 7 of the lacunose papyrus hypothesis to the play.[18] Whereas Schwendner, the first editor of the fragment, reads -ονι, Luppe reads -ωνι and posits a reference to curses validated by Poseidon on the model, as he explains, of the hypothesis to the second version.[19] But before we read Poseidon's gift back into the first version by analogy to the second, we need to consider the general mechanism of parental curses. There are, after all, more obvious gods than Poseidon for an outraged parent to appeal to, as several passages from Homer attest. After Phoenix has had intercourse with his father's slave, his father prays to the Erinyes to make his son sterile, and θεοὶ δ' ἐτέλειον ἐπαράς, / Ζεύς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια ("the gods accomplished his curses, both Zeus beneath the earth and august Persephone," Hom. *Il.* 9.456–457). In the story of Meleager and his mother the same chthonic deities play a role, but this time the gods invoked by the wronged parent and the gods who answer the prayer are reversed: Meleager's mother asks Hades and Persephone to bring about her son's death, and τῆς δ' ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐρινὺς / ἔκλυεν ἐξ Ἐρέβεσφιν ("the Erinys who walks in darkness hearkened to her from Erebos," Hom. *Il.* 9.571–572). During the assembly in *Odyssey* 2 Telemachus explains to Antinoös why he cannot send Penelope back to her father's house: if he expels his mother against her will, στυγερὰς ἀρήσετ' ἐρινῦς / οἴκου ἀπερχομένη ("she will call down her hateful Erinyes as she quits the house," Hom. *Od.* 2.135–136).[20]

Parker (1983: 196) explains that "such curses are, in the epic, administered by the Erinyes, who are the guardians of the structure of family authority .... It is as 'curses' that they describe themselves when formally asked their identity by Athena in Aeschylus."[21] In a sense the Erinyes and parental curses are one and the same[22]—and as Parker's own

[18] Kannicht (2004: 462) prefers–ωνι, but places a dot beneath the vowel to mark its uncertain status.

[19] Luppe 1994: 33. L. 20 of the hypothesis to the second version states: αὐτὸς [i.e., Theseus] δὲ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἀρὰς ἔθετο. The sense of the dative is not obvious: Méridier 1973:26 translates, "lui-même addressa à Poseidon des imprécations," whereas Halleran 1995: 63 offers, "[Theseus] invoked curses in Poseidon's name."

[20] Cf. Hom. *Il.* 21.412–413, *Od.*11.279–280.

[21] The reference is to Aesch., *Eum.* 416–417.

[22] Cf. West 1999, 32: "The Erinys is the divine agent of vengeance who can be summoned in aid ... while the curse is the direct evocation of punishment for the wrongdoer. The two concepts are readily combined, so that the Erinys is thought of as the agent who brings the curse to fulfilment." Cf. also Hutchinson 1985: 53 (on Aesch. *Sept.* 70 f.) and 163 (on Aesch. *Sept.* 722), and Jebb 1892: 178 (on Soph. *Trach.* 1239–1240).

evidence illustrates, this notion is not confined to epic. When in *Oedipus at Colonus* Polyneices implores his father to "let go [his] heavy anger" (Soph. *OC* 1328), Oedipus responds like Theseus in the second *Hippolytus* when asked to rescind his angry words: he does the opposite of what his interlocutor has requested, reiterating the curses he has issued in the past and adding even more powerful imprecations (Soph. *OC* 1372–1388). Oedipus concludes by calling on "the hateful paternal darkness of Tartarus," on the Erinyes, and on "Ares, who launched this terrible enmity" between his two sons (Soph. *OC* 1389–1392). As in Homer, the chthonic deities are asked to validate Oedipus' parental curse; Oedipus also invokes Ares, one of the Olympian gods, since the fraternal strife falls within his purview. Polyneices does not contest his fate which, as he recognizes, has been "made doomed and evil by my father and his Erinyes" (Soph. *OC* 1434). Neither the curser nor the cursed harbors any doubts about the source of Oedipus' authority.

Does Oedipus have the ability to curse his sons so effectively because he is a cult hero in the making who already commands the special powers that will be his after death?[23] According to Plato, *any* wrathful parent can count on an attentive hearing from the gods. In Book XI of the *Laws* the Athenian stranger discusses regulations pertaining to the family. He emphasizes the duty children owe their parents and illustrates the power of parental anger by means of three mythological examples: Oedipus and his sons, Amyntor and Phoenix, and Theseus and Hippolytus:

> Οἰδίπους, φαμέν, ἀτιμασθεὶς ἐπεύξατο τοῖς αὑτοῦ τέκνοις ἃ δὴ καὶ πᾶς ὑμνεῖ τέλεα καὶ ἐπήκοα γενέσθαι παρὰ θεῶν, Ἀμύντορά τε Φοίνικι τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπαράσασθαι παιδὶ θυμωθέντα καὶ Ἱππολύτῳ Θησέα καὶ ἑτέρους ἄλλοις μυρίους μυρίοις, ὧν γέγονε σαφὲς ἐπηκόους εἶναι γονεῦσι πρὸς τέκνα θεούς· ἀραῖος γὰρ γονεὺς ἐκγόνοις ὡς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος ἄλλοις, δικαιότατα.
>
> Our myths tell how Oedipus when deprived of his rights called down curses upon his sons, curses that everyone agrees were heeded and brought to pass by the gods. Our myths also tell how Amyntor cursed his son Phoenix in anger, and Theseus cursed Hippolytus, and many other parents cursed many other sons. From these examples it is clear that the gods pay heed to [the prayers of] parents against their children; for a parent who curses his children is uniquely efficacious, and with every justification.
>
> (Plat. *Leg.* 931b–c)

[23] Cf. Edmunds 1981: 229: "[I]n *Oedipus Coloneus*, Sophocles' characterization of Oedipus is proleptic: Oedipus is already the chthonic hero he will become."

Plato's discussion makes it clear that Theseus did not require Poseidon's special gift of three *arai* in order to lay a potent curse upon his son; he needed only to invoke his paternal Erinyes. It is possible that in the first *Hippolytus* Theseus, like Oedipus in *Oedipus at Colonus*, appealed both to the chthonic deities and to one of the Olympian gods—not Ares in this case, but his father Poseidon. If his curse took such a form, it would not have been impetuously blurted out as in the second *Hippolytus*, but delivered with as much weight and deliberation as Oedipus' in *Oedipus at Colonus*. And just as in that play, such words must have struck the spectators as a violation of parent-child *philia*; for even if all parents had the power to curse their children, few (despite Plato's claim) actually did so. As Mills remarks (1997: 214), "[T]he shock for the Athenian public of seeing a father wish his son dead should not be underestimated." In *Oedipus at Colonus* Antigone pleads with her father to grant Polyneices a hearing (Soph. *OC* 1189–1192): "You engendered him, so that even if he has committed the most impious of wicked crimes, it is not right for you, father, to do him evil in return. Show him *aidôs*!" It is likely that most spectators would have agreed with her words, which have the ring of received wisdom.

Although Oedipus ultimately rejects Antigone's advice and retaliates against his son with all the energy at his command, his justification is that Polyneices has flagrantly and repeatedly flouted his filial obligations.[24] Theseus, in contrast, curses Hippolytus on the basis of inadequate and erroneous information, as the audience knows from the outset and as the chorus (Eur. *Hipp*. 892), Hippolytus (1055–1056), the messenger (1249–1254), and Artemis (1320–1324) all remind him in turn. Moreover, Theseus is not just any father, but the Athenians' "ancestor and role model," the king who "normally personifie[d] an idealized image of Athens" (Mills 1997: 186). If in the first *Hippolytus* Theseus cursed the innocent Hippolytus by appealing to his paternal Erinyes, his words might have disconcerted the spectators as much as or even more than the characterization of Phaedra as a *pornê* (cf. Ar. *Ran*. 1043), and their shocked reaction might have played a role in Euripides' decision to revise the play.

Both the placement and the wording of the references to Poseidon's gift lend support to the hypothesis that Euripides altered Theseus' curse

[24] Cf. Soph. *OC* 427–430, 442–444, 1354–1364 and Winnington-Ingram 1954: 23: "Oedipus' curse was roughly just and wholly effective."

in revision. Apart from the third episode, the most prominent allusions to Poseidon's *arai* occur at the beginning and end of the play (43–46, 1315–1317). These are prime sites for revision, as every author knows, since they draw a reader's or spectator's attention without affecting internal structure. The hypothesis of revision would also account for Theseus's exclamation upon hearing of Hippolytus's fatal accident—ὦ θεοὶ Πόσειδόν θ' ("O gods and Poseidon," Eur. *Hipp.* 1169)—as retained from a first version in which, as I have suggested, Theseus appealed both to the chthonic gods and to Poseidon to destroy his son. It seems less awkward to construe ὦ θεοί as making specific reference to deities invoked earlier in the play than to interpret the words, with Barrett, as a conventional exclamation of "strong emotion" followed by "a slight pause before [Theseus] invokes Poseidon."[25]

If Euripides did alter the form of the curse in the second *Hippolytus*, it enabled him to put a more positive stamp on Theseus' conduct. Not only does Theseus not curse his son directly, but even as he makes his request to Poseidon he reveals that he is uncertain of its efficacy (890). It is thus not entirely clear that he desires to see his words translated into action.[26] And even if Theseus wholeheartedly intends his curse at the moment he utters it, there is no doubt that it quickly vanishes from his mind. During the *agôn*, as we have seen, Theseus makes no mention of his impulsive wish, concentrating on the secular—and far less drastic—punishment of exile.

That emphasis on a secular as opposed to a divine punishment is a feature of the revision may appear more plausible if we compare the modification introduced by Euripides into the story of Phoenix. As we have seen, in Homer's version Phoenix's father invokes the Erinyes to curse his son with sterility, whereas in Euripides' the father substitutes a human punishment and orders his son blinded.[27] Euripides is presumably not

[25] Barrett 1964: 378. By way of a parallel Barrett cites Eur. *El.* 771 (ὦ θεοί, Δίκη τε πάνθ' ὁρῶς', ἦλθές ποτε)—but Electra's ὦ θεοί seems less a conventional expression than a reference to the specific gods whose help Agamemnon's children had previously requested (Zeus and Hera at 671–674, Gaia at 678).

[26] Cf. Norwood 1954, 88–89: "Theseus must be acquitted of intending his son's death . . . In his first dazed horror he breaks forth into the curse, but at once begins to forget it, because it was a cry of agony, not a judicial sentence."

[27] The earliest reference to Phoenix's blinding is Ar. *Ach.* 421–422; cf. also Men. *Sam.* 498–500. Euripides introduces an even more consequential change when he portrays Phoenix as the innocent victim (like Hippolytus) of a scheming woman. For discussion see Papamichael 1982: 218–219.

free to eliminate the father's curse in the second *Hippolytus*, as he does in *Phoenix*, because it is "essential," in West's sense, to the myth. What he can do is downplay it, and he does.

Toward the end of the play the curse comes to the fore (Eur. *Hipp*. 1167, 1241, 1315–1317, 1324, 1362, 1378, 1411), but as the messenger recounts Hippolytus' fatal accident he introduces additional factors that oblige the audience continually to reassess who or what was responsible for Hippolytus' death.[28] The proximate cause is the reins, which fatally entangle the driver. But the reins entangle him because the horses have bolted, so the horses bear some responsibility as well (cf. 1240–1241). Yet the bull from the sea causes the horses to bolt, so the bull is ultimately to blame. But the bull is Poseidon's creature, and the god's role in the destruction of Hippolytus is thereby reaffirmed.

This development, however, presents its own difficulties, for Poseidon cannot be portrayed as willingly killing his own grandson. Here is where the motif of the three curses comes in useful. As Artemis points out to Theseus (1319–1320), Poseidon "granted only as much as he had to, since he [had] assented, but you appear wicked both in his estimation and in mine." Because of his promised gift of three curses, Poseidon has no choice but to grant Theseus' request, but no blame can accrue to the god for engineering the death of his grandson. And as Artemis emphasizes, there is no question of his approving it.[29]

That Euripides is conscious of the risks of shifting the blame for Hippolytus' death from mortal father to divine grandfather can be seen by how carefully he handles the wording of Theseus' address to Poseidon. Upon hearing the messenger's report, Theseus exclaims: ὦ θεοὶ Πόσειδόν θ'· ὡς ἄρ' ἦσθ' ἐμὸς πατὴρ / ὀρθῶς, ἀκούσας τῶν ἐμῶν κατευγμάτων ("O gods and Poseidon: how truly indeed you are my father, since you listened to my prayers!" Eur. *Hipp*. 1169–1170). Griffith (1978: 85) has shown that Theseus' words are "a variation on the figure of *etymologia*." This figure first occurs in *Odyssey* 9, when the Cyclops asks Poseidon to take vengeance on Odysseus: εἰ ἐτεόν γε σός εἰμι, πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς εὔχεαι εἶναι / δὸς μὴ Ὀδυσσῆα πτολιπόρθιον

[28] For fifth-century interest in issues of criminal responsibility, cf. Antiphon's Second Tetralogy and Plutarch's story (*Per*. 36.3) that when a man was accidentally killed by a javelin, Pericles and Protagoras spent a day debating whether the javelin, the man who threw the javelin, or the supervisors should be considered at fault.

[29] Kakridis 1928: 29–30 compares Poseidon's situation to that of Helios in Euripides' *Phaethon*, who also reluctantly honors his offer of a wish with consequences that prove fatal for his family.

οἴκαδ' ἱκέσθαι ("If I am truly your son, and you claim to be my father, then grant that Odysseus, sacker of cities, not come home," Hom. *Od.* 9.528–530). The Cyclops challenges Poseidon prospectively to justify the designation of "father" by granting his son's request. The same figure (associated, moreover, with the concept of a parental curse) can be found at Soph. *Trach.* 1200–1202, although there the burden of proving his lineage falls on the son. In an alternative form of the rhetorical figure, a father's failure to live up to his name by honoring his son's request is decried retrospectively in an "imperfect of a truth just recognized" (Smyth § 1902). Thus Admetus tells Pheres that οὐκ ἦσθ' ἄρ' ὀρθῶς τοῦδε σώματος πατήρ ("it turns out that you are not truly my father," Eur. *Alc.* 636) because ἔδειξας εἰς ἔλεγχον ἐξελθὼν ὃς εἶ ("when tested you revealed who you are," Eur. *Alc.* 640); in Admetus' opinion, Pheres showed himself to be no true father when he refused his son's request.

In *Hippolytus* Euripides fuses the prospective and retrospective forms of the figure of etymology. Theseus does not initially describe his request as a test of Poseidon's paternity; he asks Poseidon to kill Hippolytus "if you granted me sure curses," (Eur. *Hipp.* 890), not "if you are truly my father." It is only in retrospect, after his request has succeeded, that in an "imperfect of a truth just recognized" he equates Poseidon's fulfillment of the curse with a validation of his paternity. The reason for this somewhat awkward variation is clear: Theseus cannot say to Poseidon, "If you are truly my father, then kill your grandson," because such a formulation would cast too harsh a light on petitioner and petitioned alike.

Although the issue of Theseus' culpability for his son's death is never fully resolved, the ending of the play goes some considerable way to clear him. Artemis begins harshly by accusing Theseus of "killing" his son (ἀπόκτεινας, 1287), but subsequently indicts him of lesser crimes. She castigates him for directing at his son a curse that could have been used against an *echthros* (Eur. *Hipp.* 1316–1317) and deplores his rush to judgment (1321–1324), but also indicates that he is eligible for forgiveness (1326) because he was caught up in Aphrodite's plot (1327–1328) and ignorant of the true circumstances of Phaedra's suicide (1335); in short, he destroyed his son *akôn* (1433).[30] Hippolytus (who learns of the

[30] See Rickert 1985: 63 for the criterion of involuntary action that recognizes "the role of the supernatural in bringing about the agent's error."

curse offstage, out of the audience's hearing)[31] is understandably angry and resentful at what has befallen him, but the worst epithet he finds for his father is "unjust" (1348). Otherwise Hippolytus, like Artemis (1334), speaks of Theseus' "mistake" (*amplakiai*, 1363; *hamartia*, 1409) and "misfortune" (*duspraxia*, 1405; *sumphora*, 1407); he tells his father that he grieves for him rather than for himself (1409), and is more inclined to blame the curse (1241, 1378) or to implicate Poseidon (1411, 1415) than to hold Theseus himself responsible for his death. Before he dies he frees Theseus of any pollution associated with his death (1449); although he takes this step at Theseus' prompting and in obedience to Artemis' directive that he not "hate" his father (1435), it is not an automatic or perfunctory gesture but suggests genuine forgiveness of an erring father by a wronged son.[32]

Griffith (1990: 131–132) points out that in revising his play Euripides forfeited what may have been the most suspenseful scenes from the first version: Phaedra's approach to Hippolytus, and her accusation of her stepson before Theseus. But Euripides also reaped advantages from the revision. Presumably the first version as well as the second featured a messenger speech describing Hippolytus' death in an accident caused by his horses who (probably, although not inevitably) were frightened by a bull from the sea.[33] Whether or not the bull figured in the first version, in the second version its significance is enhanced because of the prominent role assigned to Poseidon earlier in the play. The bull is memorable for its sexual symbolism,[34] its uncanny bellowing followed by an equally uncanny silence,[35] and the single-minded purposefulness with which it engineers the fatal accident (1230–1233) and then vanishes (1247–1248). But it is also memorable because it is doubly linked to

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[31] Although this detail is not suspicious in itself (see Barrett 1964: 389), when combined with the other awkwardnesses associated with the three *arai* it increases the likelihood that they were a later addition.

[32] If Hippolytus died at the scene of the accident in the earlier version (suggested by Halleran 1995: 27 and Jouan 1989–1990: 203), the reunion with his father in the second version would be yet another novel feature allowing for a further rehabilitation of Theseus. Barrett, however, concludes that there is no evidence either way (1964: 45).

[33] Sophocles' *Phaedra* may not have featured a bull sent by Poseidon: Talboy 2003 demonstrates that fragments from that play alluding to an animal refer to Cerberus rather than to a bull. Since horses as well as bulls are associated with Poseidon (see Burkert 1979: 113), the chariot accident alone was sufficient to signal the god's involvement in his death.

[34] Cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 920 for the bull as emblematic of male sexuality.

[35] On the bull in the context of the play's motifs of speech and silence see Knox 1952: 15 n. 16.

Poseidon: bulls were a regular sacrificial offering to the god (Anhalt 1997:18) and this bull emerges from—indeed, seems formed out of—Poseidon's own element. Presaged by Theseus' exclusive appeal to the sea god, the intervention of Poseidon's creature forms a powerful climax to the play.

Poseidon's role also enhances the symmetry which is a notable feature of the extant *Hippolytus*.[36] Each of the three main characters is backed by a god who affects his or her destiny for better or for worse: behind Phaedra stands Aphrodite, behind Hippolytus, Artemis, and behind Theseus, Poseidon. In addition, both Phaedra and Theseus are flanked by an enabling figure (the nurse in Phaedra's case, Poseidon in Theseus') who assumes partial responsibility for the catastrophe, thus helping to exculpate the queen and king. These enabling figures recalibrate the play without violating the essentials of the myth.

I have noted that the third episode of *Hippolytus II* bears telltale marks of revision and suggested that Theseus' curse took a different form in the earlier version of the play, a form that is consistent with the contrast between the two versions identified by Aristophanes of Byzantium and with the mechanism of parental curses as described by Plato and exemplified in Homer and Sophocles. Of course, any reconstruction of the lost *Hippolytus* can only be conjectural. What such an exercise ultimately accomplishes is to sharpen our attention to the structure of the extant play—its weaknesses as well as its strengths.

[36] Winnington-Ingram 1969: 172; Frischer 1970.

THE PERSUASIONS OF PHILOCTETES

Ruth Scodel

There have been many political interpretations of Sophocles' *Philoctetes*. Bowie has revived the old idea that Philoctetes stands for Alcibiades; Jameson suggested that Neoptolemus was based on the younger Pericles.[1] Recently Hesk has seen Philoctetes as a study of the "noble lie," and Greenwood has suggested that it reflects the independence of the fleet in Samos.[2] Critics generally agree that the play represents Odysseus as a contemporary politician/sophist.[3] Some go farther, and take him as a representative of the democracy, while Philoctetes represents a class antagonized by the democracy.[4] Because *Philoctetes* is prominent in discussions of Greek values among classicists, specialists in ancient philosophy, and a broader intellectual public, its relevance to the political issues of its original moment are especially significant.[5] This paper, however, will read intertextually to define political themes that are conspicuously absent in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*.

Thanks to Dio Chrysostom (52 and 59), we have some information about the lost versions.[6] We also know the dates of both Euripides' and Sophocles' productions (431 and 409). A *Philoctetes* would almost inevitably have political resonances. The premise of the plot is a military crisis: the Greek army's success depends on a man abandoned years ago, who is unlikely to be willing to help those who treated him badly. The subject lacks any domestic aspect. So the interpreter needs to consider what relevant issues and events would have been salient for poet and audience, although one must be careful not to read reductively. Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, like his *Electra*, is in part a study of the effects of

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[1] Bowie 1997. Vickers 1987: 171–187 also identifies Odysseus with Andocides. Wilson 1941: 286–287.

[2] Hesk 2000: 188–199; Greenwood 2006: 98–108.

[3] Altmeyer 1985, 241.

[4] Biancalana 2005 describes Philoctetes as motivated by "class hatred" (167–168). This view is developed from Knox 1964: 121–122, which overschematically defines Achilles as the symbol of the aristocratic tradition, Odysseus as democratic.

[5] Wilson 1941; Nussbaum 1976; MacIntyre 1988; 58–63.

[6] The fullest discussion of Euripides' *Philoctetes* is Müller 1997.

long suffering on the heroic character, and the meager fragments of Aeschylus' play show that it displayed the pathos of Philoctetes' condition. Fragments 252–255 Radt refer to his disease, while 249, a single line, by itself conveys his longing for home. Nonetheless, a drama about how the Greeks brought Philoctetes from Lemnos is inherently political.

Euripides' *Philoctetes* is the most overtly political version, particularly its *agôn*. Among its most striking innovations was a Trojan embassy. Already in the *Little Iliad*, the Achaeans learned from the captured Trojan prophet Helenus that they could not win without Philoctetes. This story presents an obvious question: Would Helenus not have shared this information with the Trojans, and would not the Trojans have taken action? According to the fragmentary papyrus hypothesis (*P Oxy*. 2455), Helenus had already told the Trojans that the bow of Heracles would secure the city; captured by the Greeks, he advised them to "form the same alliance." The term συμμαχία, whether or not it goes back to the play itself, is significant.

The Trojan embassy varies an idea from Euripides' *Telephus* of 438. The disguised Telephus speaks in defense of the Trojans, even though this put his disguise at risk.[7] In *Philoctetes*, Odysseus, his appearance altered by Athena, approaches the hero pretending to be a follower of Palamedes, a victim of Odysseus' machinations. This character had, like Philoctetes himself, been badly treated by the Greeks. Yet when the Trojan embassy arrives, he opposes it in a formal *agôn*. The substance of Odysseus' argument is the opposite of Telephus', but their situations are similar.

Odysseus evidently argues at least partly on patriotic grounds. In fr. 796 he claims to speak on behalf of the entire army against non-Greeks:

> ὑπέρ γε μέντοι παντὸς Ἑλλήνων στρατοῦ
> αἰσχρὸν σιωπᾶν, βαρβάρους δ' ἐᾶν λέγειν.
>
> When it is on behalf of the whole army of the Greeks,
> it is shameful to be silent, and let barbarians speak.[8] (Eur. fr. 796)

Euripides' play thus configures Philoctetes' situation differently from either Sophocles' or Aeschylus.' We have only the phrases Dio Chrysostom uses for how Philoctetes came to Troy in all three versions: τὸ μὲν

[7] For the *Telephus*, see Cropp (the *laudandus* of this volume) in Collard/Cropp/Lee 1995: 17–52; an extensive treatment is Preiser 2000 (on the speech, 85–88).

[8] Fragments of Euripides' *Philoctetes* are cited from Kannicht; they are edited also in Müller 2000, with German translation and commentary, and by Gibert in Collard/Cropp/Gibert 2004; the translations are Gibert's (other translations are my own).

πλέον ἄκων and πειθοῖ ἀναγκαίᾳ, "mostly unwillingly" and "compulsory persuasion" (Dio Chrys. *Or*. 52.2).[9] In Aeschylus' version, to judge from Dio, once Odysseus obtained possession of the bow, Philoctetes probably has no real choice. Euripides, in contrast, gives Philoctetes a real choice in the first part of the play: he can stay on the island or ally himself with the Trojans. At the end, he has no real choice (the hypothesis says ἀναγκάζει[ν εἰς τὴν ν]ᾳῦν συνακ[ο]λουθε̣ῖν, "compel to follow onto the ship," *P Oxy*. 2455, 226 5.2 Kannicht).

The political implications of Euripides' episode of the Trojan Embassy could not be clearer. Philoctetes here is comparable to an eminent exile whose possible defection to an external enemy, or return with the help of foreign allies, worries his native city. Exile of competitors for power was a frequent feature of the turbulent archaic *polis*, and exiles who might help or introduce foreign powers were a recurrent problem in Greek history.[10] Internal factions also brought in outside help, but exiles are especially prominent in such episodes. In the second half of the sixth century, for example, exiled opponents of Polycrates of Samos received military backup from Sparta (Hdt. 3.45–54). The Alcmaeonidae, exiled by Hippias, used the Delphic Oracle to prevail upon the Spartans to drive Hippias out of Athens and restore them (Hdt. 5.62–63). Hippias attempted to return to Athens with Darius in 490, and Herodotus narrates intrigues by Pisistratids and the oracle-forger Onomacritus at the Persian court before Xerxes' invasion (Hdt. 6.102; 7.6). Demaratus, exiled from Sparta, ends up at the Persian court, and accompanies Xerxes in the invasion of Greece (Hdt. 7.101).

Real-world exiles, of course, were not driven away because they suffered from a divinely-inflicted injury, or recalled because of an oracle, and they were not generally exiled in extreme isolation. Still, the Trojan embassy to Euripides' Philoctetes brings out the similarity. Furthermore, while Sophocles' Philoctetes survives only by using his bow, with very occasional help from seafarers, the Philoctetes of Euripides lives by combining hunting with the bow (Dio says that he needed the bow for survival in all three plays) and charity, ὡς ἂν βίον ἔχ[ων] τὸν ἔλεον τῶν ἐντυγχαν[ό]ντων, "having as his sustenance the pity of those who happened by" (*P Oxy*. 2455, 252–253, Kannicht iiia). This everyday destitution eases the analogy with the contemporary world.

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[9] Welcker emended ἄκων to ἑκών, but the contrast seems to be between "unwilling" and "persuasion."

[10] For the "politics of exile," see Forsdyke 2005.

The play also invites a political reading of Philoctetes' exile by doubling the theme in Odysseus' false story. In Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, Neoptolemus deceives Philoctetes by narrating how the Atridae and Odysseus refused to surrender his father's arms to him. The lie defines Neoptolemus as a double of the Achilles of the *Iliad*. It belongs in the heroic, epic world. Euripides' Odysseus tells how Odysseus falsely accused Palamedes of treason. Philoctetes immediately sees an analogy between Palamedes and himself:

> ὦ μηδενὸς ἀποσχόμενος τῶν χαλεπωτάτων, λόγῳ τε καὶ ἔργῳ πανουργότατε ἀνθρώπων Ὀδυσσεῦ, οἷον αὖ τοῦτον ἄνδρα ἀνῄρηκας, ὃς οὐδὲν ἧττον ὠφέλιμος ἦν τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ἤπερ οἶμαι σύ, τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ σοφώτατα ἀνευρίσκων καὶ συντιθείς· ὥσπερ ἀμέλει κἀμὲ ἐξέθηκας, ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας τε καὶ νίκης περιπεσόντα τῇδε τῇ ξυμφορᾷ, δεικνύντα τὸν Χρύσης βωμόν, οὗ θύσαντες κρατήσειν ἔμελλον τῶν πολεμίων· εἰ δὲ μή, μάτην ἐγίγνετο ἡ στρατεία.
>
> You who hold yourself back from none of the worst actions, most criminal of men in word and deed, Odysseus, what a man is this you have destroyed this time!—one who was no less helpful to the allies than you, I think, who discovered and put together the finest and wisest inventions. Just as you cast me out, of course, when I landed in this misery while acting on behalf of public salvation and victory, by revealing the altar of Chryse—by sacrificing there, they would conquer their enemies. Otherwise, the campaign was pointless. (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 59.9)

The irony that Philoctetes received his wound while performing an essential service makes the civic values of the play all the more salient: Philoctetes' good citizenship leads directly to his abandonment. Furthermore, the analogy between Palamedes and Philoctetes means that Euripides' version cannot have made Philoctetes a straightforward representative of a past, simpler heroism, as Sophocles' does, since Palamedes is, like Odysseus, a hero of intelligence.[11]

After Philoctetes' exclamation, the disguised Odysseus explains that Odysseus' attack on Palamedes extended to all his supporters:

> εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐκείνου φίλους ἦλθε τὸ κακὸν καὶ πάντες ἀπολώλασιν, ὅστις μὴ φυγεῖν ἠδυνήθη. οὕτω δὲ κἀγὼ τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς διαπλεύσας μόνος δεῦρο ἐσώθην.

[11] Müller 1997: 58–62 argues that Dio combines the prologue, in which Odysseus reflected on himself and described his mission, with a first entry of Philoctetes that probably took place after the parodos; see also Müller 2000, 338–339.

> Know well that the trouble came to all that man's friends and they all perished, whoever couldn't flee. So I, too, by sailing away last night, alone was saved and reached here. (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 59.9)

Clearly, Odysseus did not, in the story this implies, accuse Palamedes of an individual act of betrayal; he made him appear as the leader of a conspiracy of traitors. Odysseus' Palamedes, indeed, seem to resemble the Plataeans who followed Nauclides in betraying Plataea to the Thebans in April 431:[12]

> ἐπηγάγοντο δὲ καὶ ἀνέῳξαν τὰς πύλας Πλαταιῶν ἄνδρες, Ναυκλείδης τε καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ, βουλόμενοι ἰδίας ἕνεκα δυνάμεως ἄνδρας τε τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς σφίσιν ὑπεναντίους διαφθεῖραι καὶ τὴν πόλιν Θηβαίοις προσποιῆσαι.

> Plataeans introduced them and opened the gates, Nauclides and his followers, wishing for the sake of personal power to destroy members of the citizen body who were opposed to them, and to attach the city to Thebes. (Thuc. 2.2)

Set against the possibility that the man who is already in exile would turn to supporting the enemy for both gifts (794 Kannicht) and revenge is the false allegation that the now-exiled Odysseus has supported the enemy. Such "fifth columns" were, another constant theme in Greek political life.[13] This lie, with its suggestion of political *stasis* in the Greek army and its (false) representation of the exiled member of the defeated faction, brings history and the contemporary *polis*, in which internal strife and external forces were regularly intertwined, powerfully into the play.

In fr. 798, Odysseus offers the patriotic argument familiar from Sophocles' *Antigone* (188–190), that individual well-being and success depend on that of the city:[14]

> πατρὶς καλῶς πράσσουσα τὸν τυχόντ᾽ ἀεὶ
> μείζω τίθησι, δυστυχοῦσα δ᾽ ἀσθενῆ.

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[12] Worman 2002: 138, points out that both Palamedes and Odysseus represent overly clever sophistic types (though I am skeptical of her identification of Odysseus with Gorgianic, Palamedes with Prodican rhetoric).

[13] Compare Thuc. 1.107.

[14] Pericles' last oration in Thucydides (2.60.2) argues that the success of the community benefits individuals more than their individual success does if the city fails; this extends "collectivist" aspect, since it supposes that the individual could do well without the city, but it is not "totalitarian" (pace Hornblower 1991 ad loc.), since the individual is still the measure.

> His country's prosperity makes the successful man greater, but its misfortunes weaken him. (Eur. fr. 798)

Probably he uses this argument after Diomedes has stolen the bow, in an attempt to persuade Philoctetes to come willingly. This may have been a second formal *agôn*. There is a certain oddity in Odysseus' use of the patriotic argument in the context of the Trojan War, whatever the precise location of fr. 798. In both Thucydides and Sophocles, the context of the gnome is war among Greek poleis. Yet Odysseus here is trying to persuade Philoctetes to participate in the Panhellenic war against Troy. At least in Aeschylus' and Sophocles' versions, Philoctetes' longing for his actual home is pathetically developed, and it is hard to imagine that Euripides, the master of pathos, omitted it, so the play cannot easily have blurred this difference. So while Odysseus may be speaking in general terms in which the immediate reference of the term πατρίς would be the *polis*, he must really mean for this argument to apply to Greece. Such an argument would have made sense during the war with Persia. Yet Greece as a whole did not exile people; particular cities (and their alliances) did.

So the parallelism between Philoctetes and the exile does not work precisely. The argument, if the "fatherland" is Greece and not a *polis*, actually works better as an argument made to the representative of a *polis*. It could apply to persuade cities to join in the struggle against Persia, whether in the original invasion or the Delian League's ongoing struggle. This introduces the other political resonance of the Philoctetes-plot. The Greek army at Troy is not a *polis*, but an alliance, and Dio 59, a rewriting of the opening of Euripides' play, uses forms of σύμμαχος four times, three referring to the army at Troy, once to Philoctetes as an "ally" of the disguised Odysseus. So it seems likely that this theme appeared in Euripides. "The Athenians and their allies" and "the Lacedaemonians and their allies" are the standard formulae for referring to the Delian and Peloponnesian Leagues.

Greek cities did not use force or deceit to recall their exiles, since if they brought them home, they did so in order to promote civic reconciliation, to prevent them from intriguing with external enemies, or to use their services. This aspect, then, does not suit the treatment of Philoctetes as an exile. If, however, we see Philoctetes as an ally, the Greek army looks like the Athenian Empire. While individuals were not forced to rejoin cities that had exiled them, *poleis* could be and were compelled to join or rejoin alliances they did not wish to join or had sought to leave.

There were several reluctant allies in the early years of the Delian League. Carystus was forced to join the League. In about 470, Naxos tried to secede and was kept in the alliance by force (Thuc. 1.98). Thasos revolted in 465, and again military force was employed. There were other cases, too.[15] Euboea rebelled in 446. Thucydides' comments on the rebellion of Naxos suggest that revolts were a regular problem of the more oppressive empire (Thuc. 1.99, especially ῥᾴδιόν τε προσάγεσθαι ἦν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀφισταμένους, "and it was easier for them to bring over those who seceded.").

The complex loyalties of exiles are a context for Philoctetes himself in the first part of Euripides' play. The ethical problems of bullying cities into alliance are a context more for Odysseus, and seem at least implicit in its end. The situation of Philoctetes is not a perfect analogy for either, but both are suggestive backgrounds for different aspects of the story.

This sketch of the political themes evoked by of Euripides' version raises an paradoxical question. Euripides' play at the Dionysia of 431 was produced between the attack on Plataea and the first Peloponnesian invasion of Attica. It was probably composed, then, when the outbreak of war was clearly near. Yet the Athenians did not recall any exiles at the beginning of the war (Thucydides son of Melesias seems to have returned from ostracism, but there is no evidence that his loyalty was a concern), nor were there particular problems with the allies. The Samian War lay several years in the past, and the Mytilinean revolt was still in the future. The drama must have been composed before the treason at Plataea.

A further complication in understanding the play's political resonances is its panhellenism. It compares issues that would have been familiar as problems of the individual *polis* or of the Delian League to a truly Panhellenic alliance against a foreign enemy, at a time when the two great coalitions in the Greek world were beginning a war against each other.

These apparently less-than-immediately-relevant political implications of Euripides' play invite some consideration of Aeschylus' play. In Aeschylus' *Philoctetes*, Odysseus seems to have reported that the Trojan expedition had ended in catastrophe. There cannot have been any scene remotely resembling the Trojan Embassy. The Odysseus of this version seems to have been the most sympathetic of the three versions. Dio comments:

[15] Following the disaster in Egypt in 454, the epigraphical record suggests revolts in Miletus and Erythrae, and failures to pay tribute from many island cities. The details are disputed, but the impression of trouble is very strong; see Meiggs 1973, 109–120.

> ἐπεί τοι καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα εἰσῆγε δριμὺν καὶ δόλιον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς τότε, πολὺ δὲ ἀπέχοντα τῆς νῦν κακοηθείας, ὥστε τῷ ὄντι ἀρχαῖον ἂν δόξαι παρὰ τοὺς νῦν ἁπλοῦς εἶναι βουλομένους καὶ μεγαλόφρονας.
>
> Since he also brought on Odysseus as fierce and crafty by the standards of those times, but very far removed from present-day wickedness, so that he would seem truly archaic compared to people who now want to be simple and high-minded. (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 52.5)

In a version that does not have Philoctetes consider directly opposing the Greeks, a more sympathetic Odysseus would make it easier for the spectator to associate the story with contemporary political problems, since the spectator has ordinarily seen these from the perspective of the loyal citizen of the city or the patriotic Greek. We have no evidence for the date of Aeschylus' play, but it is striking how significant both the political themes of unwilling alliance and exiles of uncertain loyalty would have been during Aeschylus' *floruit*, during the years from the founding of the Delian League until Aeschylus' departure from Athens not long after the *Oresteia* of 458.

The theft of the bow as the mechanism for bringing Philoctetes back to Troy evokes the background of forced alliance. Yet the theme of the city's need in crisis for a man it had exiled would also have been an obvious topic at the height of Aeschylus' career. Before Xerxes' invasion, the Athenians issued a general amnesty for exiles and men who had been ostracized. Aristides, Xanthippus, and Megacles were recalled and the first two, at least, were important *strategoi* of the Athenians. Aristides commanded the contingent on Psyttaleia at Salamis, led the Athenian army at Plataea, and fixed the contributions of the members of the Delian League. Xanthippus was the Athenian commander at Mycale and led the capture at Sestos. Megacles must have continued to be prominent. Both the exile who becomes a hero of the panhellenic cause and the exile who medizes were real and vivid figures of the great crisis of Aeschylus' life. Themistocles was both: ostracized around 471, he was later condemned to death in Athens and fled to Persian territory.

The problem of the exile who allies with enemies was current not long before Euripides produced his *Philoctetes*. One of the immediate causes of the war was the Athenian alliance with Corcyra, whose cause lay in stasis at far-off Epidamnus. Thucydides' brief account runs:

> στασιάσαντες δὲ ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἔτη πολλά, ὡς λέγεται, ἀπὸ πολέμου τινὸς τῶν προσοίκων βαρβάρων ἐφθάρησαν καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς πολλῆς

> ἐστερήθησαν. τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν ἐξεδίωξε τοὺς δυνατούς, οἱ δὲ ἐπελθόντες μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐλῄζοντο τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατά τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν.
>
> After many years of internal strife among themselves because of a war with the local non-Greeks, it is said, they had a bad loss and lost most of their power. Finally, before this war, the common people drove the powerful into exile, and they, attacking with the non-Greeks, plundered those in the city by both land and sea. (Thuc. 1.24.4–5)

The Epidamnians sought help in reconciling the exiles and ending the war with the barbarians from their mother-city, Corcyra, which refused. They then inquired of the Delphic oracle whether they should give the city to the Corinthians. When the oracle told them to do this, they went to the Corinthians. When Athens entered an alliance with the Corcyreans, the Corinthians urged the Peloponnesian League to war.

So the events at Epidamnus were important and immediate for Athenians, but at the same time remote, at the other end of a chain of events in which Athenians were not involved until later. Thucydides introduces Epidamnus as if he does not expect his reader to be familiar with the place (Thuc. 1.24.1); he offers no names, and does not entirely vouch for his account. The internal problems of Epidamnus are important to him only as they affect the Corcyreans and Corinthians and generate the larger dispute. In Thucydides' account of the debate over the Corcyrean alliance at Athens in 433, the representatives of the two cities argue over which has rights in Epidamnus, but the rights and wrongs of the factions within Epidamnus, and the best outcome for the Epidamnians, are not under discussion (Thuc. 1.32–43). Presumably Athenians were not very concerned about the affairs of Epidamnus itself. It would be hard to imagine that Euripides decided to compose a *Philoctetes* because he thought that the Athenians cared profoundly about what had happened there. Yet the theme, I have suggested, is easy to see in the Philoctetes-story. Even though we do not know how Aeschylus' play handled the possible political connotations of his story, Euripides probably saw them in Aeschylus' drama, and developed them, typically, to make them explicit.

Sophocles' play does not treat Philoctetes as either a potentially dangerous/valuable exile or as a reluctant ally. There are certainly references to the Greeks as a community. The group seeks "salvation" (Soph. *Phil.* σωθῆναι, 109); Odysseus tries to stop Neoptolemus from returning the bow to Philoctetes on behalf of the entire army (1243, 1294). The chorus sings of Odysseus as one asssigned his task as a representative of many

and on their behalf (1143), and as having accomplished "a shared benefit for this friends" (1145). Yet although that group may be either a quasi-*polis* or an alliance, nothing invites the audience to imagine its dealings with Philoctetes in terms of the actual ways in which allies or estranged citizens could be treated. The allusions to the story of Palamedes sharpen the political resonances of Euripides' play, but Sophocles' version does not mention him.[16]

The critics who have wanted to see Alcibiades in the play are responding to a real possibility in the story. Athens had recently had extensive experience with an exile who helped its enemies and who was then recalled; the topic would seem a natural match for a drama on this subject, especially because Euripides' version would make the possible connections so easy. Yet the play does nothing to encourage the connection. Bowie, for instance, stresses that Alcibiades and Philoctetes are both ἐναγής ("polluted"), but while in the play Odysseus claims that Philoctetes had to be abandoned because his screaming made sacrifice impossible, the play could easily have suggested that the Greeks thought he had been punished by the gods and should be avoided as polluted, but does not.[17] The Trojans have no part in the action, and Philoctetes hopes only to go home. The Greeks' need of him is formulated almost entirely as need of his bow. This emphasis not only helps maintain unclarity about how the oracle must be fulfilled, but also anchors this plot element firmly in the heroic-mythological world, making real-world associations less obvious.

Above all, the opening discussion between Odysseus and Neoptolemus is framed primarily as an argument about why deception is necessary and morally acceptable in the circumstances. Neoptolemus prefers force (90–91). Neoptolemus asks why persuasion is not possible at 102, but Odysseus answers this question in the simplest way possible: οὐ μὴ πίθηται, "he will certainly not be persuaded" (103). This aspect of the story does not fit this political schema. Although the morality of deception could itself be a significant political question, resentful exiles could not be deceived or forced to provide leadership to the *polis*. Since the prologue directs the spectator to wonder primarily how Neoptolemus will carry out his deceptive plan when he actually meets Philoctetes, the play turns audience attention away from the theme of exile. Furthermore,

[16] Müller 1997, 68–69.
[17] Bowie 1997, 57–58.

Neoptolemus' only concern is for heroic, individual glory; the character who is the first focus of interest simply does not think in civic terms. The conflict is located elsewhere.

Nor is the "reluctant ally" theme obvious in the play. The word σύμμαχος does not appear in any form. Neoptolemus' story about the denial of his father's arms, and the other references to the army at Troy, do not present the army in terms that evoke the Delian League: Odysseus has simply received the arms from the Atridae (372). Perhaps Odysseus' taunt that Neoptolemus was absent where he "should have been" (379) has some political resonance, suggesting some duty to the Panhellenic cause, but it is a very faint hint. Again, deception of the kind at issue in the play is not an obvious moral issue in the context of the Delian League. Coercion is, but Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, at least at its opening, makes force seem unproblematic compared with trickery. While Odysseus threatens to bring Philoctetes by force (982–993), he abandons this threat, since he claims that he needs only the bow (1054–1062). The play does not seriously examine the morality of force.

Yet this was a real question for the Athens of the later fifth century. While the Athenians did not force cities into their alliance during the Peloponnesian War, they had destroyed cities that refused to join it or rebelled to the Lacedaemonian side. Melos in 416 is the most famous, but they also destroyed Scione in 421:

> Περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ θέρους τούτου Σκιωναίους μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκπολιορκήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς ἡβῶντας, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἠνδραπόδισαν, καὶ τὴν γῆν Πλαταιεῦσιν ἔδοσαν νέμεσθαι
>
> At around the same time, during this summer, the Athenians, after taking the Scionians by siege, killed the men of fighting age, enslaved the children and women, and gave the land to the Plataeans to possess (Thuc. 5.32)

The settlement of Plataeans was a reminder that Sparta had destroyed Plataea because the Plataeans had refused to ally themselves with Thebes in 427. They promised the Plataeans remaining in the city a fair trial so that they would surrender and the Spartans could claim they had freely come to them (Thuc. 3.52.2)—but the trial was a mockery, and they killed them all. Thucydides' expression for the Spartans' description of the Plataeans' surrender, ἑκόντων προσχωρησάντων, could easily evoke Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, where the characters' understanding of the oracle's requirement that Philoctetes come to Troy ἑκών is notoriously slippery. Yet nothing really invites the spectator to see the Greeks as an imperial power, forcing other cities into their empire, either. The play includes

no arguments about whether the Trojan War is justified, no contrasts between Greeks and barbarians, and only one allusion to an oath by the Greeks. Since that allusion says that Neoptolemus did not participate in the oath (72), it makes the Trojan expedition less like the Athenian Empire, where oaths constrained all the allies.

Still, *Philoctetes* is an obviously political play. It replaces obvious political concerns with more basic questions about the value of civic engagement itself. Euripides' version, even though its Odysseus is profoundly unsympathetic, makes him the representative of a Greek cause with which the viewer must identify. While Philoctetes' own choices were surely important, and may have introduced the issues that are so salient in Sophocles' play, the Philoctetes of Euripides has no real chance of returning home, so that a meaningful but disengaged life is not a possibility. The play takes political life for granted, and studies its most ethically doubtful territories of exclusion, deceit, and manipulation.

In Sophocles' play, returning home is a very real option, and it is only prevented by the *deus ex machina*. It therefore raises a more basic set of questions. Recent Athenian history, including both the intrigues of Alcibiades and the oligarchic revolution, provides the play's moral context, but only in a very general way. Alcibiades is important by not being there. Because contemporary themes were so available, and the original audience may have expected them, the play's refusal to develop them creates a conspicuous, meaningful absence. It implies that more fundamental questions need to be addressed first.

The interactions between Odysseus and Neoptolemus, and Neoptolemus' deceptions of Philoctetes, explore the corruptions of the political world. They invite the audience to think about what it means to use people as a means towards success.[18] The final attempt of Neoptolemus to persuade Philoctetes, and the appearance of Heracles, raise a very different question: if that is the world in which public action takes place, how is a man to participate in it? Instead of alliance, the play looks at friendship.[19] Once Neoptolemus and Philoctetes are friends, the play asks whether they will participate in the Trojan War, that is, whether public life is ethically possible, and offers an ambiguous, faint yes.[20]

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[18] White 1985, 3–27.
[19] Gill 1980; Belfiore 1994.
[20] Buxton 1982: 131; Rose 1992: 327–330.

Sophocles competes with Euripides in making the story plausible.[21] He does not, however, criticize Euripides' interpretation of it. Euripides' *Philoctetes* is a foil for Sophocles. Sophocles' very refusal to echo Euripides' version may also be an invitation to its audience to remember or read it: turning away from the contemporary issues that the earlier play had so vividly handled, it suggests that it did not need to do again what Euripides had done.[22]

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[21] Scodel 1999, 170–172.

[22] Euripides' *Palamedes* of 415 could have prompted memories of his *Philoctetes*, since the fate of Palamedes was so important in it.

THE LOST *PHOENISSAE*: AN EXPERIMENT IN RECONSTRUCTION FROM FRAGMENTS

Donald J. Mastronarde

One of the most exciting aspects of recent Euripidean studies has been the intense study of the lost plays, fueled and inspired by papyrological discoveries over the past 100 years and more. Now students and scholars are assisted by detailed commentaries on the remnants of many dramas, by the discussions of reconstruction and the translations in the Budé edition (Jouan and Van Looy 1998–2003), in the Aris & Philips edition (Collard, Cropp, and Lee 1995; Collard, Cropp, and Gibert 2004), and by the masterly magnum opus of Richard Kannicht (Kannicht 2004).[1] In the following essay I want to conduct a thought experiment[2] in order to explore two issues: the gaps and uncertainties that remain even when we have fairly ample fragments of a play, and the advances made possible by papyrological and other discoveries since the 1890s. For this experiment, I take Euripides' *Phoenissae*, a triad play surviving in over 100 medieval manuscripts and now represented by a couple dozen papyri, a play popular with performers and readers in antiquity and well known to erudite Byzantine writers. Let us suppose, however, that *Phoenissae* did not survive the end of antiquity. If we limit ourselves to indirect and fragmentary evidence, how would our knowledge of the "lost" *Phoenissae* look? I consider this question in two stages: first, by pretending to be in the position of August Nauck (Nauck 1889), that is, before papyrological discoveries and before modern collections of iconographic evidence; and, second, by taking the position of modern scholars, who can use papyri of the plays and of hypotheses and have much fuller iconographic evidence. This exercise also sheds interesting light on the reception and Nachleben of *Phoenissae*.

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[1] Our honoree, with Christopher Collard, has also provided us with a Loeb edition of the fragments Collard and Cropp 2008a and 2008b.

[2] For a similar experiment, see Nauck 1871: vi–xiii (*Electra*, *Heracleidae*, *Heracles*); Kannicht 1997: 76–77; Dover 2000.

The testimonia to *Phoenissae* were collected by Jan Maarten Bremer and redacted by me (Mastronarde and Bremer 1982; also Mastronarde 1988), and a few additions can be made by searching in the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae database (online version as of May 2006). In conducting this experiment, I have reviewed the testimonia to isolate (1) those that explicitly refer to *Phoenissae* and (2) those that are ascribed to Euripides and can plausibly be attributed to *Phoenissae* because of ancillary information in the context of quotation. I have eliminated (with a few exceptions, noted below) items that lack ascription to Euripides or that are reported as Euripidean but could not confidently be attributed to *Phoenissae*. For instance, with the full text in hand, we can now identify many passages in Hesychius as glosses of forms used in *Phoenissae*, but without the surviving text we would not even know these words were from Euripides, and so they cannot be counted as "fragments" in our edition of the lost *Phoenissae*. I have also eliminated the evidence provided by Tzetzes and Eustathius (both active in the 12th century) and the *scholia recentiora* of various authors, as these reflect the survival of *Phoenissae* as a whole and its status as a standard text in the "curriculum" of the medieval scholars who took an interest in classical poetry.[3] I have admitted the evidence of the *Suda*, *Etymologicum Genuinum*, and *Etymologicum Magnum*, but ignored various 13th and 14th century lexicons. In addition, since we are positing that the play has not survived in the manuscript tradition, we must also ignore the prefatory material (hypotheses) transmitted with the play and the entire corpus of *scholia vetera* on this play (but testimonia to *Phoenissae* in *scholia vetera* of other plays are allowed).

Limitations of space prevent me from presenting a documented edition of the fragments within this essay, but a full version of my hypothetical edition of the fragments of the lost *Phoenissae* is printed in the appendix to this volume.[4]

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[3] It is worth noting, however, that Eustathius more often quotes from the play without naming either the play or Euripides himself, so even if we allowed Eustathius in our experiment, most of the testimonia identified from him would not emerge as "fragments" for this experiment.

[4] See pp. 481–496 below.

I

A first edition of the fragments, representing what scholars would have known by 1889, already provides extensive knowledge of the play. Test. 1 (from Apollonius Dyscolus) tells us "The *Phoenissae* of Euripides contains as its subject the Theban war." Diodorus Siculus' anecdote about the Athenian general Thrasybulus' dream before the sea-battle at Arginusae (Test. 2) confirms that the deaths of the Seven against Thebes occurred in the play. The struggle for sole power between the sons of Oedipus is mentioned by Aristotle (Test. 6a) and Epictetus (Test. 6b, 6c; cf. perhaps ps.-Apollodorus, Test. 10), and the latter also criticizes Polyneices' false evalution of exile as a great evil. Pollux (Test. 7) tells us there was a scene in the play in which Antigone looked out at the attacking army from a upper-floor room. Over a dozen ancient passages speak of Menoeceus' voluntary sacrifice to ensure the salvation of Thebes in the battle against the Argives (Test. 8 from ps.-Apollodorus, with Test. 8a–8k from various others): although none of these explicitly refer to Euripides or to *Phoenissae*, it is a probable conjecture that this incident occurred in the play and that Teiresias informed Creon of the need for this sacrifice. Other aspects of the content must be inferred or conjectured from the fragments, to which we will turn next. But we also have in Test. 5 (Sch. to Aristophanes) an ancient complaint about Euripidean choruses: "Through these words too Aristophanes is disparaging Euripides, because he brings on choruses that either sing material that is not pertinent to the subject-matter of the plot (instead they narrate some mythical story or other, as in *Phoenissae*) or fail to passionately take the side of those who have been wronged (instead they oppose them in the midst of their troubles)."

The *dramatis personae* attested in fragments are Jocasta, Antigone, Eteocles, Polyneices, Creon, and Teiresias, and a messenger can also be assumed. The testimonia suggest that Menoeceus may have appeared, and Euripides' treatment of characters like Polyxena in *Hecuba* and Heracles' daughter in *Heracleidae* makes it attractive to guess that he too was a speaking character. There is no secure hint that Oedipus appeared in the play (Malalas, Test. 8, is too vague, and may not refer to *Phoen*. at all). The chorus of Phoenician women can be inferred from the title of the play, but the reasons for their depiction would have been left to pure guesswork. Nor is it certain who spoke the prologue-monologue.

As for the dating of the play, Test. 4 tells us that *Phoenissae*, like *Hypsipyle* and *Antiope*, was performed after *Andromeda* (412) and before *Frogs* (405), and the presence of tetrameters and the frequency of res-

olutions[5] agree with a late date. Scholars fond of guessing at the makeup of tragic trilogies and tetralogies might have been tempted to suggest grouping *Phoenissae* with Euripides' *Oedipus* and *Antigone*, and it cannot be ruled out that someone might have suggested that the three plays named in Test. 4 were all from the same year (as some scholars have in fact done).

Most of the fragments can be arranged in a probable order, and several scenes take shape. A quotation of the Pythian oracle to Laius, Fr. 1 [= 18–20], clearly belongs to a detailed reporting of the past, suitable only to a prologue-speaker. Any character who refers later in the play to the previous troubles of the family would do so more briefly and allusively. The speaker is most likely a character from the older generation, but that leaves us a choice among Jocasta, Creon, Teiresias, or an elderly servant of the household. No other fragment can be confidently assigned to the prologue, but one may speculate that mention of the patricide and the explicit report of Oedipus' curse on his sons (Frr. 40 ["Oedipus killed his father"], 41 [= 69a]) also belong to the prologue-speech. The prologue is one possible source of the address to the sun in Fr. 42 [= 3, and compare Accius *Phoen.* fr. I], but not the only possibility. If it belongs to the prologue, it is probably the first line of the play.

Because of the rare word διῆρες we can place Fr. 2 [= 90] in a scene in which, as Pollux tells us (Test. 2), Antigone views the army. With the full text of *Phoenissae*, we know that Euripides' staging simply used the roof of the skene and that Pollux is misleading in suggesting Antigone looks out from a room. One might guess that Antigone is the object of the verb "let go, allowed" in this line, that one of her parents is the subject, and some unidentified character the speaker. Antigone could have appeared up above most easily before the chorus entered, so it is attractive to place this scene right after the prologue, although it is not impossible to imagine a daring sequence in which she appeared while the chorus was present (for instance, after the *agôn* scene) and indeed conversed with them from the second story. Moreover, we expect in Euripides more than one scene before the parodos, and if Antigone is not featured in it, it is hard to think of any other action to put before the parodos. One might conjecture

[5] Using the methodology of Cropp and Fick 1985, in the first edition of the fragments I find 48 resolutions in 533 resolvable feet (9.01 % compared to 6.96 % for the whole play according to Cropp and Fick 1985: 17), or if the tetrameters are taken into account as well, 48 resolutions in 563 resolvable feet (8.53 %). Three types of resolution (6.2e, 2.2eD, 8.2c) are also indicative of late style: see Cropp and Fick 1985: 62–65.

that Fr. 47 [= 198–201] also referred to the appearance of the maiden in public, but whether it fell in this scene or during a later appearance of Antigone would be unknown.

The next groups of fragments come from the scenes involving Polyneices' presence on stage, which clearly must precede the battle narrative and thus form the probable content of the first episode. There are enough fragments to allow us to recognize a conversation between Jocasta and Polyneices in which she interrogates him on his experiences in exile, and such a dialogue would best have been carried out without the presence of Eteocles. Therefore, the fragments involving Eteocles as well come from the following scene (or episode), in which there is a formal debate with long speeches, certainly by Eteocles and Jocasta and presumably by Polyneices too, creating a three-part *agôn logôn*. It makes sense to place the entry of the chorus before the entry of Polyneices, but we have no trace of their song.

Fr. 3 [= 344–348a] gives us some dochmiacs sung by Jocasta (Plutarch tells us the speaker). Dochmiacs are typical of reunion and recognition scenes, and on the basis of the parallels we might conjecture that the scene featured an amoibaion in which Polyneices took part with iambic lines (as we actually know, this would be an incorrect conjecture, since Jocasta's lyric here is uninterrupted). Frr. 4 [= 357–360] and 5 [= 273] together look like some of Polyneices' lines in the early part of the scene, showing his concern that he may be ambushed. We would have no reason to conjecture that Fr. 5 actually precedes the entry of Jocasta. Frr. 6–8 give us a glimpse of a stichomythia on the ills of exile. It is clear enough that Fr. 6 [= 388–393] comes before Fr. 7 [= 406–407] (with its conclusive "as it appears"). The order of the two pieces of Fr. 8 [396–397, 402–405] and Fr. 9 [= 430–432a] is implied by Plutarch's presentation of the quotations, but the relative order of these pieces with Fr. 7 cannot be conjectured accurately: we actually know that Fr. 7 follows Fr. 8. It is not so certain that Fr. 10 [= 438–440] belongs here, since there is disapproval of the value of wealth in Jocasta's *agôn*-speech, so it is possible that one of her sons praised χρήματα in the *agôn*.

From the formal *agôn* (in the same or next episode) we have no certain lines of Polyneices, who as the complainant must have had the first rhesis, but by process of elimination it seems likely enough that the famous lines on the straightforwardness of the just case come from Polyneices' formal argument that he has been wronged by his brother (Fr. 11 [= 469–472]). Polyneices' speech will have been followed by Eteocles' reply (for which we have three fragments, 12–14), and then Jocasta addressed both sons.

Jocasta's speech was obviously extremely famous and popular, as it is quoted extensively and by many sources (Frr. 15–22). Fr. 12 [= 503–506] ought to be near the beginning of Eteocles' speech, as it uses a formula ("hiding nothing") that often introduces a narrative or declaration, but it cannot be the opening lines, since it is linked by γάρ to something preceding it. Fr. 13 [= 524–525] is closely related in sense to Fr. 12, but we cannot gauge how closely it followed in the text, and it would only be a lucky guess if someone suggested that it was the conclusive gnome of the rhesis. Fr. 14 [= 515–517], identified as from *Phoenissae*, is easily inferred to come from this debate and only Eteocles makes sense as the speaker, but its relative ordering with Fr. 13 cannot be safely guessed. The lines covered by Jocasta's fragments are 460–461a, 528–530, 531–540, 546–547, 570, 555b–557, 554, 582. In Fr. 19 we cannot tell whether the couplet [= 556–557] should be joined directly to the sentence that ends with κέκτηνται βροτοί [= 555b] or followed after some interval. The placement within this rhesis of Jocasta of Fr. 21 [= 582] is not certain, and one would be unlikely to guess the truth, that the first word of the line is the end of a quoted speech. It is probable that someone would have conjectured that at least the first line of the couplet from Strattis' *Phoenissae* (Fr. 22) came more or less verbatim from Euripides, but we would not have any confidence about how the second line related to its tragic original, nor would we necessarily realize that the exhortation to both sons might come from a speech other than the rhesis from which Frr. 15–21 derive.

From the confrontation of the brothers, we also have argumentative trochaic tetrameters attested in Frr. 23–28. The meter is certain in Frr. 25 [= 599], 26 [= 597], and 28 [= 621–622] and highly probably in 24 [= 598a]. The use of tetrameters fits the style of late Euripidean plays, and the change of rhythm is well suited to the intensified argument that often follows hostile *agôn*-speeches. We can infer the speakers of Frr. 24–25 and also suspect that 25 might be the reply to 24. Since Polyneices seems to be trying to regain his wealth (Frr. 8, 10), currently usurped by Eteocles, Fr. 26 is probably spoken by Polyneices. In Fr. 28, the phrase "will stand before the battlements" is more likely to refer to the defender than the attacker, so we can conjecture that Polyneices has the first half of each line. With its antilabe, Fr. 28 presumably comes after the exchange of full tetrameters, but otherwise there are no secure clues to the relative order of 23, 24 + 25, 26, and 27.

Another episode presumably preceding the battle will have been the one in which Creon and Teiresias conversed on stage, where Teiresias

wore a crown he had received for victory-bringing advice he gave to the Athenians (Fr. 29 [= 854–855] and Fr. 30 [cf. 856–857]). Fr. 30 would mislead us into thinking that Creon himself remarked on the crown and asked for its origin, whereas in the full text Teiresias himself refers to the crown and explains it. It is likely enough that the subject of their discussion was the need to sacrifice Menoeceus to save the city (cf. Test. 8, 8a–8k), a motif used by Euripides also in *Heracleidae* and *Erechtheus*. Moreover, the parallel of the daughter of Heracles and the great popularity of Menoeceus' decision in the philosophical and rhetorical tradition both suggest that Euripides gave Menoeceus a speaking role, explaining his willingness to kill himself for the city. Several testimonia emphasize Menoeceus' self-sacrifice without speaking to Creon's attitude or his knowledge or ignorance of his son's decision. But two testimonia (8g, 8i) say that the boy did this behind his father's back or against his father's will, and Libanius' rhetorical exercise (8h) has Menoeceus say that his father wants him to flee. On the other hand, a couple of late testimonia (see the end of 8k) suggest Creon's agency as the one who gives his son for the sake of the city. Since the fragments themselves are so uninformative, we would have no way to be confident in embracing the conjecture if anyone suggested that Libanius' speech reflected specific motifs of Euripides' treatment, although this is obvious enough when we have the full text of *Phoenissae*.

There are a few remnants of what appears to be a messenger's report of the attack and repulse of the Seven, but we do not know the addressee of this report. It is reasonable to conjecture that Fr. 31 [= 750, "having set an equal number against the same number of enemies"] comes from *Phoenissae* and that Eteocles set seven champions at the gates against seven Argive attackers; one would also easily assume (wrongly, as we can see) that the line comes from the messenger-speech. From Fr. 34, which tells us that Periclymenus son of Poseidon killed Parthenopaeus in Euripides (cf. 1156–1158), one might speculate that Euripides matched Aeschylus in naming Theban champions who warded off or killed the attacking heroes; and from Frr. 34 and 35 [= 1172–1182a, omisso 1179][6] that the messenger gave a circumstantial treatment of each attacker. We would not be in a position to guess that Euripides did not name any other

[6] I am not completely certain that Fr. 35 should be allowed in this "edition," but if I understand correctly the difficult edition of Lycophron scholia (Scheer 1908), this extensive quotation is found in a scholion extant in witnesses that are supposed to carry a tradition older than Tzetzes' work on these scholia.

Theban defender and that the deaths of only two heroes, Parthenopaeus and Capaneus, were actually narrated.

Four fragments give us a glimpse of the duel and death of the brothers. One would guess that Aristophanes' lines from his *Phoenissae* (our Fr. 36) imitate something in Euripides' *Phoenissae*. If Aristophanes is taken to be a sufficiently precise imitator here, the discrepancy between the present-time reference in Fr. 36 ("Ares has crashed down upon the two sons of Oedipus, and now they are preparing for/engaging in a contest of one-to-one wrestling") and the *ex post facto* narrative implied by Frr. 38–39 (which quote Polyneices' dying requests) would suggest that different speakers (or the same speaker in successive episodes) reported on the main battle and the duel. This would match the sequence in Test. 8 (ps.-Apollodorus), which is only uncertainly related to *Phoenissae*: there, after the death of Capaneus and a resulting first rout of the Argives, the duel follows and then a second intense battle of the whole armies. Thus, an ambitious reconstruction might assign Fr. 36 to the end of a narrative about the general attack (which could have been addressed to Jocasta) and the other fragments to a separate narrative in a later episode about the duel and deaths (addressed to the chorus or an unknown party, since Jocasta is on the battlefield). That would be close to the truth, but we would have no suspicion how fully developed the two messenger-scenes actually are. From Fr. 38 [= 1447–1450, 1450A, 1451–1452] and 39 [= 1453] we can infer the presence of Jocasta and Antigone at the site of the duel, or at least at the death. Their presence is paralleled in the unfinished *Phoenissae* of Seneca (lines 427–664), where Jocasta's frenzied arrival actually suspends the battle of two full armies. Anyone tempted to infer more about Euripides' original from Seneca would fall into error, but anyone who recognizes the impracticality of Seneca's scenes for genuine staging would realize that Euripides' treatment must have been quite different. Fr. 37 [= 1364a & 1375] tells us that the messenger also quoted directly portions of prayers made by the brothers before the duel.

The remaining fragments would be classifed as *incertae sedis*; all but two of these are explicitly ascribed to the play. These tell us very little about the play, and so I do not discuss them (or the three doubtful fragments) further here.

We can see, then, that if *Phoenissae* had been a lost play treated by Nauck in his edition of fragments, scholars would have known even then quite a lot about the play. In particular, they would have had a good idea of the sequence of scenes from Polyneices' entry to his departure, which

we actually know all fell within the first episode. Also clear would have been the identities of most of the characters and the probable order of some main scenes, including the probability of two separate messenger scenes. On the other hand, scholars would have been likely to make some false inferences, and our knowledge of other features would be quite deficient: the relevance of the chorus and the richness of its contributions; the fact that Antigone sings lyrics in the *teichoskopia* and the *exodos*; the conversation of Eteocles and Creon in the second episode; the precise treatment of Menoeceus; Creon's entry at 1308; and the possible contours of the final scenes following the second messenger's report.

II

We now move to the era of modern editions of Euripidean fragments, where we often have additional material from the discoveries of papyri and from more thorough study of mythological iconography. *Phoenissae* in particular, because of its theatrical and textual popularity in antiquity, gains significant new information between our first and our second edition of the lost play. There are two dozen papyri from ancient copies of the play (or of excerpts), and more than a dozen more from anthologies or authors quoting the play.[7] Not all of these items could have been identified as deriving from *Phoenissae* if the full text of the play were lost, and the discussion below may overstate somewhat the gain in knowledge, because I am making the generous assumption that the papyri would have been deciphered more or less as they have been, even though in several cases a papyrus text is extremely faint or damaged and would not have yielded so much without the guidance provided by the complete text.

Favorinus (Π^a) is the most extensive of the new papyri providing testimonia, but for the most part his *de exilio* simply confirms what we knew before, mainly from Plutarch's *de exilio*. It is evident that in Hellenistic Stoicism and the tradition of philosophical diatribe it was useful to draw upon well-known mythological examples as depicted in popular works. It is essentially Euripides' Medea who is taken as an example in discussions of reason vs. passion, and it is Euripides' Polyneices from *Phoenissae*

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7 The papyri are referred to by the symbols used in Mastronarde 1994; I have added Π^m (Luppe 1997: 96) and Π^{23} (= P. Oxy. 67.4566) and Π^{24} (Mastronarde 2007). For the papyri of the play itself the same sigla are used in Diggle 1994: 73–74.

who becomes a target in philosophical critiques of conventional values regarding the importance of one's homeland and the alleged disadvantages of exile. Favorinus provides us with one new line and with fuller information in two passages we have from elsewhere.

Several other testimonial papyri (Π^{c}, Π^{d}, Π^{i}, Π^{j}, Π^{k}, Π^{m}) overlap with passages given in other sources, but Π^{c} is important because it allows us to see that our previous Frr. 15 and 16 are continuous. Π^{aa}, Π^{b}, Π^{e}, and Π^{f} would not even have been recognized as reflecting *Phoenissae*.

Two fragments of the epitome of *Phoenissae* are now known.[8] Π^{g} gives us the last lines of the summary: after a possible reference to Jocasta's suicide, we are told that Creon assumed the kingship, then: "and the Argives, routed in battle, withdrew. And Creon, making rather free use of his good fortune, did not allow those of the enemy who fell beneath the walls of Thebes to be buried. And he cast Polyneices out without mourning, and sent Oedipus into exile from the city, … not preserving the law of mankind … not postponing the payment of … ⟨nor⟩ pitying the (unfortunate?)." We thus gain some knowledge of Creon's treatment of Polyneices and Oedipus in the exodos, but the reference to non-burial of the Argive dead does not correspond to the surviving exodos (nor to the assumptions made by those who delete all or part of the exodos) and is presumably a mythographic supplementation of the narrative by the author of the epitome. Π^{h} would have had to be ascribed to *Phoenissae* by conjecture and tells us little, since we can read only isolated words ("Eteocles"; "brother Polyneices"; "exile"; "married"; "persuaded"; "to arrive"; "of the kingship"; "bring together children"; "lining up for battle").

There are six so-called Homeric bowls (Hellenistic relief bowls with mythological scenes impressed from molds, probably produced in Macedonia) now associated with *Phoenissae*. None of them in fact have the words Euripides or *Phoenissae* on them, but the labelled characters correspond to those we know to have appeared in the play and fit so well with what can be reconstructed that it is legitimate to include them as new testimonia. The vases are catalogued as MB 45–50 in Sinn 1979: 107–109 (illustrated in Tafeln 18–20). Six scenes are attested, listed here in the order they might have occurred in the play (whether as staged or as narrated by a messenger), except that the order of (5) and (6) is uncertain. (1) Creon supplicating Teiresias, with Manto beside the seer (all three characters labelled), evidently from the scene in which Teiresias

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[8] Note that my siglum Π^{g} is Π^{a} in Diggle 1994, while my Π^{h} is his Π^{b}.

demanded the sacrifice of Creon's son. We already suspected that Creon resisted the demand, but not that he supplicated Teiresias. Menoeceus is not shown in this illustration. (2) A messenger starting to move away, with Jocasta turning back to Antigone, who is emerging from the door (all three labelled).[9] This scene suggests how Jocasta went to the battlefield for her suicide and how Antigone was brought back into the action so that she too could be present at the death of Polyneices. (3) Polyneices and Eteocles in single combat, with personified Thebe next to Eteocles (all three labelled). (4) Eteocles dead, Polyneices dying, Antigone mourning, and Jocasta stabbing herself (all labelled) with personifications of the father's Curses or Erinyes (only ΠΑΤΡΩΙΑΙ survives of the label, above the one remaining demon-figure; probably two similar figures have been lost). Four additional figures of soldiers, in pairs, represent the two armies, with the two Thebans racing toward Jocasta as if to stop her suicide,[10] and the whole is framed by labelled personifications of Thebes and Argos. (5) Antigone supplicating Creon (both labelled). Together with the hypothesis fragment (Π^{g}), this suggests a little of the ending of the play. (6) Blind Oedipus reaching for something; from the inscription, one can assume that the bodies of his sons and Jocasta were depicted, and one might guess that Antigone was present too to be the recipient of Oedipus' request. We cannot say whether Creon was illustrated. Inscription: [ΟΙΔΙ]ΠΟΥΣ ΚΕΛΕΥΕΙ Α[Γ]Ε[ΙΝ ΠΡΟΣ] / [ΤΟ] ΠΤΩΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΜΗΤ[ΡΟΣ ΤΕ] / [ΚΑΙ] ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΥΙΩΝ.

A Roman clay lamp of the 1st century CE (*LIMC* s.v. Eteokles 43) is inscribed PHOENISSA (sic) and POLYN and shows Polyneices dead, Eteocles sinking down, and Jocasta between them stabbing herself. This seems to confirm the relevance to *Phoenissae* of the Homeric bowls just discussed.[11]

The fragments of the play itself are considerably expanded in the second edition. In the prologue, an expanded version of Fr. 1 now covers the first 38 lines of the play [= 3–40] in an almost entirely readable

[9] The door is the palace-door (skene-door), not the gate of the city as stated by I. Krauskopf, *LIMC* s.v. Iokaste 8.

[10] So correctly Robert 1908: 191, whereas Sinn 1979: 108 describes them as putting the two Argives to flight.

[11] Other art works of Etruscan and Roman origin show family members, including Oedipus, present at the duel or death of Eteocles and Polyneices. Their relationship to *Phoenissae* is more uncertain, but they shed light on Seneca's treatment. These are discussed in the appendix edition of the fragments.

form. Twenty-four further lines of the prologue [= 46–69] survive from a combination of three papyri (Fr. 1a), but we would not know the extent of the gap between Fr. 1 and Fr. 1a, and in most lines of Fr. 1a only a word or two survives. In Antigone's viewing scene, a new Fr. 2a gives us scraps of an *amoibaion*, so that we learn that Antigone sang lyrics as she gazed at the Argive army and was in dialogue with an unidentified character speaking trimeters. In the scene involving Polyneices and his mother before Eteocles arrives for the *agôn*, Fr. 3 is now also expanded, giving us more of Jocasta's lyric greeting of her son [= 337–351], but also traces of the dialogue before Jocasta appears, in which Polyneices introduces himself to the chorus [= 280–298, 307–310]. The former Fr. 43 is subsumed and we can now see that the two trimeters in that fragment were separated by an intervening line. A new Fr. 5a [= 363] apparently belongs to this scene as well. Fr. 6 now also has an expanded form, covering 364–377 (only 368–375 produce sense, but we gain some new evidence of Polyneices' nostalgia) and, after a gap of unknown length, 379–393 (387 omitted, only 384–393 produce sense).

From the *agôn* itself we gain a trace of the end of Polyneices' speech, a choral couplet, and then the beginning of Eteocles' speech in an expanded Fr. 12 [= 494–512, with 499–500 and 503–506 fully readable thanks to the secondary tradition]. For Jocasta's speech the gains are greater: we can now join Frr. 15–16 as continuous [= 528–540], and Frr. 18–20 are subsumed in a larger passage covering 552–575 (line beginnings only, except for full lines already known from the secondary tradition, 554–557, 570). In the trochaic tetrameters that follow the formal speeches, we acquire some meagre scraps before and after 597 in an expanded Fr. 26 [= 591–597, 601–604, 615–618].

We gain our first glimpse of a scene between Eteocles and Creon, with the beginning of the scene in Fr. 28a [= 690–703, 719–739, all partial lines] and its end followed by a chorus in Fr. 28b [= 768–789, 792–806, minimal remains of most lines]. Enough survives for us to see that Eteocles is sending an attendant to fetch Creon when Creon himself arrives, and that there is some discussion of military arrangements. At the end of the scene we see Eteocles forbid the burial of Polyneices (an unexpected feature, not suggested by the fragment of the epitome) and depart with a prayer to Eulabeia. The Menoeceus scene is still poorly documented, but we now have a few words in a few short passages in Fr. 28d [= 846–851, 861–867, minimal remains] (is the "child" addressed Menoeceus himself or Teiresias' daughter?) and Fr. 30a [= 898–900, 931–934, minimal remains] (where mention of Dirce and the form σφαγέντα suggest we

have Teiresias' prophecy). The gnomic passage that was formerly Fr. 46 [= 1015–1018] can now be placed at the beginning of the new Fr. 30b [= 1015–1047, 1064–1071], so that we know the lines are the end of the episode; but we still know too little about the scene to be sure who spoke them, for even if we assume that Creon opposed the sacrifice, we don't know whether he opposed it all the way to the end of the scene or whether Teiresias was still present at the end of the scene to speak these lines. Fr. 30b also gives us a good deal of the following stasimon on the murderous attacks of the Sphinx on the Thebans (almost the entire strophe can be restored, but little survives after the opening clause of the antistrophe, with "in time wretched Oedipus arrived"). The cries of the first messenger summoning someone (Jocasta, as we can see from Fr. 30c) from the house follow this stasimon.

The papyri bring major gains for the first messenger scene. Fr. 30c [= 1079–1095] shows Jocasta asking whether Polyneices is still alive and saying that "the old man in the house" (our first trace of Oedipus in the fragments) will be glad to hear of the safety of the city. And then the messenger's rhesis begins. The old Frr. 32 and 33 are now recognized as parts of an expanded fragment covering 1097–1107 and 1113–1137 (but 1113–1125 have only a few letters each extant). This passage includes much of the catalogue of the Argive heroes (1104–1140), marked as spurious in most modern editions, but without the fuller context there is no reason to believe that anyone would have challenged the authorship of the lines in their fragmentary state. The second messenger scene gains nothing from the papyri, although the Homeric bowls and the fragmentary epitome are suggestive. The Strassburg papyrus of Euripidean lyrics, however, [Fr. 39a = 1499–1581, 1710–1736] gives us a whole new perspective on the ending of the play, as we have (even if in a corrupt and partially damaged form that could not be restored with great confidence) much of Antigone's lyric mourning for her dead kin and textual proof of Oedipus as a speaking character present on stage. Whereas the artistic evidence and Seneca might have led us to wonder whether Oedipus was taken to the battlefield to view the corpses, this papyrus assures us that the bodies were on stage with Antigone when Oedipus was called out of the house. We can just barely make out that in the final lines of this papyrus text Antigone and Oedipus are moving off hand-in-hand, and if we combine that with the epitome's report of Oedipus' exile, we can conclude, despite the absence of any word about exile or Creon in what survives, that this lyric duet of departure was in a separate scene after an intervening dialogue scene involving Creon and his orders.

I embarked on this experiment in the expectation that the lost *Phoenissae* would prove to be quite elusive and that the exercise would support scepticism about how much we can accurately deduce about lost plays from the fragments and testimonia we have. In fact, however, we now have a fairly complete outline of the incidents in the play and some passages of impressive length, and even with just the first edition of fragments scholars would have known a great deal. The reason for this result is the popularity of the play in antiquity, which generated so many testimonia, quotations, and ancient copies capable of surviving as our papyri. It would be fascinating to test whether the other triad plays, *Hecuba* and *Orestes*, would fare as well in such an experiment, and a further control would be to study some select plays in the same way. It remains true, however, that even with all this evidence for the lost *Phoenissae*, we would not be able to appreciate the varied stylistic artistry, the niceties of tone, the ironies of repetition and correspondence, the development of thematic and verbal motifs, the dynamics of multiple tensions and resolutions, and other important qualities that we value in a complete drama.

ECHOES OF THE *PROMETHEIA* IN EURIPIDES' *ANDROMEDA*?

A.J. Podlecki

Euripides' *Andromeda*, when it was first put on at the City Dionysia in Athens in 412 BCE,[1] seems to have created a sensation. A vicious sea monster threatening to devour a beautiful captive princess, a hero flying in on a winged horse, carrying an ugly severed head with opponents being turned to stone or coming within a hair's breadth: this was exciting stuff, even for audiences who by now could count on being treated to something unexampled and even shocking from the dramatist they loved to hate.

When news got around that among the Euripidean offerings at the forthcoming Dionysia was a version of the Andromeda story, what kind of expectations were aroused in prospective audience members? They would have been familiar with the general outlines of the story since Perseus was a figure from the earliest strata of Greek myth. He is mentioned by Homer (*Iliad* 14.320) and his union with Andromeda can be traced back at least as far as the *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 135.5–6). Perseus, battling or pursued by Gorgons, appears in Greek art from the middle of the seventh century and a century later he is shown with divine helpers, usually Hermes or Athena.[2] Andromeda enters the visual repertoire c. 575 when she joins Perseus and the sea-monster on a late Corinthian black-figure amphora and by the fifth century her rescue by Perseus had become a popular subject with Athenian red-figure artists as

[1] Although the evidence for the date is not all internally consistent, 412 is the date generally accepted in the scholarly literature; 411 is a remotely possible alternative. See Gibert 2004: 142–143. If 412 is correct, another play certainly was *Helen*. Eur. *IT* has been suggested as the third tragedy by Wright (2005: 3 and *passim*), but others have demurred (Marshall, this volume).

[2] A painted clay metope in the Corinthian style from an Apollo temple at Thermon in Aetolia (Woodward 1976 [1937] 27–29 with figs. 1a and 1b); ivory plaques c. 625–600 from the Heraion in Samos and from the Artemis Orthia sanctuary in Sparta (Athena; Roccos 1994: cat. 122 a and b); an Attic black-figure neck amphora c. 550 in Frankfurt (Athena; Roccos 1994: cat. 100); an Attic black figure olpe by the Amasis painter c. 550 now in London (Hermes; Roccos 1994: cat. 113; illustrated by Woodward 1976 [1937] fig. 13 a and b).

well as South Italian vase painters of the following century.[3] This "innovative and influential play" (Gibert 2004: 133), "the kind of long and eventful play which Euripides was writing at this time" (Webster 1967b: 198), made an impact that lasted well beyond its first production. Besides an extended parody in the *Thesmophoriazousai* (411), to which we owe about 14 of the 44 fragments that Kannicht accepts,[4] in the opening scene of *Frogs* (405), Dionysos whimsically recalls his days as a shipmate of the much-reviled Kleisthenes when he spent time on deck *reading* a copy of the play. (It was this, he claims, that aroused his *pothos* for Euripides.[5]) Alexander the Great is said to have acted from memory a scene from the *Andromeda* at his last dinner.[6] Lucian reports an incident that occurred in Abdera during the rein of Lysimachos (306–281 BCE): one of the symptoms of a fever that swept through the population was a mania for reciting dialogue and singing choral odes, especially from Euripides' *Andromeda* (here he cites the first verse of fr. 136, 21 B). He conjectures, playfully, that the Abderites had caught their "infection" after watching an impassioned portrayal of Perseus with the Gorgon's head in the blazing heat of summer.[7] It was popular with the Roman dramatists and Ennius' version is thought to have been strongly influenced by Euripides' play but, if so, not much light is thrown on the model from the meagre remains. It became a favourite theme with the mural painters at Pompeii.

The basic plot of Euripides' play cannot have diverged very far from the account provided by Lucian in one of his *Dialogues of the Sea Gods*. Polydektes king of Seriphos wished to marry Danae and so he sent her son Perseus off to fetch the Gorgon's head. On his way back with his prize

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[3] Full catalogue by Schauenburg 1981; Dearden 1999: 242 n. 85 for some South Italian scenes. The late Corinthian amphora from Cerveteri, Berlin Staatliche Museen F 1652, is cat. 1; illustrated by Woodward 1976 [1937] pls. 9 a and b.

[4] Kannicht 2004: 233–260, now the definitive edition. Kannicht's numbering is adopted by Gibert 2004, which supersedes all previous work in English on the play. In general I use Gibert's translations in the text and give fragment numbers as in Kannicht/Gibert and Jouan and Van Looy 1998 (designated "B" for Budé).

[5] *Frogs* 53. Was it his own private copy as patron divinity of the festival? an edition for limited circulation?

[6] Athenaios 12. 537 D citing Nikoboule (date unknown), who wrote on Alexander's expeditions, especially the botanical aspects.

[7] Jouan and Van Looy (1998: 163) cite an analogous tale from the fourth-century BCE historian Eunapios. After a particularly moving performance the inhabitants of an unnamed town incessantly sang and recited excerpts and subsequently became so debilitated from diarrhea that it was depopulated and had to be resettled by people from a neighbouring town.

> when he was at the Ethiopian shore here (Triton is relating these events to his daughters the Nereids), and now flying low, he saw Andromeda lying fastened to a projecting rock—ye gods, what a beautiful sight she was!—with her hair let down, but largely uncovered from the breasts downwards. At first he pitied her fate and asked the reason for her punishment, but little by little he succumbed to love, and decided to help, since she had to be saved. So when the monster came—a fearsome sight it was too!—to gulp her down, the young man hovered above it with his scimitar unsheathed, and, striking with one hand, showed it the Gorgon with the other, and turned it into stone. At one and the same time was the monster killed, and most of it, all of it that faced Medusa, petrified. Then Perseus undid the maiden's chains and supported her with his hand as she tip-toed down from the slippery rock. Now he's marrying her in Kepheus' palace and will take her away to Argos so that, instead of dying, she's come by an uncommonly good marriage.[8]
>
> (Lucian, *Dialogues of the Sea Gods* 323–324)

Just before the passage quoted above Lucian comments that Perseus himself described to Andromeda and later again to her father Kepheus the help given him by Athena: she held up her shield so he could see Medusa's image reflected in it which allowed him (presumably with some bodily contortions) to cut off her head without actually looking at it.

Many of these details probably appeared in Euripides' version, although the surviving fragments, concentrating as they do on the opening scenes with an emphasis on the pathos of Andromeda's situation, give us few hints as to the dénouement. Although a developing love-interest is suggested (if not very strongly) by fr. 129a (15 B), "Take me, stranger, for servant, wife, or slave," it is not clear how this was worked out. It may have been love at first sight, given that when he first sees Andromeda Perseus thinks she may be a statue carved out of the rock.[9] Fr. 136, 21 B, mentioned already in connection with the story of the Abderites' mania for tragedy, is the longest continuous passage we have independent of Aristophanes' extracts:

> You, Eros, ruler of gods and human beings: either don't teach beautiful things to appear beautiful, or strive along with lovers as they engage in toils of which you are the author, so that they succeed. If you do this, you will be honoured [by mortals (?)], but if you don't, by the very process of teaching

[8] *Dialogues of the Sea-Gods* XIV, sections 323–324 Hemsterhuys, trans. M.D. Macleod (LCL). The importance of this passage struck me when I first came upon it in Woodward 1937 [1976] 13–15.

[9] Fr. 125 (10 B), on which more below. One thinks of a kind of antique Mt. Rushmore.

> love you will be deprived of the expressions of gratitude with which they honour you.[10] (Eur. *Andromeda* Fr. 136)

In any case, marriage between them is mooted but it meets opposition, almost certainly from Andromeda's father Kepheus and possibly also from her mother Kassiepeia, who may have been feeling guilty for getting her daughter into this fix in the first place: she had boasted that she (or, less likely, her daughter Andromeda) was more beautiful than the Nereids, so Poseidon demanded the exposure of her daughter as an expiation of the affront to *his* daughters. The situation is even more complicated, for Andromeda is betrothed to someone else, although we are not quite sure to whom.[11] In any case, for whatever reason Perseus is judged an unsuitable mate. Tantalizingly, the theme of νοθεία occurs in one of the fragments (141, 27 B), but again we are totally in the dark about how it applied here. At some point in the proceedings Perseus' adversaries threatened violence, but he overcame them, apparently through use of the Gorgon's head. He ultimately took his bride home to Argos. Some or all of this may have been foretold by a *dea ex machina*, probably Athena but possibly Aphrodite.

There were literary antecedents to the Euripidean version in the fifth century. Large portions of the story were told in a tetralogy by Aiskhylos, two of whose plays were *Phorkides* and *Polydektes*, along with the satyric *Diktyoulkoi*, of which a considerable portion survives in papyri.[12] The daughters of Phorkys, also sometimes called the *Graiai*, "Old Women," were neighbours and guardians of the Gorgons, and as a result a stop there often featured in Perseus' itinerary; he seized their single eye and tooth, possibly with the help of Athena (a Lake Tritonis, sacred to the goddess, figures in some versions of the story) and used them to bargain for their help to get to the Nymphs who had various items of equipment that he needed for his final assault: the winged sandals, cap of Hades which gave him invisibility, and *kibisis*, wallet, eventually useful for storing and transporting the Gorgon's head. Apart from *Dikty-*

[10] Specifically assigned by Lucian to Perseus. Some of the gnomic fragments also mention ἔρως (fr. 138, 32 B and 138a, 3 dub. B) but the applicability to the situation is unclear. "Of all the disappointments attending the loss of Euripides' *Andromeda*, perhaps the greatest is that we do not know what feelings his title character had and how she expressed them" (Gibert 1999–2000: 91).

[11] Probably her uncle Phineus, possibly her other uncle Agenor; see West 1985: 147–148 with 148 n. 49.

[12] See Podlecki 2005b: 9–11.

oulkoi, almost nothing of the other plays survives, but it is generally thought to have treated other parts of the story and not Perseus' freeing of Andromeda.

Her travails and rescue by Perseus may also have been adapted to the requirements of satyr-drama,[13] and at an unknown date—c. 450 has been suggested on the basis of the vase evidence, to be discussed below—Sophokles produced an *Andromeda*. According to Lloyd-Jones, Casaubon proposed that it was satyric and he himself entertains the possibility (1996: 51), but it is generally believed to have been a tragedy, and about it even less can be asserted with confidence than about the Euripidean version.[14] A date in the 420s seems likely for Kratinos' comedy *Seriphioi* since it is reported to have contained attacks on, among other politicians, Kleon. Its subject was probably the early episode of Perseus being sent on his quest by Polydektes, king of the Seriphians. At about this same time the comic writer Phrynichos presented a play that contained a burlesque version of Andromeda's predicament under threat from the monster.[15]

Attempts have been made to reconstruct missing dramatic works using pictures on vases as "evidence."[16] It has in fact become customary to differentiate the Sophoklean *Andromeda* from the Euripidean by pointing to a series of vases from just after the middle of the fifth century on which the heroine is shown standing between two posts or tree-stumps to which her hands are bound, rather than against rocks or at a cave entrance.[17] But a penumbra of doubt has fallen on the use of

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[13] Brommer 1944: 25–29. He suggests as subject-matter the satyrs making off with Perseus' prize, the Gorgon's head, by theft or fraud and using it to create some mischief. A satyr "dressed" as Perseus running off with the Gorgoneion is shown on an Attic red-figure lekythos of c. 460 (Roccos 1994: cat. 31). The scene, of course, is not necessarily theatrical.

[14] A judicious account of the ancient evidence and what can reasonably be concluded from it is given by Pearson 1917: 78–80. As he argues, there was almost certainly a "catasterism," that is, a prediction, in all probability by a god or goddess, that the main characters—including the monster—were destined to become constellations in heaven. Since it is likely that Athena appeared at the end of the Euripidean version, this function has also been assigned to her in Sophocles' play, but there are no ancient testimonies to that effect.

[15] Aristophanes *Clouds* 556, with Dover's note ad loc. A parody of the opening scene of *Prometheus Luomenos* has been detected in a passage from Kratinos's *Ploutoi* preserved in a papyrus (fr. 171.25–26 K.-A. iv; cf. Herington 1963: 237 with n. 8). K.-A. suggest a date of 429 for the play.

[16] E.g. Séchan 1967: 256–273; Webster 1967b; 304–305; Trendall and Webster 1971.

[17] Schauenburg 1967; Green 1991; Gibert 2004: 139. The connection is challenged by Roscino 2003: 304 n. 377.

vase-evidence to fill in missing details—how can we be sure that the picture represents a *theatrical* version of the story?—and some loud warning-bells have been rung by recent critics.[18]

I came by my interest in Euripides' celebrated, lost, problematic play by a circuitous route.[19] Taking a break from the *Prometheus Desmôtês*, I was working through a new edition of the Euripidean fragments (Jouan and Van Looy 1998) when I noticed some striking similarities between the *Andromeda* and the *Prometheia*, the group of plays, purportedly by Aiskhylos, dealing with the Prometheus story. Bibliographical lucubrations revealed that certain of the parallels had been noticed by a few critics,[20] but these (so it appeared to me) had not been brought out with the emphasis they deserved. Indeed, the parallel in general terms between Prometheus and the heroine of Euripides' play is hard to miss, especially in light of a passage in Akhilleus Tatios (c. 150 CE):

> (In the temple of Zeus at Pelusium in Egypt) ... we saw a double picture, signed by the artist; it had been painted by Evanthes, and represented first Andromeda, then Prometheus, both of them in chains—and this was the reason, I suppose, why the artist had associated the two subjects. In other respects too the two works were akin. In both, the chains were attached to a rock, and in both, beasts were the torturers, his from the air and hers from the sea; their deliverers were Argives of the same family [Perseus father of Elektryon father of Alkmene mother of Herakles]; the one shooting Zeus' eagle and the other contending with the sea-beast of Poseidon. The former was represented aiming with his arrow on land, the latter suspended in the air on his wings.[21] (*Leuc. Clit.* 3.6; LCL)

It seems likely that an ancestor, albeit a remote one, of the painting described here was Euripides' *Andromeda*. Kleitophon goes on to remark about the way Evanthes had depicted Andromeda that "if one gazed upon her beauty, one would compare her to a newly carved statue" (3.7), which recalls Perseus' reaction after he notices the captive girl, "What image of a maiden perfectly carved in stone, the beautiful product of an artful hand?" (fr. 125, 10 B, 2–4). And one may also compare Ovid's description: "And Perseus saw her there, Andromeda, / Bound by the arms to the

[18] Small 2003; Todisco 2003. (I owe these references to the honorand, along with much other encouragement and sage advice.)

[19] An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the annual meetings of the American Philological Association in Montréal 2006-01-06.

[20] Schmid 1929: 31; Schmid 1940: 518 with n. 4; Rau 1967: 68–69.

[21] *Leukippe and Kleitophon* 3.6 trans. Gaselee 1961 [LCL].

rough rocks; her hair, / Stirred in a gentle breeze, and her warm tears flowing / Proved her not marble, as he thought, but woman" (Ovid *Met.* 4.672–675, trans. Humphries).

There is an obvious similarity of situation between the two characters. Both are bound on a high rocky outcrop near the sea; Andromeda's perch is described by Perseus as ὄχθον … περίρρυτον ἀφρῷ θαλάσσης ("… what hill is this I see, with sea-foam flowing round?," fr. 125, 10 B). Jouan and Van Looy remark on "la solitude totale d' Andromède" (1998: 156), a solitude which, as they point out, Euripides has accentuated through use of the figure of Echo, whose responses to Andromeda's plaints Aristophanes could not resist parodying (Ar.*Thesm.* 1059 ff.). So, too, Prometheus finds particularly galling his isolation, especially from the humans whose survival he had assured (Aesch. *PV* 2, 20–21 and elsewhere). Both figures are being harassed (to put it mildly, in Prometheus' case) by monstrous tormentors from whom they will ultimately be delivered. An anapaestic monody by the heroine opened the *Andromeda* (frs. 114–120, 121; 1–2, 5–8 B) and to this should be compared the anapaestic sections of Prometheus' monody after his captors have departed (*PV* 93–100, 120–127). The main characters in both plays are visited by young females comprising the Chorus, Oceanids in *PV*, Ethiopian girls in *Andromeda*.[22]

There are a number of other verbal parallels and similarities of motif. Perseus arrives flying through the air (probably by means of the *geranos*) recalling two similar arrivals in *Prometheus Desmôtês*.[23] Perseus expresses his reaction to what he sees with the words: ὦ θεοί, τίν' εἰς γῆν βαρβάρων ἀφίγμεθα / ταχεῖ πεδίλῳ; "O gods, to what barbarians' land has my swift sandal brought me?" (fr. 124, 9 B.1–2). Similarly Io upon arriving at Prometheus' remote crag exclaims, τίς γῆ; τί γένος; τίνα φῶ λεύσσειν / τόνδε χαλινοῖς ἐν πετρίνοισιν / χειμαζόμενον; ("What land? What people? Whom should I say I see, this storm-tossed individual, bridled in stone?" Aesch. *PV* 561–563). In fr. 119–120, 8 B. Andromeda comments that receiving commiseration from others lessens a sufferer's pain, συνάλγησον, ὡς ὁ κάμνων / δακρύων μεταδοὺς ἔχει / κουφότητα μόχθων ("Grieve with me, for when one who is in trouble shares his tears, he has relief from his toils." Eur. fr. 119–120). With this should be compared *PV* 288, Okeanos speaking: ταῖς σαῖς δὲ τύχαις, ἴσθι,

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22 Some scholars have suggested Andromeda's visitors were Nereids, but this is a minority view.

23 Use of the *geranos* by Okeanos and Hermes is conjectural, but it seems to me likely.

συναλγῶ ("You can be sure that I share in the pain of your misfortune." *PV* 288).[24] In an ode the Chorus comment τὸ δαιμόνιον οὐχ ὁρᾷς / ὅπῃ μοίρας διεξέρχεται; / στρέφει δ' ἄλλους ἄλλως εἰς ἁμέραν. ("Don't you see the divine, how it reaches a fated end? Day by day it turns different men different ways." Eur. fr. 152, 35 B). The phrasing is close to Prometheus' observation that πάντα τοι πλανωμένη / πρὸς ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον πημονὴ προσιζάνει ("Suffering is totally vagrant, accosting different people at different times." *PV* 275–276). There are some other similarities of phrasing. A gnomic observation by probably the Chorus on the sudden mutability of human Fortune contains the phrase … νεύει δὲ Τύχη κατὰ πνεῦμ' ἀνέμων (Eur. fr. 153, 36.4 B). Compare *PV* 1085–1086 (although here Prometheus is describing a meteorological fact) σκιρτᾷ δ' ἀνέμων / πνεύματα πάντων. If 7 B. 1050, 1051 (= Ar. *Thesm.* 1047–1055, not admitted by Kannicht) are genuinely Euripidean verses, it is possibly significant that they contain the words ἀμέγαρτον and πυρφόρος. The first, a not particularly common word which seems to mean something like "miserable", "wretched", recurs at *PV* 401 in the plural (also Aiskhylos, *Suppl.* 642). The epithet *pyrphoros* is obviously pertinent in a Promethean context and, as John Herington noted in an article to which I shall return, its three ocurrences in Aristophanes are in "quotations from the tragedians."[25] The plot of Euripides' play involved someone (Andromeda's father Kepheus, or both her parents?) challenging Perseus' suitability as a husband. The effect of frgs. 138, 32 B and 137, 33 B together is: You're lucky if you fall in love with a noble person (fr. 138, 32.2 B ἐσθλῶν ἐρωμένων, fr. 137, 33.2 B γενναῖον λέχος). The Nereids towards the end of *PV* express rather different views on the same topic, for they sing of the virtues of not marrying above one's station ("marriage on equal terms is not frightening," 901–903). They close their ruminations on marriage with the verse τὰν Διὸς γὰρ οὐχ ὁρῶ μῆτιν ὅπᾳ φύγοιμ' ἄν (*PV* 906) which Kannicht cites at fr. 152, 35 B because of the parallel structure: τὸ δαιμόνιον οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅπῃ μοίρα⟨ς⟩ διεξέρχεται; One last (perhaps slightly frivolous) parallel. According to R. Engelmann, the part of Andromeda was taken by a puppet, exactly as, in the opinion of some, in the case of Prometheus.[26]

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[24] The parallel was noted by Bubel 1991: 103.

[25] Herington 1963: 241; Aristoph. *Thesm.* 1051 (the *Andromeda* citation), *Birds* 1248 ("prob. from Aesch, *Niobe*," Dunbar ad loc.) and 1750, to which I return below.

[26] R. Engelmann, *JdI* 19 (1904) 146 ff., known to me only from the citation in Schauenburg 1967: 4; see Schmid 1929: 31 n. 2. For the puppet-Prometheus see Griffith 1983: 8 n. 25 with refs. there.

The freeing of Prometheus and the rescue of Andromeda are *parerga* in the larger and more challenging quests undertaken by the respective travelers, and so there may have been points of similarity in the geography of the "fabulous exploits of Perseus and Herakles" (West 1985: 153). The places visited by the heroes may have been enumerated, as in *PV*, in the course of prophecies or predictions, or in passages in which the heroes themselves told of their exploits. Here only guesswork is possible since very few details have been preserved of the actual itineraries of both heroes. Furthermore, it seems that in the *Prometheia* itself the author was setting up some kind of symmetry between Io's wanderings in the play that survives and the journeys undertaken first by the Titans, who have come to visit Prometheus from their abode to the south or southwest in the Isles of the Blest, and later Herakles, who is traveling westwards to fetch Geryon's cattle and the golden apples of the Hesperides.[27] Perseus' journey to fetch the Gorgon's head probably took him also to the West, where Hesiod located the Graiai, Gorgones and Hesperides (Hes. *Op*. 270–275). In Euripides fr. 145, 22 B someone, perhaps a Messenger, says, "I see the sea-monster moving swiftly from the Atlantic brine to feed on the maiden," which, as Jouan and Van Looy note, seems to indicate that Euripides situated Ethiopia in the West.[28] As previously noted, a traditional stop along Perseus' route was his encounter with the Phorkides or Graiai, and here there are some interesting overlaps with Io's route in *Prometheus Desmôtês*, where Prometheus tells Io that she is to go "towards blazing sunrise" until she arrives "at Kisthene, territory of Gorgons, where the daughters of Phorkys dwell . . ." (791–794). Kisthene seems to have been, as Dugas remarks, "the characteristic point of the land of the Gorgones."[29] It is possible that *Andromeda* presented an amalgamation, a kind of doubling of motifs from *Prometheia*: Io visits Prometheus but of course does not free him; it remains for Herakles to do that and so Perseus may have served as a kind of Herakles-Doppelgänger (both are, after all, sons of Zeus). And perhaps Perseus boasted of his

[27] "The Titans have almost reversed Io's route, from Ethiopia, via Pontus, to Scythia" (Griffith 1983: 291).

[28] Cf. Philostratos I. 29 Ἀτλαντικὸν κῆτος. Ethiopians in both west and east are mentioned by Homer (*Od*. 1.22–24).

[29] Dugas 1956: 9, my trans. Dugas drew attention to the similarities between Io's route in *PV* and Perseus's travels and he suggested that "the fact that Io travels as far as the country of the Gorgones . . . leads one to think that Aiskhylos recapitulated in the *Prometheus* an itinerary which he had traced at greater length in his trilogy devoted to Perseus, and that this itinerary was more or less borrowed from earlier traditions relating to the hero" (1956: 10).

exploits: εὔκλειαν ἔλαβον οὐκ ἄνευ πολλῶν πόνων (Eur. fr. 134, 19 B) in a way that would have suited Herakles.

Although none of the surviving fragments of *Andromeda* contain any place-names, there are geographical indications in some verses preserved from Kratinos' *Seriphioi*. Frs. 222, 223, K.-A. probably come from a speech outlining Perseus' travels. He is to go first to "the Syrian cape," then to the Sabai or Sakai, Sidonians and Erembi, an itinerary that apparently traces its ancestry back to a passage in the *Odyssey*. Menelaus is telling Telemachos and Peisistratos about his wanderings to Cyprus and Phoenicia "and I came to the Ethiopians and the Sidonians and the Erembi, and to Libya ..." (4. 83–85, trans. Murray-Dimock). If Edmonds is correct to assign to *Seriphians* a verse of Kratinos cited by Harpokration (who does not name the play) "and thence you'll come to the ends of the earth and see Kisthene's heights" (fr. 206A*), a definite link between Io's itinerary and Perseus' would be established.[30]

A last category of evidence comes from vase-painting, but this is difficult to assess and, as already noted, has its own pitfalls. Artists on vases in the fourth-century, especially in south Italy, were fond of showing Andromeda with her hands tied to the sides of a rocky arch or vault. One of the most striking and best preserved of these Andromeda scenes is on an Apulian loutrophoros by the Baltimore Painter of c. 320 BCE, now in a private collection in Fiesole. On an Apulian kalyx-krater of about 350 BCE by the Branca Painter (Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1969.9) Prometheus is shown in exactly this position.[31] The similarity was noted by Trendall and Webster, who remarked that in one fairly numerous group of South Italian scenes the heroine is tied "to a rock, which often looks like the mouth of a cave or grotto, but is more probably a stage prop, since it serves also for Prometheus" on the vase by the Branca Painter just mentioned.[32] In a study of the iconography of some vases dealing with Dirke Taplin states clearly and forcefully the case for the "theatricality" of these depictions of Andromeda. He notes that there are

[30] Edmonds comments that the line "appears to be a parody of the wanderings of Io" in *PV* (1957: 95 note b). K.-A. number the verse 343 and print it under "Incertarum Fabularum," pointing to the difference in metre between it and frs. 222 and 223, which are hexameters (of course, geographical details could have come in different parts of the same play).

[31] The vases are, respectively, Schauenburg 1981: cat. 15 (Todisco Ap 209) and Gisler 1994: cat. 72 (Todisco Ap 129; cf. Taplin 2007 no. 18).

[32] Trendall and Webster 1971: 79 (and cf. 61 on the Berlin Prometheus vase by the Branca painter). The similarities are noted and discussed also by De Vries 1993: 517–518 and Roscino 2003: 309–310.

some 15 examples of such scenes now known, and on some of them the rocky arch to which Andromeda is bound is square instead of round. "This," he says, "confirms the suggestion that the iconographic motif was based on a conventional item of portable theatre-scenery, which was fitted in front of the door of the *skene*."[33]

So far I have been building a case for similarities between Euripides' *Andromeda* and the *Prometheia*. The case is circumstantial but, in my opinion, convincing. But there are much stronger and quite concrete indications that Prometheus and his story were "in the air" in literary circles at just this time. When Aristophanes produced his *Birds* in 414 BCE, how many in the audience would have had an inkling that Prometheus would turn up almost 1500 lines into the play—and carrying a sun-shade! Just as he did in the cyclic *Titanomachia* he again acts as adviser to a weaker opponent against a stronger divine adversary, and he retains many of his traditional features, such as his philanthropy (or is it philornithy?) and his hostility to what he sees as Olympian despotism, "still so strongly anti-Zeus," as Dunbar puts it in her magisterial commentary, "that he takes the initiative in coming to betray him to his new enemies" (1995: 694). But there is more. As Dunbar notes at appropriate places, there are as well repeated verbal reminiscences of the *Prometheus Desmôtês*, so much so that she does not hesitate to refer to it as "a play of which Ar[istophanes] shows knowledge several times" in his own comedy. Dunbar was not the first, as we shall see, to have noted these parallels, but she brings them out with such care and thoroughness that the case she makes carries conviction. Two are strikingly close. The parabasis proper of *Birds* begins with an "impressive" (Dunbar's word) listing of "the weaknesses and transience of human life in contrast to that of the gods" (1995: 429):

> Ἄγε δὴ φύσιν ἄνδρες ἀμαυρόβιοι, φύλλων γενεᾷ προσόμοιοι,
> ὀλιγοδρανέες, πλάσματα πηλοῦ, σκιοειδέα φῦλ' ἀμενηνά,
> ἀπτῆνες ἐφημέριοι, ταλαοὶ βροτοί, ἀνέρες εἰκελόνειροι
>
> Now then, ye men by nature just faintly alive, like to the race of leaves, do-littles, artefacts of clay, tribes shadowy and feeble, wingless ephemerals, suffering mortals, dreamlike people: (Ar. *Birds* 685–687; LCL)

Although, as Dunbar remarks, most of these ways of describing humans' pitiable lot were traditional, it is significant that several occur in *Prome-*

[33] Taplin 1998: 35 n. 15; Taplin 2007: 39. There are excellent illustrations of some of the "rocky-arch" scenes that possibly reflect Euripides' *Andromeda* at Taplin 2007 nos. 56–62.

theus Desmôtês. Thus in the Second Stasimon the Chorus of Nereids express their sympathy with Prometheus, who can expect no assistance from the humans he has helped, because of their congenital weakness vis-à-vis the gods:

τίς ἐφαμερίων ἄρηξις; οὐδ' ἐδέρχθης
ὀλιγοδρανίαν
ἄκικυν, ἰσόνειρον, ᾇ τὸ φωτῶν
ἀλαὸν γένος ἐμπεποδισμένον;

What aid can ephemeral creatures give? Did you not see
The feebleness,
Strengthless, dreamlike, in which
The blind race of humans is shackled? (Aesch. *PV* 547–550)

Besides pointing out the parallels Dunbar remarks that ἐφημέροισι used in an absolute sense (= βροτοῖσι) occurs also at *PV* 83. Furthermore she suggests that the variant reading τ' ἀλαοί recorded in some of the scholia to *Birds* 687 "probably" (again, Dunbar's word) "arose from ancient scholarly observation of the parallel in *PV* 549–50" (1995: 431).

A second unmistakable (as I would argue) reminiscence occurs at *Birds* 1545–1547

ΠΡ. ἀεί ποτ' ἀνθρώποις γὰρ εὔνους εἴμ' ἐγώ.
ΠΕ. Μόνον θεῶν γὰρ διὰ σ' ἀπανθρακίζομεν.
ΠΡ. Μισῶ δ' ἅπαντας τοὺς θεούς, ὡς οἶσθα σύ—

Pr. I've always been a friend to humanity.
Pe. Yes, if it weren't for you we wouldn't have barbecues.
Pr. And I hate all the gods, as you know. (Ar. *Birds* 685–687; LCL)

With this compare *PV* 11 and 28 φιλανθρώπου … τρόπου, 612 πυρὸς βροτοῖς δοτῆρ' ὁρᾷς Προμηθέα, 975 … τοὺς πάντας ἐχθαίρω θεούς … Further parallels have been noted by commentators before and including Dunbar, but these seem to me the most important.[34]

Herington, in the important but often overlooked study already mentioned,[35] goes beyond the verbal parallels and argues for a fuller reflec-

[34] *Birds* vv. 199–200 ["perhaps influenced by Prometheus' claim (*PV* 443–4) to have given wisdom to mortals"], *Birds* 654–655 μηδὲν φοβηθῇς [Dunbar 1995: 418 thinks it is "risky" to see this as an echo of *PV* 128], *Birds* 1197–1198 the Aeolic πεδάρσιος ["occurs at A. *Cho*. 845–6 … elsewhere only in *PV* (269, 710, 916) …, from which Ar(istophanes) may have borrowed it"], *Birds* 1182–1183; *PV* 125–127; Herington asks "whether the *Birds* couplet could be a reminiscence of the approach of the Eagle" in *Prometheus Luomenos* (1963: 238 n. 13; already by Theodor Kock in his 1876 edition of *Birds*).

[35] Herington 1963. I had to be reminded of this central article by a member of the audience at my oral presentation in Montréal.

tion of the whole trilogy in *Birds*. As he says, "both plots alike hinge on the idea of a revolt against the divine Establishment" (1963: 237). In this revolt the figure of Prometheus, albeit decked out in exaggerated comic garb in *Birds*, is a pivotal figure. In both plays a divine messenger appears to attempt mediation; Herington remarks that Iris' appearance "might almost be a parody" of the similar appeals by Hermes in *PV*. Of the two other divine characters in *Birds*, Herakles certainly and Poseidon possibly figured in the action subsequent to *PV* (Poseidon, Herington reminds us, was Zeus' competitor for the hand of Thetis, *PV* 922–925). In the *Prometheia*, Zeus' intended union with Thetis must be averted if his power is to remain intact; in *Birds* Prometheus advises Peishetairos to demand marriage with Basileia as a way of wresting Zeus' sceptre and tyranny. The final scene is "pervaded by lightning and fire" and there are some minor verbal echoes.[36] The trilogy might also, in Herington's opinion, have ended with a festival celebrating the re-establishment of harmonious relations between the former adversaries, as in *Birds*.

What could account for this concatenation of references to the *Prometheia* in the latter years of the penultimate decade of the fifth century? Even before the parallels with *Andromeda* were fully appreciated, on the basis of the allusions in *Birds* alone some scholars inferred a reproduction of the *Prometheus* shortly before 414. In an article cited by Herington Janet Bacon, calling attention to parallels in Euripides' *Trojan Women* (415 BCE) as well as in *Birds*, suggested that there had been a recent revival of the *Prometheia*.[37] And in her note on *Birds* 1504 Dunbar herself remarked that the figure of Prometheus, wearing perhaps a distinctive mask and costume, might have been familiar to audiences not only from artistic representations but "possibly also from a recent production of Prometheus play(s)" (1995: 697). When we take into account the parallels with *Andromeda* of (probably) 412, such a suggestion becomes even more attractive. If we can trust a report in the anonymous *Life* affixed to some MSS. there were mandated (or perhaps it would be better to say "officially encouraged") revivals of Aiskhylos' works after his death (*Vita Aeschyli* 12) and an apparent pointed allusion

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[36] Herington 1963: 240. He notes, for example, the phrase describing Zeus' thunderbolt, ἄμβροτον ἔγχος πυρφόρον (*Birds* 1749–1750; the occurrence was noted above p. 84 n. 25). Parallels: *Birds* 1719 ἀνοίγειν … στόμα *PV* 611 οἴγειν στόμα, and with the "ineffable fragrance" (ὀσμὴ δ' ἀνωνόμαστος) mentioned by the Herald (*Birds* 1715) compare the ὀδμὰ … ἀφεγγής that accompanies the Nereids' approach (*PV* 115).

[37] Bacon 1928: 120. The parallels she cites are *PV* 39, *Tro.* 51–52, *PV* 48, *Tro.* 786–788, *PV* 966–967, *Tro.* 424–426 (Kovacs condemns the lines but they are accepted by Diggle).

in *Clouds* (534–537) to the recognition scene in *Khoephoroi* has often been taken as an indicator of one such reproduction shortly before the date of that play, 423 BCE.[38] The *Prometheia* might well have appealed to a citizen (not necessarily a descendant) eager to bring himself before the people at Dionysos' main drama festival.

The evidence seems to point then to a revival of the *Prometheia* at some date between 420 and 414.[39] It certainly made a strong impression on the Athenian public and especially two of their leading theatrical personalities, Aristophanes and Euripides. The question is, Why? (In fact, this question was put to me by the honorand after my oral presentation.) Having given the matter some thought I can suggest several possibilities without, however, any great confidence that I have hit on the solution to the puzzle. Possibly it was simply the boldness of conception, a challenge to authority even at the cost of personal suffering, officially sanctioned torture in Prometheus' case that was excruciating, unendurable and (almost) everlasting. But it might also have been a particularly impressive theatrical remounting of the piece. Although there is no direct evidence for it, we ought to assume that stage machinery and effects had grown ever more intricate and complex in the course of the century. Use of the *geranos* has been posited for Euripides' *Medea* of 431 (Mastronarde 2002b: 377) and it was certainly used for Trugaios' dung-beetle in Aristophanes' *Peace* of 421. Were the flying entrances of Okeanos and Hermes in *PV* (and possibly of the eagle in the sequel) particularly exciting? Was there an imitation of these theatrical effects in Andromeda where, if we are to believe that a detail mentioned by Kleitophon in the passage quoted above (Akhil. Tat. 3.6) derives from the play, Perseus fought and conquered Poseidon's sea-beast "suspended in the air on his wings." Were there other visual aspects of the production that made the audience gasp at the producer's daring imaginativeness? If we could be sure what exactly Aristotle intended when at *Poetics* 1456 a 1 he lumped together "*Phorkides*, *Prometheus* and the plays in Hades" (ὅσα ἐν ᾅδου) as the fourth class of tragedies, which he designated by a

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[38] Dover citing H.-J. Newiger, *Hermes* 89 (1961), 422 ff.; Dearden 1999: 239; Wright, *CQ* 56 (2006) 35 n. 16.

[39] I say "revival" because whatever the date of the original production of *PV*—a point which, along with almost every other aspect of the play, is enrobed in controversy—it must have been before 424 BCE, for there are lines in Aristophanes' *Knights* that look like direct allusions (*Knights* 758 ~*PV* 308 + 59, *Knights* 836 ~*PV* 613. See Flintoff 1983: 1 n. 3 and Griffith 1984: 286 n. 19; both of these parallels are accepted by Griffith).

term that has been preserved only in the corrupt form οης, we might be closer to a solution.[40] At present all we can assume is that the postulated (re-)production of the *Prometheia* left a lasting impression not only on the audience but also and especially on two dramatists who drew from it features which they adapted to their own theatrical purposes.

[40] ὄψις and τερατῶδες have been proposed (see Lucas 1968: 187–188), and either could be made to fit a plausible theory to explain the "impressiveness" of the production.

PART THREE

EURIPIDES AND HIS EXTANT PLAYS

NEW MUSIC'S GALLERY OF IMAGES: THE "DITHYRAMBIC" FIRST STASIMON OF EURIPIDES' *ELECTRA*

Eric Csapo

Walther Kranz categorised the first stasimon of Euripides' *Electra* as "dithyrambic." In form he described dithyrambic odes as "self-contained ballad-like narratives." In style and content he dismissed them as gaudy, light-weight, irrelevant and illogical, symptomatic of Euripides' servile infatuation with the popular "New Music," a display of merely superficial and technical virtuosity (esp. 1933: 238). Some of Kranz' followers were still more dismissive: Alt counselled readers to despair of any attempt to find "a logical sequence of thought" in *Electra*'s first stasimon (1952: 49). Barlow dubbed *Electra*'s first stasimon "the classic case of pictorial irrelevance," one "hardly justified in terms of dramatic integration" (1971: 20).

The tale *Electra*'s first stasimon tells is indeed desultory: it begins abruptly, ends abruptly, and contains abrupt transitions. Connections in thought are at best implicit, at worst diffuse and tenuous: its sequences are characterized as "leaps"; even the connection between ode and dramatic context is negatively characterised as an "escape." It is, however, misguided to complain, like Kranz or Alt, about the ode's "logic," as if Euripides tried (or should have tried) but failed to imitate the rhetorical architecture of a Sophoclean ode. This is poetry of a different stamp.

It was Martin Cropp's two-page introduction to this ode (1988: 127–129) that first induced me to study Euripides' "New Musical" verse.[1] Martin showed me that *Electra*'s stasima are not "self-contained," not "ballad-like," and, indeed, not exactly "narratives." Rather, they are, in Martin's words, "a series of pictures" that speak less through logical connection than through the shifting "tones," and "undertones" they provoke (Cropp 1988: 128). But for all that, they are not void of intellectual content—quite the contrary. Euripides' pictures are often sketched in with the briefest, sometimes the most allusive of details. They "rely on poetic and

[1] I prefer to call the style "New Musical," rather than "dithyrambic," though dithyramb played a very large part in defining the style: see Csapo 2000, Csapo 2003, Csapo 2004.

iconographic traditions to supplement and give depth to the essential details provided by his sketches" (Cropp 1988: 127). They are in words what a triglyph and metope frieze is in images, isolated details of cyclic narrative that challenge the viewer to recognise and supply the myths or themes that connect them to one another, and to the broader scheme of the work of which they form part. Despite Kranz, Alt, Barlow and others, the images are linked not only to each other, but to the rest of the drama "intimately" through "thematic motifs, mythical connotations and imagery" (Cropp 1988: 127).

In this tribute to a brilliant and inspiring scholar, I explore three aspects of Euripides' New Musical verse. In section one I describe the shape of the New Musical stasima in Euripides' *Electra*. The first and second stasima share the same pattern: an "escape" to a distant and untroubled world of fancy and a gradual but definite return to the troubles of the play's here and now. In section two I show how the series of pictures described by the chorus in the first stasimon is patterned to reveal the very anxiety which their "escape" would suppress. In particular I show how the emerging image patterns "ominously transform images from earlier in the poem" (Cropp 1988: 129). The return to the play's grim reality is thus not nearly as late or abrupt as generally claimed. In section three I show how ambiguities in the poem's language reinforce ambiguities in the images and allow the chorus' anxieties to emerge, as it were, subliminally and despite itself. In a brief conclusion, I urge that the gallery of images in the *Electra* is best understood in the context of New Music's attempt to create a more musical verse. Above all it is an experiment in making language seem more sensual, fluid and voluble.

1. *The Shape of Escape*

Electra's first and second stasima share the same form.[2] They are in fact programmatically linked, but I will confine discussion of the second stasimon to this section of the essay. Both odes begin by evoking a gentle land- or seascape, far removed in time and space, filled with benign creatures, music, dance and brightness. Roughly halfway through each of the odes there is an arresting turn. It marks the point at which the

[2] Because of space constraints I regret my inability to provide my own text or translations of *Electra* 432–486 and 699–746. The most important textual variants are discussed below.

chorus' thoughts gradually return from the bright idyll, by way of an increasingly sinister succession of images, to the deeply troubled present of the dramatic action.

This movement has long been noticed for *Electra*'s first stasimon.[3] The mood changes as we pass from dancing Nereids and dolphins, to the dark horrors depicted on the shield of Achilles. It creeps up on one. Walsh described it as a "rhetorical progression from the remote to the immediate" (1977: 282). It is less rhetorical, however, than visual and emotive—effected, as Martin said, through a series of images, with cumulatively "disturbing undertones" (Cropp 1988: 128).

In the second stasimon we pass from the bright idyll of Pan and his flocks in the first strophic pair to the sinister story of the rivalry of Atreus and Thyestes and its consequences in the second. This change too is effected by a series of images: the chorus identifies these as φοβεϱοὶ μῦϑοι ("frightening stories" 743–744), just as in the first stasimon the sinister images are described as σήματα δείματα "signs fears" (456). Bornmann has noted that in Euripidean lyric musical images often form the first term of an antithesis whose second term is bloodshed, horror, and grief (1993: 571–572).

The gradual nature of the transition notwithstanding, one can discern at the centre of each song, towards the end of the first strophic pair, a "pivotal" point at which the change in mood is most obvious. In the first stasimon it is at the ominous word Ἀτϱείδαις "for the Atreidae" (451).[4] Achilles is said to have been educated/nourished "for the Atreidae." In what sense? The primary implication of the words is that Achilles has been trained as a war machine for the Atreidae's battles. But beneath the ambiguity of the word τϱέφεν "educated/nourished" perhaps lies a suggestion that Achilles, who will die at Troy fighting "for the Atreidae," is like a lamb being fattened for the slaughter.[5] The word Ἀτϱείδαις is followed by the stasimon's major shift in rhythm as well as mood.

In the second stasimon the poem pivots at the sound of a name that causes heaven itself to turn. In the first antistrophe, when the chorus sings of the altars burning, the pipes playing and a chorus' "lovely songs

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[3] O'Brien 1964: 17; Morwood 1981; Cropp 1988: 128.

[4] Neitzel 1967: 74 comments on the emphatic position "als ob Achill … nur für die Atriden da wäre."

[5] Compare Eur. *IA* 1085 a similarly ominous ambiguity of τϱαφεῖσαν used of Iphigenia compared to a sacrificial heifer.

swelling, a finale for the golden lamb ...," we expect to hear that the lamb is the lamb "of Atreus." Instead, we hear, that the songs are "for the golden lamb / Θυέστου"—"OF THYESTES!"—a surprising prolepsis as the verse turns in enjambment (718–720).[6] "For after seducing the wedded wife of Atreus with concealed intercourse he takes the prodigy away to his palace; coming to the town centre he announces that he holds the horned gold-fleeced lamb at home" (719–726). In both stasima the turning points of the narrative imitate and are imitated by the divisions of the song's formal structure. In both odes the sinister turn is marked by a proper noun—"for the Atreidae," "of Thyestes"—words hinting at the tragic recognition of a suppressed truth.

The odes share another significant structural articulation. The form of the second stasimon is a more classic example of a Sophoclean and early Euripidean type that Kranz described as an ode of two strophic pairs in which the antistrophe of the second pair is a brief connecting passage in which the chorus turns its thoughts to itself, the actors or both (1933: 197–198). The chorus breaks off its description of the turning of the heavens, claims not to believe that the heavens would change their course "because of human misery, on account of a mortal rights-dispute" (741–742) and concludes that "these are frightening tales useful for promoting worship of the gods, which [gods? tales?] you did not think of, sibling of famous brothers, when you killed your husband" (743–746). In the first stasimon this second turning point—or point of return—appears in the epode. At the end of the description of Achilles' armour, the chorus also turn their thoughts to the Tyndarid (we will examine this passage in more detail later).

Both odes share a structure: an initial escape into an idyllic realm populated by pleasant landscapes and gentle creatures, a turn to cumulatively gloomier and more threatening images, and finally, through an apostrophe to the absent Clytemnestra, a final return to the drama's grim reality of murder and revenge. Odes of this type are generally referred to as "escape odes." But the term is in part misleading. Mastronarde notes that in Euripides, where such odes are especially common, the return to the here and now usually only occurs "after three quarters or two-thirds of the song have passed and very rarely before the first half has been completed." The lateness of the returns, argues Mastronarde, makes Euripides' chorus seem "to be more aloof or approaching the point from

[6] Exhaustive syntactic analysis of this effect in Panagl 1971: 103–104.

a more circuitous route" and, thereby, to dampen "the sense of anticipation, foreboding, fear and worry"; indeed the whole structure of the escape ode, according to Mastronarde, is designed to "dissipate intense emotional involvement" (1999: 99, 100).

I wonder if the teasing tardiness of the return does not rather deepen anticipation, foreboding, fear and worry. In the case of the *Electra* stasima, at least, I would argue that the odes articulate the chorus' wish to escape but demonstrate a very decided failure to do so. Martin's commentary on the first stasimon stresses the gradualness of this return even if the chorus only really *arrive* "after three quarters or two-thirds of the song have passed." Not only do the images of the entire second strophic pair offer, as Martin says, "disturbing undertones" but "some features of the armour ominously transform images from earlier in the poem" so that in retrospect the escape attempt begins to fail from the start (Cropp 1988: 128–129). Despite the effort to distance itself from the action, the chorus' anxieties come gradually but irrepressibly back into focus.

2. *Shifting Tones*

Scholarship on *Electra*'s first stasimon has concentrated almost exclusively upon the basic contrast between gentle creatures in the first half of the ode and monsters in the second. In this section I wish to discuss three iconographic patterns, which contribute, I believe, to the sinister effect created by the images evoked by the chorus' description of the armour of Achilles, as well as that retrospective process by which "features of the armour ominously transform images from earlier in the poem."

The images on Achilles' shield and helmet are among the most popular mythological pursuit scenes in Greek art. More significantly, unlike the images described in Homer's shield of Achilles, pseudo-Hesiod's *Shield of Heracles*, or Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*, the description of the arms of Achilles employs images drawn from the standard repertoire of devices found on real weaponry.[7] The gorgon, a sunburst, stars, a sphinx (especially with a youth in her claws), Pegasus, the chimaera, and the lion (as the chimaera is called in the ode) are all very well represented in art,

[7] On the purely "literary" nature of (most of) the literary shields before *Electra*, cf. Spier 1990: 126.

and are particularly common as blazons on real armaments.[8] Indeed, the ode's descriptions, like the emblems on armaments, focus on abstracted, isolated mythological characters, not groups. They also, like the emblems on armaments, focus on mythological creatures not as characters in a narrative, but as symbols, particularly apotropaic symbols: the Gorgon, the choruses of catasterised maidens (Pleiades and Hyades), the sphinxes and the Chimaera.

In the myth-complex evoked by each image, the male participants are sidelined or conspicuously absent (like Orestes in Electra's and the chorus' eyes).[9] The abstract images concentrate upon the female characters. Three are female monsters, famous man-killers who are the victims of young heroes, for the most part, omitted from the descriptions. The play after all deals with a young hero's pursuit of a woman who is identified as a man-killing monster and explicitly likened both to the Gorgon and to a female "lion."[10]

In this series of female monsters the dancing choruses of Pleiades and Hyades appear out of place. The maidens are indeed "brighter" but no less apotropaic in function than the monsters. Of this the ode leaves no doubt: the sun and choruses of stars in the centre of Achilles' shield are specifically described as *tropaioi* for the eyes of Hector (468–469). This threatening, deadly quality of the emblems lends the series a kind of coherence. But the star choruses, Pleiades and Hyades, add to the undertone of death and disaster in another way. In myth these were

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[8] **Gorgon**: Chase 1902: 50–51; Beazley 1961: 58–67; Krauskopf and Dahlinger 1988: 300–305, nos. 156–228; Spier 1990: 114, 122–123; Powell 1991: 202–204; Hainsworth *ad Il.* 11.36; West 1995: 210. **Perseus and Medusa**: Roccos 1994: 339–340, nos. 120, 121, 125. **Sun**: Schauenburg 1955: 35–40. **Stars**: Chase 1902: 66–67; Eisler 1910: 84, 309; Simon 1975: 13; Yalouris 1980: 315–316; Hardie 1985; Steinhart 1995: 13. **Sphinx**: ARV^2 879.1; Chase 1902: 66; Boardman 1968: 68; Spier 1990: 126. **Pegasus**: Chase 1902: 53; Beazley 1951: 94–97, 1961: 65. **Chimaera**: Beazley 1961: 66; Jacquemin 1986: 258 and nos. 40, 48–51, 105, 109. **Pegasus and Chimaera**: Jacquemin 1986: no. 110; Clairmont 1983: 231; Malibu 93.AA.47 (Boeotian grave stele of Athanasius). **Lion**: Chase 1902: 56–58. Some of the emblems described here, and in other late fifth century literature, may not have been much used as devices in actual armour after the middle of the fifth century (Beazley 1954: 19; Spier 1990: 126). They were, nonetheless, well known through the medium of art, dedications, and heirlooms, and we may suppose that these devices had archaic and heroic associations to the late fifth-century mind.

[9] Perseus is in fact the only male hero who is mentioned at all, all the others (Phaethon, Oedipus, and Bellerophon) are merely alluded to (for Phaethon see below). But even the mention of Perseus evokes the common iconographic schema where Medusa, frontal and centre, is flanked by Perseus on one side, and his divine assistant on the other.

[10] See Cropp 1988: 129 with further literature.

maidens catasterised when grieving for dead male relatives, much like the Heliades, to whom the adjective *phaethon* "gleaming" may allude in the description of the sun on his chariot, since they too grieved for their brother, Phaethon, fallen from the chariot of the sun.[11] Three ominously grieving choruses and three ominously dead male relatives form part of "the poetic and iconographic traditions" upon which Euripides relied "to supplement and give depth to the essential details provided by his sketches."[12] All three choruses reflect back on the chorus of the play, vainly trying to forget its grief, and the danger to the male relative for whom Electra and the chorus pine.

These mourning female choruses evoke a second use shared by the series of images on Achilles' arms. The ode's creatures are commonplaces of funereal iconography, where they appear as abstract symbols, as in the ode and as on armaments, (sphinx, gorgon, Pegasus, and lion hover just above degree zero of mythological narrativity).[13] The evocation of a lion effects a smooth transition to the lord of "such heroes" killed by the Tyndarid: lions were the usual marker for the communal tombs (*polyandria*) of men killed in battle.[14]

The apotropaic and funereal associations of the beasts in the second strophic pair do much to explain how the imagery accumulates enough foreboding to foil the chorus' "escape" from the action of the play. But the apotropaic and funerary associations are also shared by the creatures of the first half of the ode: for dolphins and Nereids on dolphins

[11] Denniston 1939 *ad loc.*: "Perhaps with some thought of Phaethon"; Mulryne 1977: 42: "the Greek … does not employ the proper name Phaethon, yet the association could scarcely fail to be in the audience's mind." The metamorphosis of the chorus of daughters of the sun was described at the end of Aeschylus' *Heliades* (*TrGF* F 71–73a) and was also mentioned in Euripides' *Phaethon* (Diggle 1970: 27–32). For the Pleiades and Hyades, see Aesch. *TrGF* 312; Eur. *Erechtheus TrGF* F 370.65–74, 107; Austin 1967: 55–56, 61. Cf. Zeitlin 1989: 176–177.

[12] Cropp 1988: 127 (see above).

[13] **Sphinx**: Lesky 1929: 1706; Friis-Johansen 1951: 89, 93, 97, 99, 105, 107–108, 111; Luschey 1954; Richter 1961: 6, 10, 15; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 78–80, 84, 86, 134, 221, 238–241, 322; Moret 1984: 22–29; Williams 1992: 634–635; Clairmont 1993: vol. 1, nos. 128, 340, 0.710, 1.214, 1.328, 1.342, 1.825, 1.862, vol. 2, nos. 2.154, 2.284b, 2.348d, 2.499, 2.813, vol. 3, nos. 3.418, 3.822, 3.905; Hoffmann 1994. **Gorgon**: Friis-Johansen 1951: 107–108; Richter 1961: 22; Hoffmann 1994. **Pegasus**: Lochin 1994: 320. **Lion**: Friis-Johansen 1951: 107; Luschey 1954; Vermeule 1972; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 84, 135–136, 222, 238–241, 248, 258, 285, 322; Clairmont 1993 vol. 1, nos. 1, 3a–b, 14 and vol. 3, no. 3.410.

[14] Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 239; Vermeule 1972: 55; Clairmont 1983: 65.

carrying armour are also frequent blazons on arms,[15] and standard figures of funereal art.[16] This also puts the first half of the ode, at least retrospectively, in a less rosy light.

There is a third iconographic trait shared by the images on Achilles' shield. Martin's word "monumentality" best captures this trait: he explains that "the monumentality of the pictorial descriptions" in part forges the contrast "between the high achievement of Achilles and the heroic expedition and the crime against Agamemnon" (1988: 128). "Monumentality" explains why Euripides departed from the literary convention of ecphrastic description of shields alone. Indeed scholars have remarked on the oddity of including images on every piece of the set of Achilles' arms, even his spear.[17] In this he followed art, not literature. Though it has escaped the notice of modern commentators, few Athenians could have failed to observe that Achilles' armour mimics that of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos. Like Achilles she carried a shield with a gorgonhead (her breastplate also carried a gorgonhead) and her gold-beaten helmet, like that of Achilles, carried a sphinx with a pegasos on either side.[18] The shield of the Parthenos was also decorated with astral imagery (as was Homer's shield of Achilles, to which, it has been claimed, the Parthenos' shield alludes).[19] On the inside Helios appeared driving a four-horsed

[15] **Dolphins as shield emblems**: Stesich. *PMG* 225; Euphorion fr. 67 (Powell); Plut. *Mor*. 985b; Σ Lycophr. *Alex*. 658 (Scheer); Chase 1902: 47–48; Graef and Langlotz 1925: 119, pl. 58. **Nereids bearing armour on shields and armour**: *ARV*[2] 1340.6; Barringer 1994: 58, n. 35 and appendix no. 350; Hekler 1919: 216–227.

[16] For the funereal associations of Nereids (riding dolphins or other sea creatures), see Kossatz-Deissmann 1978: 18 and n. 108; Barringer 1994 *passim*; Csapo 2003: 94–95. For dolphins: see also Schwarz 2002; Descoeudres 2000.

[17] The manuscripts give ἐν δὲ δορὶ at the beginning of line 476, which, for metrical reasons (it is a line of dactylic hexameter), must be changed to ἐν δὲ δορεὶ (cf. Denniston 1939 *ad loc*.; Friis-Johansen and Whittle (1980: 187)). This "tragic" dative is required at Aesch. *Supp*. 846, S. *OC* 620, 1314, and 1386 (cf. Aesch. *TrGF* F 129; Achaeus *TrGF* 20 F 29). In all four of these cases δορί is the manuscript reading. The radical emendation ἄορι δ' ἐν, adopted by Musgrave, Hartung, Murray, Denniston and Diggle, spoils the balance with line 464's ἐν δὲ μέσῳ. They argue that spears offer little surface for figural decoration (Denniston 1939 *ad loc*.), though the same might be said of swordblades (excavated Bronze Age artefacts are probably not relevant here) or sword handles (e.g. Ael. *VH* 3.45). All the more reason, then, to suppose that Euripides does not model his verse upon the practice of the armaments industry but upon monumental sculpture, and particularly the Athena Parthenos of Pheidias, for whom Pliny reports that "every tiny space afforded a field for art" (*HN* 36.18, translation by Jex-Blake and Sellers 1968: 191). One must bear in mind that we are dealing here not with an arsenal inventory but with a work of creative imagination.

[18] See *IG* II[2] 1393.32–33; Paus. 1.24.5 with Leipen 1971: 32–33; cf. Lochin 1994: no. 30.

[19] Fittschen 1973: 1n. 1.

chariot (also Selene on donkey or horse). Not only do the arms of Achilles in the *Electra* bear the same symbols as Athena Parthenos, but the set of arms of Achilles is limited to match precisely those used by the Parthenos: shield, breastplate, helmet and spear. There is no mention of other accoutrements such as greaves or sword, though they are prominent in literary and artistic depictions of the arming of Achilles.

Achilles' arms, like the arms of Athena, are covered with symbols of death. The conventional "dread" associated with its mythical beasts increases the gravity of the odes, slowly bringing down the chorus' escapist leap. The contrast between return and escape is marked by a correspondence in the ode's last and first images. The beasts of war (476 ἵπποι ἔπαλλον) romp in their element as did the beasts of dance in theirs (435 ἔπαλλε δελφὶς). There is even something of an echo in the dark colour of their respective elements, the black dust and the dark-blue rams of the ship (436 πρώιραις κυανεμβόλοις). The symmetry is not added for the sake of bland parallelism, ring-composition, or forced closure. It creates a strong opposition between the joyful dance of innocent dolphins and the charge of warhorses.

The epode opens with a line of dactylic hexameter to match its epic theme of galloping horses (476): ἐν δὲ δόρει φονίωι τετραβάμονες ἵπποι ἔπαλλον. The spear is proleptically bloody (although the description is of new armaments). The promise of slaughter lends colour to the description of the dust in the next line (477): κελαινὰ δ' ἀμφὶ νῶθ' ἵετο κόνις. "Black is an odd colour for dust" remarks Denniston (1939 *ad loc.*). It is an oddity meant to catch the mind's eye. "Black," κελαινός, is the regular homeric epithet for blood (it is never used of dust anywhere else in Greek literature).[20] The dust is black because it is blackened with blood.[21] To anyone versed in epic the "black dust" kicked up by the team of horses must evoke the image of the corpse of Hector, trailing in the dust behind Achilles' chariot: "a cloud of dust rose around him as he was dragged, and his dark-blue hair (χαῖται κυάνεαι) spread loose; his entire head was covered with dust ..." (*Il.* 22. 401–403). Hector's hair is "dark blue," like the prows of the ships in *Electra*, because it is mixed with blood

[20] *Iliad* 1.303, 7.329, 11.829, 11.845; *Od.* 11.98, 11.228, 11.232, 16.441, 19.457. Cf. κελαινεφὲς αἷμα. *Il.* 4.140, 5.798, 14.427, 16.667, 21.167; *Od.* 11.36, 11.153. Ebeling 1963 s.v. κελαινός notes that "in Od. non legitur nisi cum αἷμα coniunctum." For this reason κελαινός is associated with the blood goddesses, the Erinyes: Aesch. *Ag.* 462, Eur. *El.* 1345. Cf. Wilamowitz 1895 and Bond 1981 *ad* Eur. *HF* 780, Dodds 1960 *ad.* Eur. *Bacch.* 628.

[21] Cf. Schiassi 1956 *ad.* Eur. *El.* 476–477; cf. King 1980: 207.

and dust (like Vergil's Hector who is *ater ... cruento pulvere (Aen* 2.272–273)).[22] An early epic version (the *Aethiopis?)* known to Euripides and his contemporaries, presented the dragging of Hector's corpse by Achilles' chariot as the actual cause of Hector's death.[23]

The first stasimon of *Electra* says Achilles' shield was designed to turn back the eyes of Hector (468–469). But we know that it did not: Hector died because he stood his ground. In a version of the myth used by Euripides, all three bearers of the arms of Hephaestus—Achilles, Patroclus and Hector—died wearing them, and, in an important sense, because of them.[24] Hector's death is prefigured on the proleptically "bloody" spear of Achilles in *Electra* because, in the *Iliad*, Hector was destroyed by this spear: it was the only part of Achilles' armaments that Hector had not seized.[25] It was also the arm which, guided by Athena, cut through Hector's throat at the only point where, Achilles knew too well, the armour gave no protection (Hom. *Il.* 23.321–326). It is Hector's death, prefiguring, indeed preparing Achilles' own doom,[26] which turns the chorus' thoughts to "the blood poured out by iron from beneath the bloody neck" of the Tyndarid (485–486).

3. *Shifting Sememes*

The indeterminate, voluble nature of the imagery is shared by—indeed often generated by—the arresting compounds and allusive epithets with which it is described. Who, for example, are the "lord of men" and the "Tyndarid" in the epode (476–486)? Opinions are deeply divided on which "daughter of Tyndareus" is meant.[27] The apostrophe, coming as it does right after a description of Achilles' shield, would seem to urge

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[22] The dust on Hector's corpse becomes a minor theme in the *Iliad* 23.320, 24.17–18; 24.24ff. In anticipation of this theme, the poem describes the crests of the helmet of Achilles "sullied by dust and blood" (16.795–796) after the helmet was knocked off Patroclus' head by Apollo, and shortly before Hector placed it on his own head. Cf. King 1980: 207 n. 23.

[23] Soph. *Aj.* 1030–1031; Eur. *Andr.* 107–108, 399; cf. Verg. *Aen* 1.483, 2.272–273; Hyg. *Fab.* 106; further references in Kopff 1983: 59. See also Kilmer forthcoming; Seaford 1994: 179.

[24] Cf. esp. Hom. *Il.* 17.200–212; Gernet 1982: 36; Heath 1992: 391–394.

[25] Shannon 1975: 32, 70, 81–85.

[26] See Barringer 1994: 45 with further literature.

[27] See the discussion in O'Brien 1964: 16–17, n. 7. Since O'Brien most commentators have decided in favour of Clytemnestra.

taking Achilles as the "lord" here, and hence Helen as his "Tyndarid" killer. "The beds" that kill men are also more readily Helen's, since her sexual infidelity was more notoriously, directly and generally destructive than the infidelity of Clytemnestra: Clytemnestra's infidelity was only one of many motives behind Clytemnestra's murder of Agamemnon, and is sometimes portrayed as more of a symptom of her alienation, than a cause of the murder. It might be added that the final stanza of the first stasimon of *Iphigenia in Tauris* expresses the same wish and there it is explicitly Helen's throat the chorus wishes to see cut.

On the other hand, "lord of men," ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν, is a Homeric formula for Agamemnon, and Clytemnestra is the character whose death is anticipated at this point in the play. Moreover, τοιῶνδε "of such" at the beginning of the period immediately following the description of Achilles' arms, makes it natural to suppose that "such" refers to men like Achilles, in which case Agamemnon is the "lord" (not Achilles) and Clytemnestra the "Tyndarid."

Nearly all commentators agree that the lines must refer *either* to Helen and Achilles *or* to Clytemnestra and Agamemnon. Perhaps the reputation of the dithyrambic style tempts scholars to think that clarity might have been achieved but for its pretentious yet clumsy avoidances. To my knowledge only Paley (1858 *ad loc.)*, Taccone (1937 *ad loc.)*, Mulryne (1977: 34) and Kraus (1992: 161 n. 19) have entertained the notion that ambiguity is part of the design. Burkert (1990: 67) notes that the patronymic is used of Clytemnestra only once in Aeschylus' *Oresteia* (*Ag*. 83), not at all in Sophocles' *Electra*, but seven times in this one play of Euripides (*El*. 13, 60, 117, 480, 806, 989, 1018). "There is, in addition," writes Burkert, "an insistence on the sibling relations that link Clytemnestra with the Dioscuri, and the fact that Clytemnestra is the sister of Helen is constantly repeated."[28] There is some poetic point after all in compounding the daughters of Tyndareus. Like their brothers they are a natural pair. Unlike their brothers they are not saviours but mankillers. To merge the sisters under one patronymic is, in the final analysis, to taint one with the other's colours.[29] It could be argued that this ambiguous word strikes a theme that will be more fully developed later in the play: that the Pelopidae can in fact be tainted with the same brush since they are condemned to destroy one another by crimes of adultery and

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[28] Burkert 1990: 67. Clytemnestra and Dioscuri: Eur. *El*. 746, 990, 1064, 1239, 1298. Clytemnestra and Helen: Eur. *El*. 214, 1063, 1083, cf. 1041–1043.

[29] Cf. Mulryne 1977: 35–36.

murder. But within the choral song these ambiguities ease the final stage in the transition from the distant idyll to the dramatic present.

There are, I believe, three further riddling expressions in the description of the arms of Achilles that produce comparably significant ambiguities. At lines 456–457 the Laurentian manuscript has Περσέα λαιμοτόμον ὑπὲρ ἁλὸς ποτανοῖσι πεδίλοις φυὰν Γοργόνος ἴσχειν. In itself this is perfectly intelligible: "[on the peripheral base of the rim of the shield] the throat-cutting Perseus above the sea by virtue of his winged sandals held the nature of the Gorgon." However, emendation of λαιμοτόμον is necessary for the metre and editors change it to λαιμοτόμαν. But what does λαιμοτόμαν mean? It could be from the otherwise unattested noun λαιμοτόμας meaning "throat-cutter." This would leave the meaning of the line the same as in the manuscript reading. But it may also be a form of the compound adjective λαιμότομος "with cut throat," since nothing prevents the use of such compounds with three terminations.[30] If λαιμοτόμαν were to be taken as "severed at the throat" it would agree with "nature of the Gorgon." This is how the adjective is used elsewhere in Euripides and it is notable that of three attestations the adjective is once used of a human head and once associated with the Gorgon's head. We should consider the possibility that the adjective is meant to cut both ways. Indeed, it was a notorious feature of the New Music that its melodies ignored the natural pitch accent of the spoken word. There is, in other words, no way to avoid ambiguity no matter which reading we accept.

A second ambiguity in the description of arms is "sphinxes bearing ἀοίδιμον prey in their claws" on Achilles' helmet (471–472). Denniston (1939 *ad loc.)* rejected the most common meaning of ἀοίδιμος: "No doubt 'the prey won by their songs,' for the ordinary sense of ἀοίδιμος is weak and pointless, and, in view of the flexibility with which attributes are employed in Greek lyric verse … we cannot hesitate to accept here an unattested, but appropriate sense." Most commentators agree.[31] The

[30] See Denniston 1939 *ad loc.* Both passive λαιμότομος and active λαιμοτόμος, though extremely rare elsewhere, have a special currency in New Musical verse. The passive adjective occurs only three times in Greek literature: Eur. *Hec.* 208, *Ion* 1054, *IA* 776. The active adjective also appears only three times: Eur. *IT* 444, Tim. *Persai*, *PMG* 791.130 and in the Greek Anthology. Cf. *Troiades*' dithyrambic first stasimon (564) where the manuscripts have both passive καράτομος and active καρατόμος and both readings are possible; *Rhesus* 606; Kayser's emendation at Aesch. *Ag.* 1091 and Fraenkel 1950a *ad loc.* The active καρατόμος is used of Perseus in Eur. *Archelaus* 210.

[31] Only Barnes 1694, Seidler 1813, and Paley 1858 favour "famed in song." "Won or trapped by song" is favoured by Musgrave 1778, Weil 1879, Keene 1883, Wecklein 1906, Ammendola 1923, Schiassi 1956, O'Brien 1964.22, Cropp 1988.

dissatisfaction of these scholars with the "ordinary sense" of the word does suggest that it may have been chosen precisely for its capacity to give pause. But perhaps recourse to an "unattested, but appropriate sense" is too hasty a solution to this textual challenge. The word means "subject of song." This might then be the "prey of which the poets sing," though it is sooner the sphinxes and not their victims which are the real object of poetic memory. Surely here one is meant to recall that the sphinxes themselves are ἀοιδοί. Sphinxes deliver their riddles in song. Moret translates "la proie de l'enigme" (1984: 4). What is the answer to the riddle of the sphinx? It is "man." The sphinx's prey is also object of its riddle.[32] And here mimetically the riddle riddles.[33]

The third riddling expression is the adjective τετραβάμων in the first line of the epode (476): ἐν δὲ φονίωι τετραβάμονες ἵπποι ἔπαλλον. Compound adjectives ending with -βάμων are usually ambiguous about who is doing the walking and how. The author of *Prometheus Bound* uses ἱπποβάμων of a mounted army (805), whereas Sophocles uses the adjective of centaurs.[34] Τετραβάμων (= "moving with four") is probably a Euripidean coinage. In *Helen* 376 (of the bear Callisto) and *Phoenissae* 808 (of the stalking sphinx) it means "moving with four [paws]." But the adjective is also used of chariots drawn by teams of horses in *Phoenissae* 793, a sense corresponding to τεθριπποβάμων used of Pelops' chariot drawn by a team of winged horses in *Orestes* 989. For "fitted with four horses" epic uses τετράορος, though this also seems to have become ambiguous, since Sophocles uses it to mean "with four legs" (*Tro*. 508). Euripides can be seen to play with the ambiguity of τετραβάμων in

[32] The hexameter riddle about the creature who walks on four, two and three legs goes back to the archaic period, as shown by two inscribed vases of *c*. 520–510 BCE, discussed by Moret 1984: 49, 49. The riddle reported by the earliest vase is not identical in form to that preserved in the hypothesis to Euripides' *Phoenissae*, which appears to be taken from a fifth-century tragedy (Lesky 1966: 318 ff.; Lloyd-Jones 1978: 60–61). Euripides in his *Oedipus* gives the riddle in a different form (*TrGF* fr. 540a.5–9). In all versions the answer to the riddle is "man" (a term which I use advisedly since in art and tragedy the preferred prey of the Sphinx is young males: see Fontenrose 1959: 309–310; Moret 1984: 10–11, 42).

[33] For the ambiguity in the language of the Sphinx, see Lesky 1966: 318–326; Detienne and Vernant 1974: 288–289. One can compare the play at *Phoenissae* 805–807, μηδὲ τὸ παρθένιον πτερόν, οὔρειον τέρας, ἐλθεῖν πένθεα γαίας Σφιγγός, where Mastronarde 1994 *ad loc.* notes that "the postponement of the gen. … almost creates a *griphos* in 806 which is clearly resolved in 807bis."

[34] Soph. *Trach*. 1095. One can compare ἱπποβάτης ("horsewalking"), which normally means "mounted on horseback," but which Euripides uses of centaurs "walking like horses" (*IA* 1059).

Troiades 617 where it is attached to a "wagon," suggesting both "four-wheeled" but also "quadruped" because this particular "wagon" is the Trojan horse—an ambiguity Wilamowitz characterised as *per ambages sane* διθυραμβώδεις (1921: 174).

Traditional ideas about the "emptiness" of dithyrambic ornament would urge the view that at *Electra* 476 Euripides is making the rather obvious point that horses walk on four legs—or rather that the adjective has no point at all. Taccone is surely right to argue that the adjective was chosen because it also had the power to evoke the image of a team of four horses yoked to a chariot (1937 *ad El.* 476–486). It adds its contour to the emerging image of Hector brought down in his prime by Achilles' bloody spear and dragged through the black/bloody dust kicked up by the horses that drag his mangled and mutilated corpse.

Conclusion

Those who approached the dithyrambic odes with expectations of structured narrative, let alone logical argument, were disappointed. The songs of Euripides' later dramas were inspired by the New Music. In odes like *Electra*'s first and second stasima poetry takes a distinctly musical turn.[35] Like music, New Musical verse appeals directly to the senses, the subconscious, and the emotions. Its architecture is essentially musical not verbal. If it can be called "narrative," it is a form of narrative which avoids structures peculiar to verbal logic, especially hypotaxis—the causal connections required by anything we usually identify as "plot." Instead of building events up into a story, or propositions up into an argument, Euripides' verse offers us an almost purely paratactic sequence, a gallery of images. Each image is not so much meaningful as highly suggestive, emotionally charged, and in many cases ambiguous. Through an essentially musical patterning of repetition and variation the tonality of the images can change. (Even the meaning of the words is often indeterminate, ambiguous, and designed to change with pattern recognition—made to flow, we might say, with the music.) The cheerful and comforting dance of Nereids at the beginning of *Electra*'s first stasimon is joined by the sound of the aulos, by dolphins and the colorful blue prows of ships, the happy leaps of young Achilles surrounded by his nurturing parents

[35] What follows is an all too terse summary of points made in Csapo 2003: 72–73 and Csapo 2004: 216–229.

and the benign horseman (ambiguously Peleus or Cheiron)[36] who served as his guardian. But even these happy and comforting images change their tones and contents as the series expands and the themes are repeated in a different key. The Nereids and dolphins take on sinister and funereal airs. Achilles becomes a killing machine and the horses drag the corpses of young heroes through the dust.

[36] Kraus 1992: 162–163.

HOW DOES "SEVEN" GO INTO "TWELVE" (OR "FIFTEEN") IN EURIPIDES' *SUPPLIANT WOMEN*?

IAN C. STOREY

Euripides' *Suppliant Women* has not enjoyed the same reputation or popular reception as his *Medea* or *Bacchae*. Scholars of the last century seem to have taken the words of the hypothesis at face value, "the play is an encomium of Athens," and thus dismissed it as a "political" play, as something less "dramatic" or "tragic." Critical hostility, of which Grube's blunt dismissal is typical, "this is not one of Euripides' greatest plays," began to be dispelled by Zuntz's (1955) sensitive study, which showed how a play could be both "political" and effective drama as well. Zuntz's essentially optimistic and positive reading has been followed by Collard (1975) and Morwood (2007) in their editions and commentaries to the play. On the other side, certain critics have called attention to a fundamental ambiguity or pervasive shade of grey beneath the "encomium of Athens," where nothing is as black and white as one might like, where the choices are not easy, and where the bodies of the dead provide a vivid reminder of the horrors of war for all to see.[1] Mendelsohn (2002), for instance, would go as far as seeing Euripides rejecting a "just war," even for the sake of maintaining the Panhellenic *nomos*.[2]

In the last fifteen years the play has received two major performances, the first directed by Rush Rehm in California in 1993, part of the celebration of the 2500th anniversary of Athenian democracy and dedicated to the people of Nicaragua, who in the words of the director were being "cruelly and systematically denied the chance to build their own democratic society." For Rehm it was no accident that "drama and democracy emerged in the same place and at the same time."[3] In 2006 a Dutch

[1] The studies of Fitton 1961, Smith 1966, and Mendelsohn 2002 in particular take this ironic direction.

[2] Mendelsohn 2002: 223: "Like Theseus in the play the Athenians were beguiled [by Alkibiades and the Sicilian campaign]. Like him they chose badly."

[3] From the programme (p. 5), very kindly supplied to me by Rush Rehm (along with a wealth of detail about the production)—A Lively Arts at Stanford/Stanford University Department of Drama production of Euripides' *Suppliant Women*, directed by Rush Rehm, February 1993.

theatre group staged the play both in the Netherlands and at Epidauros in Greece to considerable acclaim, and again allowing the spectre of contemporary conflicts (in this case the Dutch mission in Afghanistan) to act as a text beneath and behind the ancient drama.[4]

Finally, with the rise of "performance criticism" over the last quarter century, *Suppliant Women* has attracted even more attention, as it startles spectators and readers for a number of reasons: a very grand "cancelled opening" at the beginning; an active sub-chorus of boys who occupy the focus of attention at the close of the play; a powerful scene where the dead bodies are returned, in which over fifty individuals may have been assembled in the *orchestra*;[5] a troubling *dea ex machina* at the end; and, above all, the unprepared and unparalleled self-immolation of Euadne on the pyre of her husband.[6]

My purpose in this paper honouring Martin Cropp, who has shed so much valuable illumination on Euripides' works, both fully preserved and fragmentary, is to survey the state of play of a minor but thorny matter, the composition of the chorus.[7] On one level this might seem to be a non-issue. The title *is* "Suppliant Women", but a play-title in the plural does not always denote the chorus. We may think of *Frogs*, named after an unseen sub-chorus, and especially of *Herakleidai* ("Children of Herakles"), where the "children" are a silent group of boys clustered around the protecting altar of Zeus, while the actual chorus is comprised of men from the local deme of Marathon. But as early as lines 8–13 of *Suppliant Women*, our attention is directed to "these old women who have left their homes in Argos … they have lost their children, their seven noble sons who died at the gates of Thebes." Later Aithra will identify to Theseus the women constraining her to remain at the altar as "the mothers of the seven leaders who died at the gates of Thebes" (100–102), and the women themselves confirm this identity, "we seven unhappy mothers gave birth to seven glorious leaders among the Argives" (963–965).

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4 The 'dinner' offered to guests before the performance on one occasion consisted of self-warming army rations of the sort issued to the Dutch troops in Afghanistan. The web-address is: *http://www.veenfabriek.nl/voorstelling/smekelingen.html#Anchor-Pers-11481*.

5 See Whitehorne 1986 and Morwood 2007: 205 on this scene.

6 See Rehm 1996 and Scully 1996/7. Grube 1941: 240 agrees that these scenes are "spectacular," but concludes "they must have made *The Suppliant Women* a successful show, if not a good play."

7 Martin Cropp was present to hear an abbreviated version of this paper, read to the Classical Association of Canada in May 2007 at St John's. I hope that I may be able to persuade him at this, the second time of hearing.

The first problem is one of numbers. The phrase "*Seven* against Thebes" was famous then as now (see Aristophanes *Frogs* 1021), and all would know from the epic tradition, from Pindar's 6th *Olympian* (6.15), from Aeschylus' *Seven* (467 BCE),[8] and from the *parodos* of Sophokles' *Antigone* (141–142) that seven generals had perished at the seven gates of Thebes. But the traditional number for a 5th-C. tragic chorus was twelve or fifteen, and seven does not accord well with either.[9] In our play we are told repeatedly that there were seven Argive leaders who died at Thebes: "their seven noble sons who died at Thebes" (12), "the seven generals who died at Thebes' gates" (100–102), "those who led the seven famous companies" (131, 755), "we seven unhappy mothers gave birth to seven glorious leaders among the Argives" (963–965). Of these it is possible to translate the second passage as "the generals who died at Thebes' seven gates," but the natural run of the other passages is "seven leaders." Thus the initial problem is how can twelve or fifteen *choreutai* represent "seven unhappy mothers?"

There is a second problem if we consider for a moment the identity of some of these mothers. Collard (1975: 18) and Morwood (2007: 143–144) conclude that of the canonical Seven, five mothers could not have been present or would fit the chorus's identity with difficulty. Polyneikes, the seventh leader and the man responsible for the expedition, was the son of Jokaste of Thebes, who in any version of the story should be dead by now. Parthenopaios was the son of Atalante the huntress from Arcadia (888), while Tydeus was also a foreigner (135, 221, brother of Meleagros at 904), by a Theban mother. How are we to imagine their

8 Presumably also in Aeschylus' *Eleusinians*, which we know from Plutarch's *Theseus* 29.4–5 treated the same theme as *Suppliant Women*, but with a chorus of men of Eleusis and Theseus succeeding by persuasion rather than by force.

9 The scene at Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 1348–1371 reveals a chorus that has dissolved into twelve constituent members, each speaking two lines. Thus we may reasonably assume a chorus of twelve in Aeschylus. The ancient *Life of Sophokles*, followed by the *Suda* (s.v. Σοφοκλῆς), tells us that Sophokles increased the number of *choreutai* from 12 to 15. Pollux 4.109 presents a complicated scheme of five files and three rows ("for there were fifteen in the chorus")—the relevant sections of Pollux on drama are nicely available in translation at Csapo and Slater 1995: 394. Fifteen is the number given by Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 298, *Knights* 586, and Σ Aeschylus *Eumenides* 585; fourteen in the *Life of Aeschylus* and Tztetzes *Prolegomena ad Lycophronem* (Koster XXIIb 25). All of this is based on sketchy evidence and needs a thorough re-examination. I suspect that one ancient source may lie behind all the references to fifteen *choreutai* as the 5th-C. norm. The matter is confused further by the Pronomos Vase (*c*. 400 BCE), one of the very few pieces of contemporary visual evidence about a tragic/satyric chorus, which shows only eleven *choreutai*.

presence among the seven mothers, who emphasize repeatedly that they are Argive (9, 365–368, 628–631, 808–810, 955–957, 1165)? And what of the mother of the dead Eteoklos and of Euadne, who will kill herself on her husband's pyre? Iphis, her husband, gives no notice of her presence among the women. He will follow his daughter to Eleusis, but not his wife? What role could the mother of Amphiaraos play, when her son does not lie unburied outside the gates of Thebes, but was swallowed chariot and all within the earth (925–927)? In the end only five of the Seven receive a funeral eulogy from Adrastos (857–917)[10] and only five urns with ashes of the dead are presented to the boys.

Several solutions have been offered to "solve" the problem, that is assuming the ancient spectators of the 420s would have seen any problem in the first place. No one solution is entirely satisfactory, but each has its attractive points and each its drawbacks.

(1) The seven mothers were augmented by seven or eight attendants to make up the canonical number of fifteen. These would be the *prospoloi* mentioned at 71 ff.:

> From attendants comes in succession this next contest of lament with lament. O fellow-singers in our troubles, o sharers in grief, dance the dance that Death honours. (Eur. *Supp.* 71–75)

With seven attendants we may add a Chorus Leader and have the traditional number of fifteen—Boeckh (1808: 75 ff.), Hermann (1811: xvi), Smith (1966), Carrière (1977: 51–59). Smith (1966) argues for a variant on which there are seven mothers, including the chorus-leader, and eight "companions."

But are we to imagine two distinct groups among the chorus, different in costume, role, and even in physical placing in the *orchestra*? Now in comedy we can have two equal and opposing sub-choruses (men/women in *Lysistrata*, rich/poor in Eupolis' *Marikas*), but these are opposing forces, not two halves of the same dramatic entity. Do we subject the text to an intense scrutiny, separating out passages to be sung by the mothers and others by the attendants? Some have in fact seen 71–86 as sung by the attendants as they join what was presumably the song by the seven mothers at 42–70.[11] This might be supported by the distinct change in metre at 71. More crucial is 598–633, where there are clearly

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[10] To be sure Amphiaraos receives a brief mention at 925–927, and Polyneikes likewise at 928–931, but these are not formal eulogies, nor are their bodies present.

[11] See Norwood 1954: 113 and Smith 1966: 156.

two groups interacting: one fearful of the result of Theseus' expedition, and the other expressing greater confidence. But there is no hint that one group represents the mothers, and the other the attendants. A parallel for such a division of the chorus occurs at *Orestes* 1258–1280, where the chorus splits into two groups to watch each of the *eisodoi* for intruders. There is also the choral ode at *Hippolytos* 1102–1150, in which some have argued that the first and third stanzas are sung by the (male) followers of Hippolytos and the second and fourth by the regular chorus of serving women, with perhaps both groups singing the final epode.[12] Here there *is* a distinct difference of personality, but it is not a question of the main chorus sub-divided by its identity.[13]

If the chorus were distinctly divided, the short ode at lines 778–793 becomes particularly difficult to separate into parts, since both stanzas are sung from the point of view of the mothers. Equally problematic is the choral lament between mothers and grandsons at 1113–1164. What role could a half-chorus of attendants play here? In fact at 1115 the attendants are summoned by the mothers to support them, and the mothers' parts in this lament sung from their point of view. Did the part of the chorus that was the attendants sing only occasionally, leaving the bulk of the performance to the seven mothers?

Are there two visibly distinct elements to the chorus, mistresses and attendants? Were they garbed alike? Theseus (97) describes the women's dress as "not suitable for a festival," and they refer frequently to their torn clothes and gashed faces. One can imagine attendants dressing and behaving in sympathy with their mistresses, and joining in the physical acts of grieving and supplication. But if they have become virtually indistinguishable from the mothers, have we not just have progressed to the next explanation?

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[12] This is still an unsettled matter. The problem is caused by the presence of masculine forms in the strophes of the choral ode (in a play where the 'normal' chorus is composed of women of Troizen), and feminine forms in the antistrophe. Barrett 1964: 365–369 sees "no dramatic purpose in an alternation" and would emend away the masculine forms; Halleran 1995: 243–245 is unable to persuade himself "that the song is sung in two groups" and translates Barrett's text (with some misgivings). Burnett 1986 accepts the male/female alternations and argues strongly for a structuralist reading which brings males and females together in a unity of genders otherwise lacking in the play, while most recently Swift 2006 accepts the mixing of two choruses as an attempt to explore Hippolytos' failure to accept sexuality and marriage.

[13] Swift 2006: 132 is good on the subsidiary chorus in Greek tragedy; see also Carrière 1977.

(2) The chorus was composed of the usual fifteen (or twelve) members, and we should not be thinking in literally numerical terms. Ancient audiences would not have expected seven distinct identities from a tragic chorus, or even worried about the discrepancy in numbers. These are simply the mothers of those who died at Thebes. The number "applies both to the Chorus and the bodies of the dead sons only as a symbol of their collective identity"[14]—Wilamowitz (1889: I 220–221), followed by Collard (1975: 18), Kovacs (1998: 8–9), and Morwood (2007: 143–144).

This is certainly the least complicated way of explaining the identity of the chorus. They are simply "the mothers of the dead" and, as such, constitute a more involved chorus than we get in many plays of Euripides. Choruses in Greek tragedy range from the marginally involved and even intrusive (as in *Orestes* or Sophokles' *Elektra*) to the deeply and intensely concerned (*Eumenides*, *Suppliants*, *Trojan Women*, *Bacchae*), and for Euripides this chorus is more than usually involved in the issues and aftermath of the action. Theseus will bury the Argive rank-and-file at Eleutherai (759); thus more than just the bodies of the Seven lie unburied at Thebes. But if Euripides intended the chorus to be simply "mothers of the dead," why then does he repeatedly stress that they are "seven mothers who gave birth to seven glorious sons?"

This, essentially, is the problem: would the spectators have been counting heads and whenever the number "seven" appears have been filing a mental complaint? Or was the choral identity just so ingrained in the theatre of the 5th-C. BCE that they were "the chorus," a plural entity, and we leave the matter there? But Willink (1990: 347) raises a valid point: "Athenians could count, and the Comedians were quick to exploit potentially ludicrous features in tragedy," but we would have to assume that this would have seemed "potentially ludicrous" to the Athenian audience. But we do hear the number "seven" on several highlighted occasions, and one must wonder whether an ancient spectator was nudging his neighbour and saying "But I still count twelve (or fifteen). How many do you see?"

(3) The seven mothers are mutes; the real chorus is made up of fifteen temple maidens, who serve Demeter and her daughter at Eleusis. The temple attendants of line 2 (*prospoloi*) are the same as those who "take up the lament" at 71 ff. (*prospoloi*). There would thus be a group of twenty-two female figures, for which the fifteen *prospoloi* would do all

[14] Collard 1975: 18.

the singing. At 1115 when the attendants (*amphipoloi*) are asked to "grab hold of a strengthless old woman", two of these fifteen would support each of the seven mute mothers—Willink (1990: 347–348).

This explanation would have the advantage of making *Suppliant Women* more closely parallel *Children of Herakles*, in that a silent group represents the foreign suppliants being received by a sympathetic local entity who form the chorus, in the first case men of Marathon and in the latter women of Eleusis. But the parallel ends abruptly, for nowhere in *Children of Herakles* does the chorus assume any identity other than that of Athenians—this is especially clear at 354 ff. and 748 ff.

More troubling is the assumption that the chorus of Eleusinian temple-servants could be so totally subsumed in the character of the foreign mothers that we lose any hint of their Athenian identity. There is absolutely no parallel for this in extant Greek tragedy. The play's text becomes altogether too confusing if we have to keep two groups of women distinguished. In the first scene (1–381) I found the following places of potential confusion and even ludicrousness:

- at 92 ff. Theseus expresses surprise at seeing his mother at the central altar surrounded by "foreign women"—yet temple-maidens of Eleusis would not be *xenai*—if only the seven mothers surround Aithra, where are the others standing?
- at 95 these women are "old"—why should temple-servants necessarily be old?
- if 92 ff. refer only to the seven mothers (mute), why is no mention made of the other fifteen? Theseus asks about the identity of the women surrounding his mother (98–99), of the man weeping in the doorway (104), and of the subsidiary chorus of boys (106), but if there are four distinct groups in the orchestra, why does not he ask about the other women?
- at 194 the chorus echoes Adrastos' appeal and asks Theseus to "pity *my* misfortunes."
- at 258 Adrastos bids the "aged women" go forth, but on Willink's interpretation only seven will make to leave, and at 266 the chorus ask whether "you [Theseus] will expel from your land these old women who have received naught of what they should." Here Willink accepts Musgrave's unlikely assignment of 265–266 to the Chorus-leader and thus finds considerable support for his view in her third-person pronoun ("them"). But the words can remain naturally enough in the mouth of the chorus and refer to themselves.

- lines 271–285 are so completely sung in the persona of the mothers that it is all but impossible to imagine them sung by another group impersonating them "without impunity."
- the final chorus at 365–381 begins with an address to "horse-rearing Argos, land of my fathers," again disconcerting in the mouth of a chorus of Eleusinian/Athenian women, even one impersonating the Argive mothers.

Willink (1990) adduces parallels for a chorus of temple-attendants in the choruses of *Iphigeneia among the Taurians* and *Phoenician Women*, but neither really fits his case. The chorus in *Iphigeneia among the Taurians* are not local women, but captive Greeks in a strange land; their persona throughout the drama is one of foreigners to the setting, while the women in *Phoenician Women* are en route to their service at Delphi. If anything, they are closer to the day-trippers in *Iphigeneia at Aulis*. The closest parallels would be, as I have already mentioned, to the men of Marathon in *Children of Herakles* and to the townspeople in Sophokles' later *Oedipus at Kolonos*. Add to this the clumsiness of a visible chorus of twenty-two bodies, but with only fifteen singing, and all masked so that the spectators might not be certain of just how many chorus-members there actually were. Willink's explanation does deal with the problem of seven mothers and fifteen chorus-members, but creates its own difficulties both in terms of the number (twenty-two) and the problem of a confused identity.

(4) The play, as we have it, is a 2nd-C. or 3rd-C. CE amalgam of a genuine play by Euripides and the work of a later tragic poet (Norwood suggests Moschion), writing to be read rather than performed, "a heap of lumps thrown together by some meddling dullard"—Norwood (1954: 153). For the text as we have it, the problem of seven among twelve or fifteen simply does not arise, since it was never produced in 5th-C. Athens.

There is considerable evidence for later interpolation and even rewriting of scenes and speeches of Greek tragedies,[15] the most extreme examples being the opening scenes of *Phoenician Women* and *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, and the final scene of the latter, distinguished by Diggle (1998: 357–425) with four different sigla to denote, in his judgement, varying

15 See the fundamental study by Page 1934.

decrees of authenticity or lack thereof.[16] But there is no convincing evidence for such a major re-writing or *contaminatio* such as Norwood (1954) proposes. We might make an exception for *Prometheus*, which has been attractively conjectured by Sommerstein (1996: 328 n. 14) to have been a reworking or completion of material left after Aeschylus' death by his son Euphorion and presented with success at the Dionysia of 431.

Norwood (1954: 112–181) rejects over half of the current text as "fourth-century in feeling," as "utterly un-Euripidean," as reminiscent of Plato, as violating "all we know concerning the facts of Athenian 'stage'-presentation" (i.e, the suicide of Eudane, which in fact he regards as "an imitation of the Indian suttee, unknown to the Greeks before the age of Alexander"), and as "alien to the spirit of fifth-century Athens." He seems to feel that any sense of political cynicism or pessimism must post-date the loss of nerve after Athens' defeat in the Peloponnesian War. To refute but one of his points, he (like Kovacs [1998: 38]) rejects as Euripidean lines 238–245, the tripartite division of the citizens including the poor "who trust too much to envy and jab their nasty stings at those with money." But *Wasps* 1102–1121 (422 BCE) shows that in the 420s the city and its denizens could be described in entomological terms, including the image of the sting (used, granted, in a positive sense by Aristophanes). And surely criticism of the democracy did not wait for the orators and political theorists of the 4th C. (e.g., Plato *Republic* 8). The speeches in Thucydides, the "Persian debate" at Herodotos 3.80–83, and the complaints of the "Old Oligarch" show us that there was debate in the fifth century about the desirability and effectiveness of various sorts of government.

Norwood's separation of the text into Euripidean and Hellenistic sections does not really solve the problem, since he does allow that a genuine *Suppliant Women* by Euripides did exist and was performed, and this just pushes the problem backward of how in the Euripidean original with its admitted chorus of "suppliant women" seven mothers square with twelve or fifteen *choreutai*. His solution was that Euripides' play was staged in a private performance, which would allow for a reduced chorus of seven and also for a curtain to hide the tableau with which the play opens. Nor-

[16] In fact the recent Loeb text of Kovacs (1998) excises considerable sections of the speeches in *Suppliant Women*, including some passages that I should be sorry to lose (e.g., 172–174, 232–245, 442–455, 549–557).

wood (1954: 162), writing before the concept of a cancelled opening,[17] assumed that what the spectators would have seen first was an arresting tableau: Aithra in the centre, surrounded and trapped by the women with suppliant branches, Adrastos lying before the temple doors, attended by the sub-chorus of boys, and that this could not have been made visible until it assumed its final form. Hence the need for a curtain or screen to hide the development and thus for a private performance, which would have had a reduced chorus of seven. But we have no reason to assume that the play started only when someone began to speak.[18] If we look closely at the opening of other Greek tragedies, we can detect places where a considerable bit of stage action takes place before a character utters a word. This would include such basic entries as those of the choruses in *Persians* and *Suppliants* who open the play, the devious and cautious movements of Odysseus in *Ajax*, and whatever Dionysos might do in *Bacchae* (approach his mother's tomb, examine the palace of Thebes etc.). In *Children of Herakles* we would see the silent chorus of boys enter with Iolaos enter and take up their positions at the altar of Zeus—admittedly not as elaborate as in our play, but still relevant. Andromache will do something similar at the start of her play, when she enters to find refuge at the altar before the shrine dedicated to Thetis.

Norwood's theory also does not explain how a privately performed *Suppliant Women* came to be included in an official list of Euripides' plays and how it came to be cited by later writers of the classical world. But stranger things have happened, including the fact that a partially completed revision of Aristophanes' *Clouds* (*c.* 418 BCE) was not only preserved but even displaced the officially performed version of 423.

(5) Euripides staged this play with a chorus of seven members only. The obvious objection is a rigid insistence on the canonical number of twelve or fifteen chorus-members. All tragic choruses in the fifth century had twelve or fifteen *choreutai*. End of discussion. What would have happened if Euripides had used a smaller chorus? There is a tendency among critics

[17] Taplin 1977: 134–136 and Rehm 1988: 274–290 have called attention, with a special nod to this play, to the concept of "the cancelled opening," the convention by which characters enter and assume a position before anyone begins to speak and in full view of the spectators. Would a modern director with access to lights and a curtain begin the drama by raising the curtain on the established tableau or upon a bare set to be filled by four silent movements?

[18] Grube 1941: 229 wonders whether the spectators "'saw' nothing until some one began to speak." In short, when did a Greek play 'begin'?

to regard the conditions and conventions of the Athenian dramatic festival to have been as codified and as rigid as, say, the rules of ice-hockey or cricket today. Actors were three in number, we read, and thus had to share the roles, but what would have happened if a poet suddenly brought on a fourth speaking actor?[19] Are we to imagine the relevant archon leaping to his feet and stopping the play, penalising the playwright for "too many men on the stage"? Much of the evidence suggests that this was a flexible and developing art-form, in which part of the challenge was to push against the rules and create something novel and effective. Aeschylus did some bold things in his *Oresteia*: an elaborate use of the recently constructed *skene*-building, having the third actor in *Libation-Bearers* wait 900 lines to speak (Pylades), changing the location of *Eumenides* from Delphi to Athens and leaving the stage bare of performers in the middle of the action. In 438 Euripides performed his *Alkestis* in the fourth (the satyrical) position, before a theatre full of spectators waiting (still waiting, one presumes) in vain for the satyrs to appear. There have been suggestions that this was not the only time a poet tinkered with the fourth position.[20] Bowie (1993: 217–225) and Segal (1996) among others have argued that what really vexed Aristophanes about Euripides was his intrusion into the space of comedy, particularly with his plays with happy endings. Comedians, we know, prided themselves on their innovations and boasted of them directly to the spectators (Pherekrates fr. 84, *Clouds* 518–562, *Wasps* 1009–1059 etc.). Should we not expect the same of the tragic poets? We should, I think, be suspicious of saying with absolute finality that a chorus of seven would be "incredible for the Dionysiac theatre of that period" (Norwood 1954: 162). Unusual, but impossible?[21]

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[19] In fact, some reconstructions of the production of tragedies assume a fourth speaking actor in certain circumstances. In *Oedipus at Kolonos* we need either a fourth actor to speak the role of Theseus or to assign that role to each of the three canonical actors in turn.

[20] Sutton 1980, for instance, wonders if the tragedies with happy endings, called "Romantic Tragedy" by Conacher 1967 or "Escape-Tragedies" by Wright 2005, were produced in the fourth position, and Burnett 1985 argues that *Rhesos*, usually rejected as Euripidean, was an early experiment by Euripides with the fourth position.

[21] We can consider also the officially sanctioned developments in the history of Greek drama: the construction of the *skene*-building *c.* 460 BCE, the creation of the contest for actors in the early 440s, the introduction of formal dramatic contests at the Lenaia in the late 440s, the introduction of the *mechane* before 431, the decrease in comedies from five to three in the 420s and their restoration after the War, the introduction of an 'old' tragedy in 386, a major re-organization of the dramatic contests *c.* 340, the introduction of an 'old' comedy in 339, the re-building of the theatre in stone after 330. This is not a rigid and unchanging art-form.

Norwood (1954: 117–118) argues further that there is "some evidence for a much later use of that number [seven]", citing a comic chorus at Delphi and a tragic chorus at Cyrene, each with seven *choreutai*. He adduces also a passage in Diodoros (13.97), "which seems to have been neglected in this connexion":

> [before the battle of Arginusae in 406] Thrasyllos, the Athenian general, who was in charge on that day, had the following dream the night before. He dreamed that he and six of the other generals were at Athens before a full theatre and performing [*hypokrinesthai*] Euripides' tragedy, *Phoenician Women*, and that when the rivals put on *Suppliant Women*, the victory at Thebes fell to them, and all followed the example of those who had marched against Thebes and died. (Diod. Sic.13.97)

Norwood's argument is that seven is too many to play the three actors' roles and thus Diodoros is referring to seven (out of a larger group of generals) doing the duties of a chorus. But *hypokrinesthai* seems to be used of actors (see LSJ *ad loc.*) and the whole tradition sounds suspiciously late and developed as an elaboration of the story of the generals at Arginusae.

If a chorus of only seven is deemed to be impossible for the City Dionysia, what about the Lenaia or some other venue? A production at the Lenaia might explain some of the unusual features of this play and still account for the play's inclusion in the canonical catalogue of Euripides' plays. But this solution is still open to the challenge of Collard (1975: 18) that, if the spectators thought at all seriously about the actual identity of the mothers of the Seven, they might expect to see Jokaste or Atalante or wonder where the wife of Iphis was. And a chorus of just seven would tend to focus attention on the individual identities—would a particular mother mourn more fiercely as Adrastos recounted her son's virtues in the funeral oration?

On the matter of individual personalities within a chorus Norwood (1954: 115) is essentially correct when he asserts, "of all extant Greek tragedies this alone contains a chorus that is not homogeneous," although at *Agamemnon* 1348–1371 the chorus of Argive elders dissolves into twelve discrete personalities. We may wonder also about Aeschylus' *Suppliants* with its chorus of the daughters of Danaos, one of whom in a subsequent play (*Daughters of Danaos*) will become an individual personality and defy the collective actions of her sisters. Was Hypermestra somehow distinguished from the larger chorus as early as the first

play?[22] Webster (1967: 14, 34) speculates also about Euripides' early play, *Peliades*, the daughters of Pelias whose names are given in the later tradition, and whether Alkestis distanced herself from the chorus of the daughters of Pelias, who unintentionally murder their father. Old Comedy also contains several examples of an individuated chorus: *Birds* (of course), Eupolis' *Poleis* (cities of the Empire), perhaps his *Kolakes* (notorious spongers of Athens), and certainly Ameipsias' *Konnos* (*phrontistai*).[23] The gap between tragedy and comedy is well explored,[24] and one of the distinguishing features may well have been the identity and nature of the chorus (homogeneous in tragedy, more individuated in comedy).

Suppliant Women is an odd play for a number of reasons, not odd enough to deny Euripidean authorship or countenance an extensive rewriting in the fourth or third centuries BCE. In terms of the myth, Euripides has made a significant innovation in bringing Aithra, normally resident at Troizen, to Athens and having her live with her son, Theseus, as "queen-mother."[25] Theseus in the play is less king of Athens than he is contemporary Athenian political leader—note the telling comment of the messenger at 726–730:

> This is the sort of man to elect as general (*strategos*), who is valiant in terrible situations and loathes an arrogant people (*laos*) that in their success destroys the prosperity which it could have enjoyed, by striving to reach the topmost steps of the ladder. (Eur. *Supp*. 726–730)

More than one critic has seen Perikles behind the dramatic portrait of Theseus.[26] Then there is the digressive *agôn* between Theban herald and Theseus on the comparative merits of *monarchia* and *demokratia* before they get down to the matter at issue (the burial of the dead at Thebes). Athenian audiences did enjoy the rhetoric of verbal debate, but this *agôn* does little to advance the action of the play and drags the action firmly from the mythical to the contemporary world. Finally there is the funeral oration by Adrastos, seen by many as an attempt by Euripides to

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22 This assumes that *Suppliants* is the first play of the Danaid trilogy. Sommerstein 1996: 141–152 has argued strongly for the order: *Egyptians*, *Suppliants*, *Daughters of Danaos*.

23 Individuated comic choruses are discussed by Wilson 1977.

24 The classic study is Taplin 1986.

25 In the usual mythical tradition Theseus is the product of a casual encounter between Aigeus and Aithra in Troizen. Here she resides in Aigeus' house at Athens as the official consort of Aigeus. See Mills 1997: 105 and Morwood 2007: 145.

26 Especially by Goossens 1932. See also the discussion at Mills 1997: 103–104. Michelini 1997 prefers to see Perikles' young protégé Alkibiades behind Theseus.

undercut deliberately the just war with which the play is concerned.[27] Here the Seven against Thebes, normally regarded as the "ogres" of Greek myth (Aeschylus *Sept.* 375–625, Sophokles *Antigone* 100–154), become men of personal and civic virtue, loved by their families and by their fellow-citizens. The introduction to the speech at 839–856 is particularly pointed and perhaps meta-theatrical, when Theseus asks not for a description of their conduct in battle, because the furore of battle makes any accurate report unreliable.[28]

In terms of staging, the play begins with an elaborate cancelled opening involving at least four movements of characters on both sides of the *orchestra*: the arrival of Aithra and attendants (by the local *eisodos*), the preparations for the sacrifice to Demeter, the sudden entry of the mothers who surround Aithra at the central altar,[29] the subsequent arrival of Adrastos and the boys who proceed to take up a position at the back before the *skene*-doors, and Aithra's sending of a herald to Theseus.[30] The stone memorial for Capaneus, proposed by Theseus at 938, is now imagined as being visible at 980. Did some structure marvellously appear behind the *skene* during these forty lines? Euadne is described as standing "on the rock as high as heaven which towers over this temple" (987–988). Is she on the roof of the *skene*-building or on some higher tower erected for the occasion to represent the rock above the *telesterion* at Eleusis? Rehm (1998: 112) comments well on the unusual scene with Euadne: "As far as we know nothing like [this] ever took place in fifth-century tragedy before or after *Supplices* and it would be hard to find a more theatrically daring moment in the history of the stage."[31]

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[27] Fitton 1961: 437–440 and Mendelsohn 2002: 187–196 are particularly critical here. See the general discussion at Morwood 2007: 209–210.

[28] The opening words of Theseus are almost comical: "by the way, I meant to ask you earlier, but …". Fitton 1961: 437 thinks that this is a Euripidean jibe at an heroic and unrealistic messenger-speech in Aeschylus' *Eleusinians*.

[29] There has been some debate over the position of the altar in Greek tragedies in general, and in this play in particular. Collard 1975: 17 placed the altar at the back of the *orchestra* on a raised stage, but Rehm 1988: 263–274, followed by Scully 1996/7: 72 and Morwood 2007: 143, has made a compelling case for placing the altar in the centre of the *orchestra*, with Aithra and the suppliants occupying the focal position.

[30] All this can be deduced from Aithra's opening speech at 1–41 and her subsequent explanation to Theseus at 87–112. We can note that the herald dispatched by Aithra (37) seems not to have reached Theseus, as he enters at lines 87–91, wondering why his mother has been so long at Eleusis.

[31] Without wishing to disagree too loudly with Rehm, we might consider other visually compelling moments in Euripides: the closing scene of *Orestes* with speaking characters

Thus when we come to consider what Euripides was doing in *Suppliant Women*, we may want to consider radical solutions, both with staging and with the composition of the chorus. Euripides was "sailing close to the wind" when he wrote *Suppliant Women*. He was looking at a famous patriotic theme of the Athenians through the lens of contemporary politics and values. The black and white world that prevailed in *Children of Herakles* (up until the final scene at least) has been replaced by a world of grey, a more modern and less heroic context, where assumptions can be challenged, where the great national hero Theseus behaves badly in his first scene and has to be recalled to the proper path by his mother, where the Funeral Oration reveals the villains of myth to be heroes to their own side (after all, do not victors write the history-books, or in this case the myths?), where the sufferings of war are so obviously revealed in the persons of mothers and orphaned children, in the presence of dead bodies on stage and where the entire theme of the drama can be undone by Athens' national deity (1214):

> I speak to the sons of the Argives: when you grow up, you will sack the city of Thebes. (Eur. *Supp*. 1213–1214)

Perhaps in such a bold play about the seven leaders who fell about the seven gates of Thebes, we should consider whether Euripides reduced the size of his chorus to seven, and thus added to the dramatic effect of this unusual drama.

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on all four levels (orchestra, before the *skene*-door, on the roof, on the *mechane*), the entries of Bellerophon in *Stheneboia* and *Bellerophon* on Pegasos, Medea as *femina ex machina* at the end of *Medea*.

WEAVING WOMEN'S TALES IN EURIPIDES' *ION*

Judith Fletcher

Ion, child of a chthonic female and Olympian male, embodies and resolves a conflict between earth and sky fundamental to creation myths. Upon this cosmogonic framework Euripides assembles a familiar (in form if not in content) coming of age tale. As the truth of Ion's conception unfolds both in its predicted and unforeseen course of revelation, the son of Apollo and Creusa experiences a rebirth at Delphi, the navel of the world, where he is given a name, celebrates his birthday feast and moves from isolation to integration with family and polis.[1] This rebirth is folded into the recreation of his narrative,[2] a new version of an old tale featuring a cleverly constructed plot full of excitement and humor, but also agreeable propaganda. The drama must have given an ancient Athenian audience pleasure, especially since it apparently validates their control of Ionian subject allies. In Hesiod and other early extant accounts, Ion son of Xuthus and an unknown woman is not even Athenian.[3] Giving Ion a divine father would be an appealing idea to Ionian city states fractious perhaps because of the recent Sicilian disaster[4]—but it comes at the price of accepting their "natural" association with Athens.

It is never wise to attribute simple jingoism to a poet as subtle as Euripides, however, especially given the uncertain date of *Ion's* production. Yet while the exact political context of the drama is obscure, its poetic virtuosity is obvious. *Ion* is above all an intensely self-reflexive text which invites its audience to contemplate the very processes of mythmaking, and by extension the fragility of authorial control. Allusions to story-

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[1] Lee (1997) 22–29 notes the conventional motif of exposure and restoration of status. He suggests that Ion's character change from peaceful temple slave to "cynical political realist" is a function of his maturation. The coming-of-age motif is also discussed by Loraux (1993) 186–187. See Zacharia (2003, 123–125) on the naming of Ion.

[2] No extant sources before Euripides make Ion descended from Creusa and Apollo: in Hesiod (fr. 9M–W) and later Herodotus (7.94.1 and 8.44.2), Ion is son of Xuthus and an unnamed woman. I am persuaded by Cole's (1997) 89–90 convincing arguments against the suggestions that Euripides was not the inventor of Ion's parentage.

[3] Aristotle ([*Ath. Pol.*] 3.2) says that the Athenians sent for Ion to come to their aid.

[4] Zacharia (2003) 2–5 argues that *Ion* was produced in 412, when Athens' control over her subject allies was tenuous. On the issue of dating see also Lee (1997) 40.

telling, sculpture, painting and textile art reinforce the impression that this is a drama apparently positioned between two distinctly separate registers, the pragmatic reality of everyday life and the fantastic events of mythical fiction. Characters, especially Creusa, seem to have stepped out of a picture or work of art to participate in the drama.[5] Within the enclosures of this most self-referential tragic text, different stories butt up against one another, struggling for authentication. These include two versions of Ion's parentage, but also tragic intertexts from Aeschylus and Sophocles, reminders of the complex agonistic environment of Greek poetic praxis in which authors compete for authority.

Characters within this text are also aware of a narrative tradition that is manifested through visual and oral representations. The Chorus, for example, makes a connection between narrative sculpture and tales they heard at the loom. They are also aware that some stories are lies, specifically the *duskeladoi hymnoi* (1190–1191) about women's love affairs. My project in this paper is to explore how the Chorus participates in a struggle for control of the text from within the text, and how their unusual authorial agency is linked symbolically to their occupation as slaves at Creusa's loom, a realistic detail contributing to the sustained weaving and textile imagery that unifies the drama. Euripides' new version of Ion's parentage, and the recognition of mother and son, is revealed and enacted in the theater as a result of the unconventional intervention of the Chorus, who thwart Apollo's plan laid out by Hermes in the prologue (70–75). Two stories of Ion's origin are presented to the audience: the version of Xuthus, which circulates publicly, and the version of Creusa, kept private. A competition for textual control, configured as a conflict between the sexes, is epitomized when Xuthus dismisses his wife's chthonic heritage by telling Ion that, "The earth does not bear children." (542) Ion, intuitively hitting upon his true ancestry, had wondered if, in the absence of any identifiable mother, he could have been born from the earth. A few moments before he had interrogated Creusa about her autochthonous background: "Was your grandfather [Erichthonius] really born from the earth?" (267) As he pursues the subject, moving on to the sacrifice of Creusa's sisters, Ion makes a distinction between the true (ἀληθὲς) and the false (μάτην) story (275). As Ion will learn, it is the most fantastic myths of divine fathers and autochthonous bodies that are the truth, while the rational account of Xuthus is but a vain tale.

[5] As Danek (2001) 57 notes, only Creusa has direct access to the world of myth: she belongs to the authochthonous lineage of Athens, and has intercourse with Apollo.

This revelation, as Thomas Cole has suggested, is structured as the disclosure of a secret kept silent for centuries by Athena's orders (1601–1603). Euripides offers "[n]ew and amazing light on the origin and history of the Ionian race," now finally revealed to his audience in a ritual context.[6] Through its enactment in the theater of Dionysus, this new true version will replace the existing tradition in which Ion is son of Xuthus and an unknown and unimportant woman. The tale of Xuthus, repeated by Hesiod and other authors, is embedded in Euripides' play as a lying tale given by the oracle to Xuthus, and by him to Ion. The audience witnesses the creation of the Hesiodic version first hand, as Xuthus puts together the details of Ion's putative conception. The Creusa story, told first by Hermes in the prologue and then in five different variations by Creusa herself, is accepted as genuine by the audience.[7] Because Hermes reveals that Apollo and Creusa are the parents of Ion, the audience recognizes that the Xuthus story cannot be true. But events do not happen quite the way that Hermes, spokesman for his brother Apollo, says they will. Due to an act of story telling by the Chorus, Ion and Creusa are re-introduced at Delphi rather than Athens as Hermes predicted (70–71). Thus at the end of the play husband and wife take home entirely different stories about Ion's parentage.

These conflicting tales are woven into a narrative tissue that interlaces strands of other tales, including Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, with which *Ion* shares a pronounced textile motif. It is worthwhile to think of all the different stories, including the versions of husband and wife, as coming together to form a fabric: the pre-exisiting texts are the warp, fixed and unmoving, through which the weft of the new tale, fluid and dynamic, is woven. The fixed warp of the fabric, which includes not only the Hesiodic version but also several famous tragedies, now takes on an entirely different texture as it is shot through with the brilliance of a joyful reunion between mother and child. The new poetic fabric becomes a reweaving of the earlier texts which it incorporates. For example, scholars have noted how *Ion* reworks Sophocles' *Oedipus*. Both plays are concerned "with kin-knowledge, with self-knowledge, and with Apollo."[8] Two royal mothers recognize children they exposed; two men, unaware of their royal

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[6] Cole (1997) 90.

[7] Rabinowitz (1993) 197–199 analyzes the different accounts that Creusa gives of the rape from a contemporary feminist perspective.

[8] Conacher (1969) 32.

background, become "questors of their origins and knowledge,"[9] and discover their true identities. That moment of discovery, the *anagnorisis*, is simultaneous with the reversal, the *peripeteia*; but for Ion that reversal is good fortune, while for Oedipus recognition of his mother is a moment of supreme horror. *Ion* is the Oedipus tale with a happy ending.

There are several important correspondences between *Ion* and the *Oresteia*,[10] including the obvious conflict between mother and son. On the verge of killing Creusa, Ion calls her an echidna (1263), and serpent with a fiery gaze (1264), slurs which Orestes used against his dead mother (*Cho*. 994–995). For Ion, however, matricide is averted when Creusa's identity is revealed; again the tragic predecessor is interwoven with a happy reunion.

References to the *Eumenides* are especially rich: both plays are situated in Delphi, from where the ephebic hero will travel to Athens; the Pythia plays a role; Apollo exerts his somewhat limited influence; Hermes makes an appearance;[11] eventually Athena sorts things out for her brother. Both tragedies feature a conflict between Olympian Apollo and chthonic female centered powers.[12] The Olympian/chthonic theme is emphasized in *Ion* by the stone sculptures on the temple, described by the Chorus in the parodos. Each panel features a serpentine or earthborn monster being vanquished by a hero or god with Olympian associations.[13] While the Olympian/chthonic contest of *Ion* recalls the *Eumenides*, the Aeschylean tradition is interwoven with contrasting threads. Like the *Eumenides*, *Ion* aligns the chthonic with the matrilineal, but features an important reworking of Apollo's claim to the Athenian jury that the father is the true parent of the child (*Eum*. 660). In the contest between narratives that

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[9] Zeitlin (1996) 298; see her bibliography on the Ion/Oedipus correspondence at n. 36.

[10] Rabinowitz (1993) 210.

[11] I accept the presence of a mute actor playing Hermes at Aesch. *Eum*. 90 ff. Hermes' presence in both *Ion* and *Eumenides* is reflective of his association with male coming of age.

[12] Zacharia (2003) 142 remarks on the similarities between Creusa and the Erinyes, both are engaged in a conflict with Apollo but acquiesce in the end for the good of Athens.

[13] The Chorus describe: Heracles slaying the Hydra, a serpentine monster; Bellerophon killing the Chimaira, offspring of the Hydra and part snake; the gods battling the Giants, monsters born from earth and frequently depicted with serpent tails. Rosivach (1977) argues that the content of the metopes emphasizes the conflict between Olympian and chthonic powers. Mastronarde (1975) suggests that this chthonic/Olympian conflict symbolizes the tension between human emotion and reason, which propels the action of the play. Danek objects to Mastronarde's analysis because the autochthonous lineage of Creusa is preserved and ennobled by divine blood (2003) 54.

feature Xuthus as father or Creusa as mother, it is the matrilineal tradition that takes precedence for the audience, although Apollo's agenda is to circulate the myth of false paternity.[14]

Euripides' challenge to the traditional story of Ion's parentage is thus set off by a background of challenges to other poetic traditions; previous tales told by other poets become intertexts woven into this dazzling new narrative tapestry. The textile metaphor works as a tool of analysis here because weaving is a union of opposites: the taut and the loose, the horizontal and the vertical, the old tradition and the new revision, and by analogy the male and the female.[15] The fabrication of our story is thus a combination of opposing elemental forces, conflicting narrators, and different gendered perspectives. But weaving is more than an artificial heuristic metaphor, since both the *Oresteia* and *Ion* share a sustained system of textile imagery. Various textiles appear in both dramas as concrete objects, providing yet another link between the two dramatic texts. Textiles are featured as stage properties in the *Oresteia*, and contribute to a dominant image system throughout the trilogy: the splendid robes that Clytemnestra lays out for Agamemnon are symbolic of his hubris and her own guile, but also of the ancestral curse in which he is caught.[16] He dies caught in a garment that Aegisthus calls a "woven robe of the Erinyes." (Aesch. *Ag.* 1580) Clytemnestra's control of the purple fabrics is analogous to her control of the text, or at least until Orestes takes over. Orestes lays out the cloths when he displays the corpses of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, and emphasizes their association with binding, entrapment and guile (Aesch. *Cho.* 997–1004; 1010–1015).

Textiles are also prominent and significant in *Ion*, although their valence is more favorable. The Chorus's role in textile production is mentioned three times (196, 506, and 747). Beyond the Chorus's weaving, there are the elaborate narrative tapestries that form the tent for Ion's birthday celebration, and the piece of fabric that facilitates the recognition of Ion and his mother. Creusa herself is a weaver, who greets the Chorus as "friends of my looms and shuttle" (ἱστῶν τῶν ἐμῶν καὶ κερκίδος, Eur. *Ion* 747). Since the members of the Chorus are identified as slave women, we should imagine that Creusa supervises them in

14 Cf. Rabinowitz (1994).

15 The idea of weaving as a union of opposites is discussed with great insight by Scheid and Svenbro (1996) 5.

16 Goheen (1955) 115–126 analyzes the association of textiles with the motif of blood on the ground.

various tasks associated with her weaving.[17] The intimacy and camaraderie that develops between the women as they engage in this time consuming activity accounts for the devotion of the Chorus, who are willing to risk their lives to guarantee the honor of their mistress and the purity of her autochthonous bloodline.

The textile motif thus emphasizes the solidarity of women, and helps us to think of Creusa and her friends as narrative creators. *Ion* exploits a conceptual relationship between text and textile; the rich and suggestive symbolism of cloth production foregrounds an authorial role for women. This is a particularly apt device since weaving is associated both with women and with poetic composition, although not always simultaneously. There are abundant examples of weaving women in epic poetry, some of whom sing as they work at the loom (i.e., Calypso, Hom. *Od.* 5.59–62 and Circe *Od.* 10.220–223). In the *Iliad*, both Andromache (22.440–441) and Helen weave, but as Hanna Roisman points out, while Andromache's weaving is merely decorative, Helen weaves the events of the Trojan war (Hom. *Il.* 3.125–127) into a tapestry.

> In a sense, this makes her as much the artist who immortalizes their actions as is Homer. In this role, Helen ceases to be merely an object of male possession and becomes a creator in her own right. Her weaving … makes her an interpreter of history and a maker of meaning.[18]

In her study of ancient textile manufacture, Elizabeth Wayland Barber suggests that Homer's audience would have been familiar with story cloths, tapestries with a narrative component produced by women, as verified by diverse artifacts from ancient Greece.[19] Barber argues that the cloth that Penelope is weaving (and unraveling) for Laertes must have been more complex than a simple shroud, which would have taken but a short time to produce. She suggests that an ancient audience would understand the item to be a story cloth suitable for a prestigious funeral of an important man. Barbara Clayton builds on this suggestion to ana-

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[17] Lee (1997) 246: "The Chorus would not do the actual weaving, free women's work, but the menial tasks associated with it." It would be difficult, however, to imagine that Creusa is responsible for producing all the textiles in the royal household. The famous black figure amphora by the Amasis painter (c.560) shows a group of women sharing various tasks associated with woolworking.

[18] Roisman (2006) 10.

[19] Barber (1994) 230 discusses a story cloth composed of different narrative friezes and found at a Greek fourth century BCE colony on the Black Sea. She suggests that Helen's weaving is just such a cloth.

lyze Penelope's weaving as an analogue for the creation of oral poetry, in which the fixed warp of the tale is interwoven with the innovations of the rhapsode.[20] More specifically Penelope's weaving is parallel to the composition of the *Odyssey*, not only because the plot interlaces different narrative strands in a "poetic mimesis of the weaving process," but also because when Penelope completes her weaving the poem draws to an end.[21] Both Roisman and Clayton, then, suggest a metaphoric connection between women's weaving and epic poetry, although the association is never overt. The symbolic association of weaving with poetic composition becomes explicit in lyric poetry where it is expropriated by male composers. Bacchylides (5.9–10) and Pindar (e.g. *Ol.* 6.86–87) conceptualize their songs as woven tapestries of poetry. The correspondence, according to Jane McIntosh Snyder, is facilitated by the physical similarities of looms and lyres: strings are "struck" (κρέκειν) by either a shuttle (loom) or plectron (lyre), although this simple mechanical correspondence does not fully account for the richness of the metaphor.[22] When poets such as Pindar use the image of weaving a song it works so well because an audience would have been familiar with story cloths that women wove for ceremonial or ritual occasions.

These examples make it clear that there was a well established connection between weaving and women, and between weaving and storytelling. In *Ion*, as Froma Zeitlin observes, "Weaving is the artistic medium of women's mythmaking."[23] The Athenian Chorus engages in a social activity by telling stories as they work at the loom. They note that Zeus hurling his thunderbolt at Mimas was a story told while "I was at the loom" (παρὰ πήναις, Eur. *Ion* 197), and they remark that they had never

[20] Clayton (2003) 35–36. The bibliography on weaving includes Pantelia (1993) 493–501, who observes that weaving is the activity of women like Helen, Andromache and Penelope whose fates are indeterminate, while spinning is performed by women like Arete whose world is more secure.

[21] Clayton (2003) 5; Clayton is expanding on the work of other scholars who have noted the self-reflexivity of weaving in the *Odyssey*. See her synopsis of this scholarship 21–22. Scheid and Svenbro are cautious about this connection although they note that Homer is familiar with the idea of verbal weaving (Hom. *Od.* 3.207–223).

[22] See Snyder (1981) 194–195 for an analysis of the poet as weaver based on the structural similarities between the loom and the lyre. Scheid and Svenbro note (1996) 119–121 that the metaphor of weaving poetry has further connotations which involve the juxtaposing of opposites, for example the praise of the poet and the potential jealousy of the public world.

[23] Zeitlin (1997) 327; cf. Rabinowitz (1993) 218–219.

heard of happy outcomes for children born of gods and mortals, "either at my loom or in tales" (ἐπὶ κερκίσιν … λόγοις, 506). These comments evoke a domestic world where women tell stories, perhaps weaving them into the textiles that they were preparing. Women's textile work (especially in aristocratic households) was a creative endeavor that went beyond simply providing blankets and other utilitarian items for the household. Creusa and her attendants would have occupied their time weaving elaborate tapestries such as the ones used by Ion in his celebratory tent. It is significant that the Chorus is identified so prominently as textile workers and that the text in which they exist features a detailed narrative textile. Accordingly the text of *Ion* can be read as a tapestry which Creusa and the Chorus help to produce; they weave the new tale of Ion's reunion with his mother from within the text. This illusion is facilitated not only by the well established connection between poetic creation and weaving, but also by other texts (mentioned above) which implicitly suggest a correspondence between women's weaving and the text they inhabit.

The Athenian textile workers' creative force is most strikingly exemplified by their interference in Apollo's plan to let Ion and Creusa leave Delphi without recognizing one another, which is to say the women weave a new ending to the story plotted by Apollo. They witness Xuthus decide (based on the oracle's advice) that he is Ion's father, conceived in a brief encounter at Delphi with an anonymous maenad. While Xuthus assembles a tale that accounts for his unexpected paternity, the Chorus spins its own narrative. Although the oracle of Trophonius revealed that both Xuthus and Creusa would leave Delphi with a child (409), the chorus now assumes that Creusa will remain childless. Loyal as they are to their mistress and the purity of her bloodline, they ignore the orders of Xuthus to remain silent about his newly discovered son (666–667). A conventional chorus would have complied,[24] thereby guaranteeing the security of Apollo's plan. Instead, after deliberating about their own personal safety, the Chorus reveals what it has heard to Creusa.[25] They take control of the script, and embellish Xuthus' tale by adding a detail of their own manufacture, that Creusa will never have children. Spurred on by

[24] E.g., The Chorus of *Hippolytus* who swear an oath of secrecy to Phaedra (Eur. *Hip.* 713). The Chorus of *Ion* is the only chorus to disobey or ignore a character's order for secrecy.

[25] Hamilton (1978) 280–281 notes that this decision is made in a choral ode, a unique occurrence in extant tragedy.

this impetuous conclusion, they become spirits of vengeance and anger, rather like Erinyes pursuing the son on behalf of his mother.

Their disclosure to Creusa prompts the old tutor to suggest and implement the plot to murder Ion. Nothing in the prologue has prepared the audience for this turn of events; although they know the true story of Ion's parentage, they were told by Hermes that the mother and child recognition would occur in Athens. The unusual intrusion by the Chorus, suggests Zeitlin, is a necessary corrective to Apollo's plan, which would delay the requisite *anagnorisis* beyond its dramatic enactment in the theater of Dionysus.[26] The audience needs to see this true *anagnorisis* and attendant *peripeteia*, essential elements of Dionysian tragedy, which the Chorus unwittingly brings about. The unconscious challenge to Apollo's program is highlighted by the Chorus's contentious stance towards poetry expressed in the third stasimon (1090–1105) which specifically pits one sex against the other.[27]

> Look all you who, advancing down the path of the Muse, sing in discordant songs of our love-affairs and unholy unions made by a lawless Aphrodite! See how far we women outdo in piety the unjust breeding of men! Sing a palinode (παλίμφαμος ἀοιδά) and let the Muse attack men with a harsh song about their amours. For the son of Zeus reveals his heedlessness in not begetting the shared good fortune of children for the house. But gratifying Aphrodite in another union he got a bastard son.[28] (Eur. *Ion* 1090–1105)

There is an obvious paradox in the moralistic smugness of the Chorus, who are, after all, accessories to a murder plot. Their literary critique is equally as ironic, since they have accepted a false tale, embellished it with their own invention, and now demand that it be circulated.[29] Their demand is met; the tale of Xuthus' liaison with the unknown woman becomes canonical, at least up to the moment the play is performed.

Yet the women's complaint also reflects Euripidean challenges to the poetic tradition that have taken on the appearance of a contest between

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[26] Zeitlin (1996) 314. Lee (1997) 24 suggests Apollo fails to appreciate the urgency of recognition between Creusa because he misunderstands the nature of mortal time.

[27] Cf. Loraux (1993) 191.

[28] This is Diggle's OCT text (*Euripidis Fabulae II*, 1981). The translation is that of Kevin Lee (1997) with minor changes.

[29] There is also a strong element of self-reference on the part of Euripides, who limns his own *Medea*, another play which features textiles, a murderous mother, and a Chorus who protest about male literary hegemonies (*Med.* 421–430). Loraux (1993) 192 notes that the Chorus of Medea lament that Phoebus "master of melodies" had not granted them the art of music, for if he had they would turn their songs against men. "This is perhaps precisely what the chorus does in *Ion*," she suggests.

the sexes for control of the text. Instinctively, perhaps, the Chorus's complaint about the Διὸς ἐκ παίδων ἀμνημοσύναν might also refer to Apollo's apparent neglect of Creusa. Nicole Loraux is quite right to wonder if the chorus is urging the poets to turn their arts against Apollo himself.[30] The tale that they help to reveal, which Athena will instruct Creusa to keep secret, is the παλίμφαμος song of the shameful affair of a son of Zeus. It is the song that will now become the canonical version, revealed for the first time before the audience. In other words, Euripides engages in a form of "transvestite ventriloquism," the expropriation of a subversive female voice to highlight the new innovation in the story of Ion that he presents to his audience.[31]

The Chorus's challenge to the poetic tradition coheres with their subversion of Apollo's plot. There is an aura of the uncanny in the third stasimon—an incantation dedicated to the destruction of a young male victim which focuses on nocturnal activities—that calls to mind the binding song of their Aeschylean sisters, daughters of Night.[32] Ion, like Orestes, will not be bound by their spell, but there is a moment of trepidation inside the tent that he erects for his birthday celebration, a woven universe which blocks out the sun (1135), where female Night takes over from male Helios, "as if to suggest an epic contest between the sexes for control of the heavens, in which the female predominates and emerges victorious."[33] The emphasis on the Chorus's role as textile makers, an occupation they share with Creusa, is the dark subtext beneath the detailed description of the fabrics that form this miniature cosmos in which poison and female vengeance can operate. The female challenge to the male authored text is enhanced by the content of the tapestries. The roof-sky reflects dark nocturnal forces with which the Chorus aligned

[30] Loraux (1993) 192.

[31] I borrow the term from Elizabeth Harvey (1992) 16 to describe "the use of the feminine voice by a male author in a way that appears to efface the originary marks of gender."

[32] The Erinyes begin their song with an invocation of "mother Night", while the Chorus of *Ion* call upon Hecate/Persephone who rules over "assaults made by night" (*Ion* 1048–1049).

[33] Zeitlin (1996) 327, e.g. the single Pleiad is pursued by Orion, succeeded by female Arktos. I follow Zeitlin in reading the ekphrasis in the context of the preceding choral ode, and also the theme of Creusa's reversal from victim to avenger. Nonetheless, the tent is a densely woven tissue of symbolism open to numerous interpretations. Goff (1988) reads ephebic themes associated with Ion's coming of age; Mastronarde (1978) 169 notes how the imagery reflects the sculptural program described by the Chorus in which the forces of civilization overcome barbarism. Zacharia (2003) 34–39 discusses the tent as a symbolic replica of Athens with the Amazons representing the Persians.

themselves in the previous ode. Events unforeseen by Apollo will occur within the walls of this womb-like enclosure that (we can be sure) was created by the hands of women.[34]

Although the walls seem to depict future naval victories of Athens, they are spoils from an Amazonomachy, an intriguing detail which parallels the conflict between the sexes in the frame text. To complete the structure, Ion sets up a tapestry depicting "Cecrops coiling with spirals with his daughters nearby, the gift of an Athenian" (1163–1164).[35] These textiles emphasize the role of women in mythmaking, since they would have been created by Athenian women like Creusa and her attendants. The scene alludes to the autochthonous background of Ion, weaving him into the story, as it were. The Cecropides figure in the birth of Erechthonius, a paradigm for Ion, similarly put in a basket and brought up by a foster mother.[36] Yet while this Athenian memento brings the legacy of Creusa to the fore, and does so in a medium strongly associated with women's creative powers, it also serves as a reminder of the recalcitrant forebears of Creusa. The daughters of Cecrops are notable for their meddling, for refusing to conform to the wishes of Athena. They are thus part of the program of a chthonic/Olympian struggle which ends with their demise. Although it is an appropriate motif for Ion's tent, where the machinations of Athenian women will be overturned by Apollo, the woven world in which these events occur is still very much a feminine creation. Women wove the story cloth that encloses the symposium, but they also wove the story itself. The intrusion of the old man into the banquet and his clumsy attempt to poison Ion have been provoked by the Chorus's report to Creusa. Apollo will deal with this challenge quickly and effortlessly, sending a dove from the outside air into the tent, but not before the women's plot is well under way. The Olympian god prevails, but his plan to introduce mother and son in Athens must be emended; the lord of poetry does not have complete control over his text. A homely troupe of domestic slaves has created a new story cloth, weaving their own machinations on the fixed warp of Apollo's plan.

The fabric motif has special prominence in the dénouement of this text. Ion twice accuses the suppliant Creusa of "weaving" (ἔπλεξε) plots

[34] On the tent as a womb, see Goff (1988) 51.

[35] Lee (1997) 285 believes that Cecrops is a statue, but the text gives no indication that there has been a change of artistic medium. I follow the majority of scholars who understand the representation of Cecrops to be another textile. Cf. Zacharia (2003) 32, n. 108.

[36] See Loraux (1993) 193 on how the story of Ion duplicates that of Erichthonius.

(1279–1280 and 1410), a common enough metaphor having a very pointed implication in this case. Creusa's woven wiles contribute to the complex plot of *Ion* which she and her attendants have helped to create. Significantly it is a piece of weaving, her very first attempt, that enables Creusa to convince Ion that she really is his mother. The device is familiar from *Choephori* (231–232), the recognition of Electra and Orestes. Euripides borrows the idea for two other recognition/reunion scenes (Eur. *IT* 814 ff. and *El.* 539 ff.). But in *Ion* far more attention is paid to the textile than any of its three other iterations. Creusa's immaturity when she wove the cloth is emphasized: it is "unfinished (οὐ τέλεον), a sampler from the loom" (1419); "girlish work of my loom" (1425); "uncertain work of my loom" (κερκίδος ἐμᾶς πλάνους 1490). Ion's swaddling cloth reflects the incomplete narrative of Creusa's life until this moment. The design is described in detail: a Gorgon's head fringed with snakes, which relates to the poison stored in Creusa's Gorgon bracelet to the chthonic motif of the play, and of course to Athena, who wears the Gorgon aegis. Appropriately Athena (goddess of weaving), authenticates and completes Creusa's story. Athena's appearance helps to contextualize the women's activities at the loom within the important cultic activities that centered around weaving on the Acropolis.[37] The virginal Arrhephori who participated in weaving of the great *peplos* of Athena took up temporary residence on the Acropolis, performed their duties at night, and were associated with the mythology of the Cecropides. Creusa, however, reverses that myth of sacrifice and loss, by perpetuating her lineage and returning to the Acropolis.

Thus by the play's end, the Gorgon has been recuperated as a positive beneficial force, a warm blanket for a baby, and the means by which mother and child are reunited. The Gorgon is woven throughout the text, her image elaborated by shades of the Gorgon-like Erinyes of the *Oresteia*,[38] but eventually serving as a catalyst for the reunion. Emblematic of the chthonic elements that occur in the play, the Gorgon is both a force of terror, epitomized by the drop of poison in Creusa's bracelet, and of salvation, signified by the healing drop in the same bracelet, a gift of Athena to Creusa's grandfather. The symbol of the Gorgon makes Creusa's

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[37] Loraux (1993) 225

[38] Orestes describes the Erinyes as Gorgons (*Cho.* 1049); so does the Pythia (*Eum.* 48) when she sees them inside the temple of Apollo. The horror of their incursion into Apollo's inner sanctum is softened by Ion's description of the Gorgons around the omphalos (224).

weaving a *mise en abîme*, a miniature reduplication of a drama, that like a precious tapestry is complex and highly wrought, and whose distinctive texture is created by a group of weaving women.

SOPHOCLES' *CHRYSES* AND THE DATE OF *IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS*

C.W. Marshall

In this paper I wish to examine three claims that ultimately bear on the question of the date of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*. Martin Cropp has contributed much to the understanding of the play and to the dating of Euripidean plays generally, and I am hopeful that this examination will offer a modest contribution to subjects of interest to him. None of the three claims can be argued to a point of certain proof. I believe in each case, however, that I can show that the claim is more likely to be true than not, and that as a result we should allow a wider range of possible dates for Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, from 419–413, and not restrict ourselves conceptually to the more usual range of 414 or 413.[1] The claims I wish to argue are as follows:

1. The metrical evidence for the date of *IT* is not as secure as is generally believed.
2. Sophocles' *Chryses* was produced after 414.
3. Euripides' *IT* was produced before *Chryses*.

The first claim is methodological, but it insists on a greater chronological range than is often allowed. The second and third claims go against received understanding, but I believe their likelihood can be demonstrated. The result of the discussion points to an important aspect of the literary relationship between Sophocles and Euripides in the late fifth centrury.

I

The evidence for the date of Euripides' *IT* is of two types: metrical and circumstantial. There are three principal arguments employing metrical

[1] So Cropp 2000: 60–62, and many others before him.

evidence. Trochaic tetrameters appear in one passage of the play, *IT* 1203–1233. This is a metre used in all the extant plays usually dated after 419, which therefore includes *HF*, *Tro*. (produced in 415), and *IT*, but not *El.*[2] or any earlier play. Assuming that this criterion is accurate, the only conclusion able to be drawn would be that the play was written after *El.* While Drew-Bear in his discussion of the metre allows his assumptions about the dates of *El.* and *IT* to obscure his argument, he nevertheless notes that there is a division between its employment in *IT* and *Hel.* (produced in 412): "*Helen* ... differs from [*IT*] in the employment made of trochaic tetrameters, with respect to which *Helen* attaches itself to an entirely different category ..."[3]

Euripides' use of the so-called "choriambic dimeter"[4] is similar. Itsume concludes his analysis as follows: "a line can be drawn between *IT* (or *Ion*) and *Hel.* Till *IT* Euripides uses such standard types of 'chor dim' as are found in Corinna or 'eupolidean' ..., while his new device is found especially from *Hel.* onwards" (Itsume 1982: 69). This too is phrased with the presumption of a close date between *IT* and *Hel.*, and obscures the real force of the evidence. Two of Itsume's observations about his classification of the metre are relevant: a "'Tribrach opening' (Group II) is commoner in later plays" and "Unusual resolved forms (Group III) appear also in later plays" (1982: 68). However, there are more tribrach openings among "choriambic dimeters" in six plays than in *IT* (*HF*, *Ion*, *Hel.*, *Or.*, *Bacch.*, and *IA*; the metre is not used in *Tro.*), and there are more examples of Itsume's types III, IIIa and IV in eight plays than in *IT* (*Supp., HF, El., Hel.*, *Or.*, *Bacch.*, and *IA*).[5] I do not want to press this evidence beyond what it can bear, since in many cases the sample size is very small. However, it would be fairer to suggest that the evidence of the "choriambic dimeter" pointed to a date for *IT* closer to *Supp*. and *HF* (both probably produced before *Tro*.) than to *Hel.*

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[2] Cropp 1988: l–li argues that the date of *El.* was "between 422 and 417, with 420/19 the most likely" (li).

[3] Drew-Bear 1968: 399. On *El.*, see Drew-Bear 1968: 396–397; on *IT*, see Drew-Bear 1968: 398–399. Cropp and Fick 1985: 66–67 consider resolution rates for the trochaic tetrameter (a different feature than that isolated by Drew-Bear), where it emerges that *HF, Tro., IT*, and *Hel.* exhibit the feature less frequently than *Ion, Phoen., Or., Bacch.*, and *IA*.

[4] The name, though common, is misleading, for reasons discussed by Itsume 1982: 59 n. 5, and *passim*.

[5] See the table at Itsume 1982: 63.

Undoubtedly "the most potent stylistic criterion of date in the tragedies of Euripides"[6] is the nature and rates of resolutions of iambic trimeters. Resolutions in plays with known dates exhibit "a constant increase from 431 to 406" (Cropp and Fick 1985: 21). Given this, Cropp and Fick provide an estimated range for *IT* between 417 and 412[7] (the nature of such statistical arguments prevents certainty; a range of probabilities is all that can be produced). For my purposes, this range is sufficient, though I would offer one qualification that might push this range slightly earlier. Measuring metrical resolution rates necessarily reflects a feature of the composition of plays (a feature which we presume developed more or less unconsciously for it to have any value).[8] However, known dates point not to the year of composition, but to the year of production. There is therefore some necessary fuzziness: three tragedies are written for each Dionysia tetralogy, and these plays, while performed together, will each exhibit slightly different resolution rates (and consequently exhibit slightly different possible date ranges).[9] The intervals provided by Cropp and Fick necessarily blur this distinction. Whether Euripides wrote his plays in series or in parallel, some variation is going to exist between the metrical features of plays produced in the same year. One indication of this is the high number of resolutions in *Or*., which (independent of biographical details!) would suggest that the play was composed following Euripides' death in 405, when we know it was produced in 408. A similar aberration might even push the earliest likely date for *IT* back a few years as well. In any case, the figures of Cropp and Fick do put *IT* closer to *Tro*. than to *Hel*.

None of the metrical evidence can be said to require the usual date of 414 or 413, though these years are in no way excluded as possibilities.

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[6] Cropp and Fick 1985: 1. See also Zielinski 1925: ii 133–240, Caedel 1941, Dale 1967: xxiv–xxviii.

[7] Cropp and Fick 1985: 23 give a 50% relative likelihood interval of 415.9–413.5, and a 10% relative likelihood interval of 416.9–412.4. These ranges must be used with caution: nothing is "conclusively proved" but "the date-intervals are the best estimates we can reasonably give on the basis of what we regard as reasonable assumptions and procedures ..."; even so, of the extant plays after 431 for which a date is known or suspected based on non-metrical evidence, both *Hec*. and *Or*. fall well outside the relative likelihood intervals—though elsewhere I have suggested for *Hec*. that "there is indeed no reason to deny the metrical evidence which places the play *c*. 421" (Marshall 2001: 228 n. 10).

[8] Caedel 1941: 67. Laan 1995: 271–273 presumes that the measure is conscious but still valuable for establishing Euripides' chronology.

[9] Caedel 1941: 84 n. 1 notes the range in resolutions among the three tragedies of the *Oresteia*.

The fact that strong metrical discontinuities are observed between *IT* and *Hel.* by scholars who assume the plays were produced close to one another should in itself leave open the possibility for a date up to five years earlier.

Nor is this countered by other metrical considerations. The use of specific metrical word shapes, for example, can be indicative: Dale notes that the use of a certain type of paeonic "is by itself an extraordinarily accurate criterion for dating" (1967: xxvii); *IT*, however remains "out of step" if it were composed after *Tro.* (though Dale does qualify this somewhat). A number of other features identified by Devine and Stephens (1981) confirm this general picture. They offer data measuring the frequency of appositives at Porson's bridge, and the incidence of resolutions in iambic trimeters and trochaic tetrameters, as well as six "minor resolution criteria." Their figures confirm that excessive confidence can not be placed in precise predictions: while these features suggest *IT* was composed after *Tro.*, the same is indicated for *HF* (which by several criteria is later than *IT* as well). Indeed, by many counts *Phoen.* seems to have been composed before *Hel.* (1981: 44–53).[10]

Since even allowing one standard deviation (a 68 % confidence level) does not produce a statistically significant variation in trimeter resolution between *IT*, *HF*, and *Ion* (Devine and Stephens 1981: 45), and different criteria assert different orders for these plays, it seems much safer to accept that no specific confidence should be ascribed to the order suggested by the metrical criteria for *HF, Tro., IT*, and *Ion* (four of the plays classified by Zielinski (1925: 141) as exhibiting the *stilus liber—El., HF, Tro., IT, Ion, Hel., Phoen.*, in their traditional order). This is not to deny the value of the metrical evidence, but to recognize that between plays written in a short period of time there is enough margin of error to generate uncertainty.

Circumstantial details offer no further refinement. It is uncompelling to argue, as Platnauer does, that passing comments about oracles (*IT* 570–575)[11] or "a pathetic prayer for the salvation of the city" (*IT* 1490–1491)[12] can be used with any confidence to date the play (1938: xiv–xv). But it is less obvious that employing the similarities between *IT* and *Hel.*

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[10] Smith and Kelly 2002 build on Devine and Stephens 1981 and discuss Euripides in terms of "lexical richness" (2002: 421–424), but I cannot evaluate all the conclusions presented. Given that both *Supp.* and *El.* are outliers to their data, I do not think too much confidence can be ascribed to the chronologies suggested.

[11] This is even assuming the lines are authentic: the lines were suspected by Diggle, and Cropp 1997: 30–31 deleted 572–575.

[12] Lines suspected by Barrett 1964: 417–418.

to assign a date close to 412 for *IT* constitutes exactly the same sort of argument. While there are many parallels of language, use of myth, and structure between the two plays, that in and of itself says nothing about the proximity of their composition or production.[13] Undoubtedly the plays share features with each other, and the view that *IT* predates *Hel.* is surely correct.[14] There is no force in therefore contending that *IT* must be a close neighbour in a chronological list.[15] While we may comfortably claim the parallels "cannot be a mere accident" (Platnauer 1938: xv), they do little to enable positive claims about the relationship between the plays to be made. Any inference is subject to a biographical fallacy whereby an assumption about the author's life or work habits, warranted only by the presumed dates of the plays, is used as evidence to establish a relationship between plays. There is simply no metrical reason to be restrictive about the date of *IT*, beyond asserting a probable range of 419–413.

II

The only indication of the date of Sophocles' *Chryses*, of a very different nature, is a parody of a line in Aristophanes' *Av.*, which was produced at the Dionysia of 414. Iris has appeared, and her warning to Peisetaerus at *Av.* 1238–1242 "against provoking divine wrath is a cento of consistently bombastic tragic phrases:"[16]

> ὦ μῶρε μῶρε, μὴ ϑεῶν κίνει φρένας
> δεινάς, ὅπως μή σου γένος πανώλεϑρον
> Διὸς μακέλλῃ πᾶν ἀναστρέψῃ Δίκη,
> λιγνὺς δὲ σῶμα καὶ δόμων περιπτυχὰς
> καταιϑαλώσει σου Λικυμνίοις βολαῖς.

> O thou fool, thou fool, arouse not the fearsome hearts of the gods, lest Justice, with the mattock of Zeus, overthrow thy whole race, ruined completely, and murky fire reduce thy body and the enclosures of thy halls to ashes with Likymnian bolts. (Ar. *Av.* 1238–1242)

[13] See Ludwig 1954, Matthiessen 1964: 16–62, 127–137, Macurdy 1966: 95–107, etc.

[14] Indeed, it is really only the under-argued claim of Wilamowitz 1875: 153 that suggests *IT* must be the later play. Hose 1995: 14–17, 190–197 and Wright 2005: 43–55 revive the idea that the two plays belong to the same tetralogy in 412, but the arguments are unconvincing, and make *a priori* assumptions about the nature of a tetralogy. Hose's methodology is heavily dependent upon assumptions in Müller 1984.

[15] Such unfounded assumptions are nevertheless common: e.g. Matthiessen: 1964: 63.

[16] Dunbar 1995: 624.

The Scholiast on line 1240 writes τοῦτό φησι παρὰ τὸ Σοφόκλειον ἐν Χρύσῃ 'μακέλλῃ Ζηνὸς ἐξαναστραφῇ' ("He says this as a parody of the Sophoclean phrase in *Chryses*, '[he/she/it] may be utterly overthrown by the mattock of Zeus.'").[17] Though the reading of the Scholiast is emended,[18] this notice has been thought to provide a *terminus ante quem* for *Chryses* of 414: "The words of Aristophanes … are an intentionally absurd perversion of this passage …" (Pearson 1917: ii 329); "The image of Justice wielding the destroying "mattock of Zeus" is as old as Aeschylus' *Oresteia* … but, as noted here by Σ 1240, Ar. was probably echoing Soph.'s imitation of Aesch. in *Chryses* (fr. 727)" (Dunbar 1995: 624–625); etc.[19]

The Scholiast is wrong. As Dunbar notes, there are three passages intertwined here, but the relationship between them has not been accurately described. The *Oresteia* was produced in 458 (and probably reproduced some time in the 420s), and *Av.* is securely dated to 414. There are two possible sequences that allow the allusion to work, one of which must be correct: either, as is generally held, *Chryses* was produced between the *Oresteia* and *Av.*, or *Chryses* was produced after *Av.* and Sophocles' play alludes to Aristophanes. Let us consider the first possibility.

Aesch. *Ag.* 525–526	Τροίαν κατασκάψαντα τοῦ δικηφόρου Διὸς μακέλλῃ
S. *Chryses* fr. 727	⟨ x – ⟩ μακέλλῃ Ζηνὸς ἐξαναστραφῇ
Ar. *Av.* 1239–1240	ὅπως μή σου γένος πανώλεθρον Διὸς μακέλλῃ πᾶν ἀναστρέψῃ Δίκη

The allusion in *Av.* cannot derive exclusively from the Sophoclean passage. The line in Aeschylus ("[Agamemnon] has leveled Troy with the mattock of justice-bringing Zeus") provides both the form Διὸς, against Sophocles' Ζηνὸς, which should not simply be dismissed as a syntactic equivalent, and the association with Δίκη. Sophocles provides Aristophanes with the verb, which is given without a prefix. Either passage, or

[17] For this use of παρά see LSJ s.v. παρά C.I.6. If the grammatical context for the fragment were known, it might emerge that the translation should be "[he/she/it] was utterly overthrown by the mattock of Zeus" (Fritzsche suggested the line began ⟨ὅταν⟩, ⟨ὡς ἄν⟩, or ⟨ὅς ἄν⟩).

[18] This is actually a restoration of Σ *Av.* 1240: at ἐν Χρύσῃ the manuscripts read simply χρυσῇ (or a corruption thereof); Fritzsche's emendations, adding the ἐν and recognizing that Χρύσῃ was a proper name, have been generally accepted (see Radt 1999: 495).

[19] In a confused note, Burnett comes close to the truth—"… since *IT* can as easily go back to 416, while nothing fixes *Chryses* to a date so close to the *Birds* …" (1971: 75 n. 26)—but she still believes *Chryses* "is presumably pre-414." Her point is that it is not clear which tragedy is earlier.

both, could provide μακέλλῃι. Though we do not have the context for the *Chryses* fragment, we may suspect that if the Scholiast knew that a form of Δίκη were in the previous or succeeding line (or if there were another verbal echo, to γένος, for example), he would have extended the citation to make the parallel with Aristophanes clearer.[20] If this were the chronological order of these three plays, the allusion in *Av*. requires audience familiarity with both preceding dramas, and the situation is complicated further if other plays also incorporated the image of "the mattock of Zeus."

A more straightforward relationship emerges if we assume that *Chryses* is the last of the three plays:

Aesch. *Ag*. 525–526	Τροίαν κατασκάψαντα τοῦ δικηφόρου Διὸς μακέλλῃι
Ar. *Av*. 1239–1240	ὅπως μή σου γένος πανώλεθρον Διὸς μακέλλῃ πᾶν ἀναστρέψῃ Δίκη
Soph. *Chryses* fr. 727	⟨ x – ⟩ μακέλλῃ Ζηνὸς ἐξαναστραφῇ

The paratragic nature of the *Av*. passage can be derived exclusively from Aeschylus. Aristophanes personifies Justice based on the Aeschylean epithet, and continues to present the authority of the mattock through its association with Zeus. The use of Διὸς μακέλλῃ as the start of both *Ag*. 526 and *Av*. 1240 suggests that it is not merely a traditional metaphor that Aristophanes invokes, but the specific Aeschylean passage. Sophocles then takes Aristophanes' paratragic invective and appropriates it for his own purposes: all three words in the Sophoclean fragment can be seen to draw upon Aristophanes, as he intensifies the verb (ἐξαναστραφῇ for the earlier ἀναστρέψει),[21] and uses an alternate genitive form for Zeus in a different metrical *sedes*—almost as if he were avoiding specific invocation of the earlier Aeschylean image. This reading is to be preferred because it does not require Aristophanes to be combining reference to a passage from the *Oresteia* and to another passage derived from it. A linear relationship from Aeschylus through Aristophanes to Sophocles is simpler and more natural if we assume the third poet in the sequence wished to be understood by his audience.

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[20] Rau 1967: 197 denies this; I find it implausible, however, to insist that Δίκη must be the subject of the verb in this fragment.

[21] Dunbar (1995: 625) accepts Porson's emendation of the unanimous reading of the manuscripts, ἀναστρέψῃ to the future indicative ἀναστρέψει. The allusion is clear with either reading.

Why, then, should Sophocles wish to evoke a tragic passage in Aristophanes? Very little is known about *Chryses*, and even its genre is in doubt. Pearson observed,

> It is a remarkable fact that two, if not three, of the five extant fragments appear to be comic in intention. This strongly favours the inference that Chryses was a satyr-play, and the story of Hyginus was obviously capable of comic treatment. (1917: ii 328)

The point may be overstated: Sutton denies that the colloquialism in fr. 728 precludes tragedy (1984: 31), and in this he is correct. Still, when we realize that the two fragments Pearson does not include as comic are fr. 727, which we may now see to be drawing on Aristophanes, and the single word ἐσχάϱα (fr. 730: "brazier, hearth"—a word found in both tragic and comic contexts), the possibility that *Chryses* was a satyr drama should not be dismissed lightly. Indeed, a parallel exists for this double borrowing, as satyr drama reclaims from comedy a parodied tragic phrase: Euripides, *Andromeda* fr. 125, produced in 412, was parodied the following year by Aristophanes at *Thesm*. 1105, only for the line to be reappropriated by Euripides at *Cyc*. 222, a play I believe was produced in 408.[22]

Even a tragedy may create an intertextual relationship with an Aristophanic comedy. Reaching beyond the usual identification of generic "comic elements" in late Euripidean tragedy,[23] Scharffenberger has identified two examples of tragic appropriation of specific comic themes, in a practice she labels "paracomedy" (a term modeled on the comic practice of "paratragedy").[24] She sees conscious echoes of Ar. *Lys*. in Euripides' *Phoen*., and of Ar. *Thesm*. in *Antiope*,[25] and both these tragedies were also performed in the final decade of Euripides' life. If *Chryses* were known to be a tragedy, we would be authorized to see Sophocles engaging in a similar practice here. Sharffenberger stresses that this is not a "gratuitous and degenerate" practice; rather, "Euripides appears to have

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[22] For the date of *Cyc*. and some of its implications, see Marshall 2001 and 2005. For the chronological order of these three passages, see 2001: 226–228.

[23] There are many studies in this area, including Knox 1970, Burnett 1971, Dunn 1989, Seidensticker 1978 and 1982, Matthiessen 1989–1990, Segal 1995, and Gregory 1999–2000.

[24] Kirkpatrick and Dunn 2002 use the term to refer to comic elements generally.

[25] Sharffenberger 1995 and 1996. Similarly, Fraenkel 1950b: 75–77, followed by Kannicht 1968: ii 281 and Dover 1972: 148–149, suggests *Hel*. 1107–1113 is a conscious echo of *Av*. 209–216.

been intrigued, especially in his later plays, by the possibilities of creating more open-ended texts, permeable by realities beyond the fiction of the stage" (1996: 69). Whatever the genre, it is easier to believe that *Chryses* post-dates *Av.* than to believe Aristophanes created an overlapping allusion to two separate but related tragic passages.

III

If, as was argued in section I, *IT* could reasonably have been written as early as 419, and if, as was argued in section II, it is likely *Chryses* was produced after 414, then we are obliged to reassess the relationship between the two plays, which has typically made *Chryses* the earlier play. I wish to argue, following Burnett's claim, that *Chryses* "was evidently a kind of sequel to the *Iphigeneia*" (1971: 75). We are able to identify a number of original elements in the Euripidean version of Iphigenia's time among the Taurian land. Cropp summarizes as follows:

> Euripides diverges from all [previous versions] by having her transported and surviving *as a mortal* and bringing her *back* to Greece to die and become a cult-figure there. He connects her return with Orestes' quest for the image of Artemis, and seems to indicate that this quest was a new development of the myth of Orestes when he twice makes Orestes explain at length that Apollo sent him to steal the image of Artemis when some Furies continued to persecute him after his acquittal at Athens ...[26]

This echoes Burnett's summary:

> the most efficient conclusion is that it was Euripides himself who first dramatized the tale. It seems almost certain that he invented the blind arrival and the recognition problem; it seems very probable that he invented the motif of the captured statue, and it is perfectly possible that he was responsible for the whole idea of Orestes' quest and Iphigeneia's return by these means. (1971: 75)

Indeed, this outcome for Orestes would not be conceivable before the late fifth century, since it depends specifically on undermining the acquittal at the end of the Aeschylean *Oresteia*. Cropp emphasizes Iphigenia being in the land of the Taurians "as a mortal" because "earlier Attic tragedy probably never mentioned Iphigeneia's surviving or being immortalized"

[26] Cropp 2000: 46, and see 43–46, Platnauer 1938: vii–xiii, and Burnett 1971: 73–75.

(2000: 45);[27] contrast Herodotus 4.103 in which Iphigeneia herself receives human sacrifice from the Taurians.[28]

It is likely that Euripides' innovation went further, and included the creation of the barbarian king, Thoas. Hall has suggested,

> Some barbarians of tragedy … were quite literally 'invented.' Three of Euripides' barbarian kings seem to have been created precisely in order to provide an opportunity for exploring vices stereotypically imputed to the barbarian character. (1989: 107)

Later she writes, "*Thoas* in *IT* like Polymestor [in *Hec*. and Theoclymenus in *Hel*.] has no ancestors, and it is probable that Euripides invented the whole myth" (1989: 110).[29] Such an innovation (accepted by Cropp 2000: 174–175 and Wright 2005: 148–149) may be set alongside the invention of Lycus in *HF* (Bond 1981: xxviii), also a blocking character, and the apparent invention of the entire content of Agathon's *Antheus* (Arist., *Po*. 9, 1451b19–23). The name Thoas is found at Hom. *Il*. 14.230, 23.745, but there he is Hypsipyle's father, king of Lemnos, and not the Taurian king: indeed, Aristophanes, in his subsequent play *The Lemnian Women* (fr. 373), blurred the two when he described Thoas the Lemnian king with a parody of *IT* 32–33. Since the Euripides passage is a straightforward etymology of Thoas' name, the appeal that it held for Aristophanes, who in the lost play merely inverts the etymology, likely resides in the fact that Euripides' Thoas was invented, or at least significantly altered. Hyg. *Fab*. 15.1 and 120.1 also confuse the two.[30]

Sophocles is not known to have invented characters in this way, but there is no reason he could not have done so. We do not know the plot of *Chryses*, though two possible plots have been suggested. The first is found in Hyg. *Fab*. 121, a passage that is confused and corrupt, but which possesses a wealth of mythological detail. It describes an alternate version of the events of *Il*. 1, in which the ransomed Chryseis returns to her father Chryses pregnant (*gravidam*), though she claims Apollo and not Agamemnon was the father. When this child, also called Chryses, was

[27] Gantz emphasizes that 'Aischylos' *Iphigeneia*—about which nothing whatever is known—*could* have dealt with these same events' (1993: 844 n. 45).

[28] For the importance of Herodotus to Euripides' play, see Hall 1989: 111–112.

[29] Hall argues the invention has a purpose within the play's ethnographic discourse, "in order to provide an opportunity for exploring vices stereotypically imputed to the barbarian character" (1989: 103), though this is questioned by Wright 2005: 198–199.

[30] A later *fabula*, [Hyg.] *Fab*. 261 (properly attributed to Servius; see *ad Aen* 6.136), indicates that Orestes kills Thoas while in the Taurian land. This detail, too, is a post-Euripidean invention.

grown, the elder Chryses learned this was not true, and that Agamemnon was the child's father.[31] The younger Chryses meanwhile had captured Orestes and Iphigenia and was about to return them to Thoas. At this point, the elder Chryses learned Orestes and Iphigenia were children of Agamemnon, and implores his younger namesake to spare his half-siblings. Orestes and Chryses then kill the pursuing Thoas and return safely to Greece with the cult image of Artemis (*cum signo Dianae*).

Hyginus' *Chryses* (*Fab.* 121) presumes the action of Euripides' *IT* as the story immediately antecedent to the main narrative: a human Iphigenia returning to Greece with the cult image of Artemis incorporates the principal details plausibly seen to be Euripidean innovations.[32] Indeed, the preceding *fabula* in Hyginus is a description of *Iphigenia Taurica*, and relates the Euripidean story closely, except for the addition of the detail that closes the entry, *uentoque secundo ad insulam Zminthen ad Chrysen sacerdotem Apollinis delati sunt* (*Fab.* 120.5: "... and by a favouring wind, they were brought to the island of Sminthe, to the Priest of Apollo, Chryses").[33] Further, *Fab.* 121 is found among several that have been variously thought to derive from Greek tragedy (*Fab.* 116–123). Sophoclean details are prominent in up to half of these, also including *Fab.* 116 *Nauplius*,[34] 119 *Orestes*,[35] and possibly 122 *Aletes*.[36] As Gantz observes of *Fab.* 121, "Obviously this sounds like a standard recognition play of the later fifth century ...;" but we need not follow him in the remainder of his observation, "... and in fact Sophokles is credited with a *Chryses* (of uncertain content) which might then anticipate the rescue in the *Iphigeneia among*

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31 Platnauer 1938: xiii suggests Chryseis herself effected the recognition.

32 Slater calls the story "a virtual remake of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*" (2000: 316).

33 Pearson 1917: ii 327 identifies Sminthe with the Island of Chryse, to the east of Lemnos, which perhaps explains the supposed confusion with Hypsipyle's father. It is possible that some source (Sophocles' *Chryses*?) blurred the Lemnian king with Euripides' Taurian king.

34 See Pearson 1917: i 80–91, Sutton 1984: 80–84, Marshall 2003.

35 Though confused, it apparently contains details unique to Sophocles' *Electra*, such as the false announcement of Orestes' death.

36 Stobaeus cites fragments from an otherwise unknown Sophoclean *Aleites* (sic; see Pearson 1917: i 62–67). Hyginus provides a unique account of a son of Aegisthus named Aletes, in a context that begins with a false messenger coming to Electra relating the deaths of Orestes and Pylades among the Taurians (122.1; see also Gantz 1993: 685–686). This story also presumes mythological elements seen to have originated in *IT* but, following Wilamowitz (1962: 291 n. 1 and 483–484) is more likely a play by the younger Sophocles, his grandson (see Snell 1971: 208 and Raat 1999: 146).

the Tauroi" (1993: 687).[37] To date a *Chryses* based on this narrative before *IT* removes all innovation from Euripides, and shows Sophocles producing a myth as his backstory for which there is no other attestation. As we shall see, Wilamowitz (1883: 257–258) found this possibility unthinkable. If rather *IT* is the earlier play, then Sophocles continues the Euripidean narrative with Euripidean style, incorporating an adaptation of a crucial familiar passage from Homer, so as effectively to emend the rival playwright's dramaturgy (something he—or his eponymous grandson—may also have done in *Aletes*).

If *Fab.* 121 were known to be the subject of Sophocles' play, there would, I submit, be no reason to doubt that it was conceived and written following the performance of *IT*. Unfortunately, this is not certain, and many critics have remained agnostic, and grounds for doubt exist.[38] First, Hyginus is not a reliable mythographer and there are significant methodological issues in deriving tragic plots from his work.[39] Secondly, Pacuvius also wrote a play entitled *Chryses*.[40] The Pacuvian play did deal with the narrative presented in Hyginus, as evidenced by a fragment that reads, *atque, ut promeruit, pater mihi patriam populauit meam* (fr. iii Klotz: "and, as it deserved, my father plundered my fatherland")[41]—spoken by the younger Chryses after the recognition.[42] Thoas was a character in the play. There is no certainty, however, that Pacuvius was following a Sophoclean original.[43] Some answer to these objections may be made.

37 Compare Sutton 1984: 30: 'So if we could be sure that Sophocles dramatized the tale recounted by Hyginus, we would be able to regard the *Chryses* as an important forerunner of that play [*IT*].'

38 Platnauer 1938: xii–xiii, Sutton 1984: 29–31, Radt 1999: 494–495, Cropp 2000: 45–46 n. 50,.

39 Huys 1996 and 1997a. *IT* is discussed at Huys 1996: 177–178.

40 Valsa 1957: 17–22, D'Anna 1967: 71–83, Sutton 1984: 187–190, Slater 2000, Manuwald 2003: 48.

41 D'Anna 1967: 81 repunctuates, so that the fragment reads "And how he deserved it! My father ravaged my native land!" (= his fr. xvi, tr. Fantham 2003: 116 n. 80). Given the fragmentary state of the Chryses plays of both Sophocles and Pacuvius, one cannot make too much of the verbal similarities between this fragment and Sophocles fr. 727 (where *populor* may correspond to ἐξανατραφῇ).

42 So D'Anna 1967: 201, Slater 2000: 321, and Fantham 2003: 116.

43 The situation is complicated, but not impossibly so, by the fact that at one point Pacuvius adapts a passage from the lost Euripidean play, *Chrysippus* (*Chryses* fr. vi–vii Klotz ~*sp. Chrysippus* fr. 839 Kannicht; see Ribbeck 1875: 255–258). It would be exactly in the tradition of the Terentian practice of *contaminatio* for Pacuvius to incorporate a section from one source play into his adaptation of another source play (D'Anna 1967:

Though there are reasons to doubt any specific detail found in Hyginus derives from tragedy, and one would not wish to claim that Hyginus had access to specific tragic texts, Hyginus and his sources did have access to collections of tragic hypotheses. This was not his only source, however, and Cameron (2004: 27–32) has recently emphasized how much mythographic material has been lost. Consequently, in the words of the skeptical Huys,

> I have found no example of a *fabula* where contamination can be excluded, although … this contamination is rather limited in *fabulae* containing mythological material that was only rarely the object of literary treatment before Hyginus, such as the legends of Iphigeneia in Tauris, Kresphontes, Alope and Archelaus. (1997a: 29)

The structure of *Fab*. 121 does correspond with the structure of a tragic hypothesis:

> the summarizer repeatedly sacrificed accuracy for smoothness, as we might expect in a work meant to be read *instead* of the plays themselves. The typical hypothesis has an introduction of five to eight OCT lines followed by a plot summary of nine to nineteen lines.[44]

Though hypotheses may contain inaccuracies, extra information, and misrepresentations that prevent detailed reconstruction of the play's plot, there still does often exist some connection with a tragic narrative. So with *Fab*. 121, where 121.1 and 2 describe information antecedent to what would be the tragic plot and 121.3 (with its mention of Thoas and the grown children) corresponds to the event that would be dramatized, the influence of a tragic hypothesis must seem likely. Since such works are not known to have existed for Pacuvius and the Roman tragedians, a connection with the lost Sophocles is to be preferred.[45] While I would not want to make any specific claims about the content of such a lost play beyond quite general assertions (such as the presence of Thoas as a character), this does not seem to be a rash conclusion, especially given the lack of any other possible narrative for *Chryses* in the mythographic tradition.

20, Manuwald 2003: 102–103). Slater's reading of the play puts the passage in the mouth of Thoas, attributing to him 'arguments that sound very much like Greek naturalistic philosophy' (2000: 319).

[44] Hamilton 1976: 68, and see Cameron 2004: 57.

[45] It is accepted without discussion, for example, by Pearson 1917: ii 327–328 and Lloyd-Jones 1996: 340–341.

It does well to reassert the primacy of the Euripidean narrative, a version of which precedes Hyginus' account of *Chryses*, and which is the only story involving this Thoas known to Apollodorus (*Epit.* 6.26–27).[46] If the plot of *IT* represents a mythological road-less-traveled, and, according to Huys, is therefore more accurate in its representation of the tragic plot, the same must be true, *a fortiori*, of the plot of *Chryses*. To my knowledge, only one specific argument has been advanced against the application of Hyg. *Fab.* 121 to the plot of Sophocles' play. Wilamowitz (1883: 257–258) argued that since Hyginus' account presumes the action of *IT* in its background, and since *Chryses* predates *IT* (based on the allusion in *Av.*), Sophocles' *Chryses* must have told a separate story[47]—he suggested that Chryses, son of Chryseis, went in search of Iphigenia. What has not been observed, so far as I can tell, is that this guess also depends on information found in the mythographical tradition only in Hyg. *Fab.* 121—that Chryses has an eponymous grandson. This summary also presumes Iphigenia is alive, somewhere: pre-Euripidean versions in which she was rescued by Artemis have her receiving cult worship, and not, as a human, instigating it.

Wilamowitz' argument founders on two points, then: it fails to appreciate the degree of originality in Euripides' use of mythology, and it originates from a false premise concerning the date of *Chryses*. Both mistakes are understandable, but both can be corrected. The hypothesized plots for Sophocles' *Chryses* presuppose innovations associated with *IT*, and in both cases the innovations are contextually relevant to Euripides' play but incidental to Sophocles' play. Unless *Chryses* dealt with still another unattested mythic event, the weight of the evidence indicates it was written and produced after *IT*, irrespective of which story Sophocles dramatized (though I hope to have demonstrated that no viable reasons have been advanced that mean we should doubt that Hyg. *Fab.* 121 bears some relationship to Sophocles' play). *Chryses*, whatever its genre, is engaging in a particular type of intertextual dialogue with the Euripidean play, accepting its innovative premises, and elaborating on the events that follow, creating a sequel that implicitly criticizes (or contradicts) the conclusions anticipated by Athena when she appears in the final moments of Euripides' play.

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[46] Huys does accept that, for Apollodorus, "Sometimes, indeed, these passages do contain material from tragic hypotheses and scholarly commentaries on tragic texts, but their contamination by other sources is often impossible to disentangle" (1997b: 327).

[47] The argument is repeated by Pearson 1917: ii 328 and, with approval, by Fantham 2003: 114 n. 66.

IV

If the three claims for which I have argued may be seen, on the balance of the evidence, to be more probable than not, then there are a number of consequences for Euripidean and Sophoclean drama in the 410s, the implications of which can only be adumbrated here. For Sophocles, it is possible to see the poet responding in different ways to both Aristophanes and Euripides within *Chryses*. A date for *Chryses* post-414 puts the play in one of the final two or three tetralogies staged by the poet during his lifetime—conceivably in the same set of plays as *Electra* (c. 412) or *Philoctetes* (409), both of which, it emerges, are plays that also engage with Euripidean predecessors. The possibility that *Chryses* was a satyr play cannot be eliminated.

For Euripides, the possibility that *IT* was written as early as 419 has several repercussions. A biographical narrative is often perpetuated in scholarship suggesting that at some point after 415 (the year of *Tro.*), under the influence of the Sicilian expedition and its repercussions, the nature of Euripidean tragedy shifted to a more "romantic" or "melodramatic" mood. The chronological range that we must ascribe to *IT* means that such a hypothesis cannot be maintained: indeed, if the argument in section II is not accepted, it follows that *IT* must predate Ar. *Av.*, probably by a minimum of two years. There are therefore good reasons to believe that its considerable mythological innovations and its supposedly happy ending predate the loss of the Athenian fleet by several years.[48] An earlier date would also place the play much closer to the reconstruction of the site at Brauron. *IT* 1462–1467 has Athena provide an explicit connection between the action of this play and the worship of Artemis at Brauron,[49] and the date of the new temple and substantial expansion of the site is to be associated with the period c. 420.[50] While the nature of these aetiologies has been actively discussed,[51] particularly in view of their connection to genuine religious practice, there can be no doubt that the play would

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48 Note that *IT* could still predate *Chryses* even if the arguments in section II were not accepted: *IT* could have been produced in 417 and *Chryses* in 416, for example. But I believe the case is stronger for a post-414 *Chryses*.

49 Cropp 2000: 50–51, 263–264.

50 Papadimitriou 1963: 120. This dating can only be approximate, though, and it would not be inconceivable for the construction to have continued as late as 417. A *terminus ante quem* is provided by an inscription from 416/15 found in the eastern wing of the stoa (Ekroth 2003: 109).

51 See Scullion 1999–2000, Dunn 2000, and Ekroth 2003.

derive additional meaning at its conclusion if the renovations of the site were still ongoing or were only recently completed.

It may be that *IT* was produced in 414 or 413, but this should not be seen as probable. In casting doubt on this date, it is possible to perceive additional resonances between this play and several others, most particularly Sophocles' *Chryses*, which takes the Euripidean narrative and develops it further.[52]

[52] I would like to thank David Sansone for his helpful comments.

MEDEA'S EXIT

Brad Levett

Interest in the staging of the *deus ex machina* of Euripides' *Medea* has typically focused on the impressive revelation of Medea as something more than mortal as she appears on high in the chariot of the Sun to mock her husband and former oppressor, Jason.[1] However, in this paper I am interested in a small, but I think important, detail of the staging of the *deus ex machina* scene, the precise moment of Medea's departure. Medea's final words of the play come at 1404, when she responds to Jason's repeated request for the bodies of their children with the dismissive "Impossible. This word is hurled in vain" (οὐκ ἔστι· μάτην ἔπος ἔρριπται). In an article in 1990 Donald Mastronarde suggested two possibilities.[2] The first possibility is that Medea departs immediately after these words, leaving the stage to Jason and his final prayer to Zeus to witness his suffering at her hands. Although Jason directly addresses Medea in this speech in lines 1411 and 1414, this need not decide the issue, since characters in Athenian tragedy do at times address characters who are not on stage at the moment. The other possibility is that Medea remains on scene while Jason makes his final prayer, and then both she and Jason exit, in different directions and in different manners, during or after the final words of the Chorus (1415–1419).[3] In his recent commentary Mastronarde argues for the first possibility, citing the ends of *Hippolytus* and *Bacchae* as supporting evidence.[4] In this paper I argue for the viability of the second possible staging of the ending of the play that has Medea remain on stage while Jason makes his final prayer.[5] I briefly argue that there is no reason that necessitates the first reading or

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[1] E.g. Cunningham 1954.

[2] Mastronarde 1990: 265.

[3] Sometimes termed a "cancelled exit." Mastronarde 1990: 265: "the play simply ends with actors in place, and subsequent movements are not part of the dramatic performance." This seems to depend on Mastronarde's view that the final lines of the play are an interpolation (see Mastronarde 2002b on 1415–1419), since if they are retained, Medea and Jason can depart separately while they sing their final lines.

[4] Mastronarde 2002 on 1404.

[5] Kovacs presumes this staging. See his edition of the play, and 1993: 64.

forbids the second, before supplying a new thesis about the end of the play that gives positive support for the second staging.

Taplin has shown that there is a strong tendency for the departing character to have the final words of a scene.[6] When two characters depart at, or roughly at, the same time, the tendency is for the dramatically dominant character to speak last.[7] There are clear examples of this for a *deus ex machina* scene, such as in *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, when Athena has the last words of the play before all exit, and she is clearly the dominant figure since the only other speaking character present is the barbarian Thoas.[8] In some cases, the god leaves well before the ending of the play and has the final word before his or her departure, as in *Hippolytus* and *Bacchae*.[9] But a counter example does exist as well. Ion has the last word in *Ion* (1619) as Athena escorts Ion and Creusa offstage (1616). In a number of plays, including *Medea*, it is hard to see a method by which to decide whether the god departs separately or at the same time as the characters.[10]

One way to think about the question is to consider the purpose, rather than the simple fact, of this tendency, and it is obvious that final words are a way of marking or emphasizing the dominance of a character. However, Taplin also notes that the silence of a dominant character upon departure, when it does occur, can be explained by the fact that this silence is itself dramatically relevant.[11] Thus the tendency should be understood in light of the dramatic purpose of expressing something about the relative status

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[6] Taplin 1977: 205.

[7] Taplin 1977: 310.

[8] Cf. also *Or.*, with Apollo having the last words of the play, before the choral tag (if genuine), and *El.*, with Castor having the final words before a general exeunt.

[9] *Pace* Mastronarde, precisely because there is extended interaction between human characters after the exit of the god in *Hipp.* and *Bacch.*, these plays are less than ideal analogies to *Med.*

[10] In *Hel.*, if Castor and Pollux remain until the words of the chorus, then Theoclymenus has the final word. If they leave before these words, then again we have a character, Theoclymenus, addressing directly characters who are not on stage. The case is the same in *Andr.* (Thetis leaving first with final word, or on stage for Peleus' final words), *Supp.* (Athena leaving first with final word, or on stage for Theseus' final words), and Sophocles' *Phil.* (Heracles departing with last words before the human characters, or staying on stage for Philoctetes' final words). The similarity of these works could be used to argue the case either way, although all of these works may not have been staged in the same manner.

[11] Taplin 1977: 205–206. Thus, in the case of *Ion*, we can suggest that Ion gets the last word as a reflection that, due to the less than omnipotent control of affairs on the part of Apollo (represented here in the *deus ex machina* scene by Athena), Ion *is* the "dominant" character, even in comparison with the gods, since it has been his own actions that have driven the plot and forced the early revelation of his true patrimony.

of the characters on stage more than as a fixed structural device. I will suggest in what follows that Medea stays on stage for Jason's final words because it is her silence that reflects her position of power over him at the end of the play.

Finally, it should be noted that on either staging, a simple appeal to staging conventions is not sufficient to settle the matter, because in either case the situation is not perfectly conventional. If Medea stays on stage, then she does not get the final word, despite being the dominant figure. But if she departs, and Jason addresses her directly even though she has left, we again have a slight variation on dramatic norm. For, although it is not uncommon for characters to address those who are not present, it is clearly the overwhelming tendency that when characters do address someone directly this addressee is in attendance.[12] Hence these two (in either case slight) irregularities can be understood to cancel each other out for the purposes of arguing the case one way or the other.

As supporting evidence for the staging I am suggesting, I now examine a thematic aspect of the *deus ex machina* scene that makes this staging more effective. One of the central issues of the play is the sanctity of the oath and Jason's transgression in breaking his own oath to Medea by abandoning her in order to marry the princess of Corinth. While other factors may well motivate Medea, such as jealousy,[13] she most often herself mentions Jason's failure to abide by his oath to her.[14] This is fully in keeping with her "masculine" concern for heroic values.[15] Moreover, the play clearly emphasizes the importance of the oath by including an example of a properly performed oath between Medea and the Athenian king Aegeus.[16] In order to obtain a safe haven after she has performed

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[12] Presumably this is the reason why Page in his commentary (1938 on 1404) understood Medea to depart after Jason's final words.

[13] E.g. 555–557, 629–643, 1367. As Boedeker 1991: 95 notes, it is primarily others who assert this motivation.

[14] For a good discussion of the theme of oaths in *Med.*, see Rickert 1987: 106–114. On Medea's reversal of social norms by pledging an oath with her husband, see Burnett 1973: 13–17, Flory 1978: 70–71, Williamson 1990: 18, Boedeker 1991: 95–96, Rabinowitz 1993: 138, Mueller 2001: 489–490. It is worth noting that despite women's lack of legal power in Classical Athens, they could (if only in special conditions) swear an oath guaranteeing the validity of information that could be used in court (see Just 1989: 36–39).

[15] On this important theme see Maddelena 1963, Knox 1977, Bongie 1977 and Rehm 1989.

[16] This scene certainly has its ominous overtones, given Medea's actions later in the house of Aegeus (to which the Chorus seem to allude at 846–855, when they question how a city as holy as Athens can accept a criminal such as Medea), but Aegeus' honest oath can be taken as a clear contrast to the deceptive use of the oath that Jason has shown.

her murders, she gets Aegeus to swear an oath to accept her as an exile, so long as she can find her own way to Athens. Some attention is given to the gods by which Aegeus will swear his oath:

ΜΗ ὄμνυ πέδον Γῆς πατέρα θ᾽ Ἥλιον πατρὸς
τοὐμοῦ θεῶν τε συντιθεὶς ἅπαν γένος.

Me. Swear by the plain of Earth and Sun
My grandfather and all the race of gods taken together.
(Eur. *Med.* 746–747)

Aegeus duly swears as he is bidden:

ΑΙ. ὄμνυμι Γαῖαν Ἡλίου θ᾽ ἁγνὸν σέλας
θεούς τε πάντας ἐμμενεῖν ἅ σου κλύω

Aeg. I swear by Earth and the holy light of Sun
And all the gods to abide by your requests. (Eur. *Med.* 752–753)

The choice of gods to swear by here reflects the desire that the oath be clearly witnessed and recorded, for the polar opposites of Earth and Sun encompass the world, and the addition of the clause "and all the gods" further supports this intention.[17] The Sun in particular was a common god to swear by, since his location in the sky and the vision he allows by his light ensures that both he and others will note the oath taken and see that it is respected. In this regard, Helios plays a parallel role to that of Zeus, who is also commonly invoked in oaths, both as a sky god who like the Sun "sees all" (cf. his common epithet "far-seeing"), and as Zeus Horkios, the god who ensures that the sanctity of the oath is respected.[18]

This link between Zeus and Helios as standard gods invoked in the swearing of oaths is explicitly made shortly thereafter by Medea, when she talks of her plans to exact revenge upon Jason, now that she has obtained safe haven from Aegeus by means of his oath:

ὦ Ζεῦ Δίκη τε Ζηνὸς Ἡλίου τε φῶς,
νῦν καλλίνικοι τῶν ἐμῶν ἐχθρῶν, φίλαι,
γενησόμεσθα κἀς ὁδὸν βεβήκαμεν,
νῦν ἐλπὶς ἐχθροὺς τοὺς ἐμοὺς τείσειν δίκην

See Boedeker 1991: 98. On the integration of the Aegeus scene with the rest of the play, see Halleran 1985: 35–36, 57–58.

[17] See Page 1938 on 148, 746, Mastronarde 2002b on 148.

[18] The important, and all pervasive, role of the institution of the oath in ancient Greek thought is clearly seen by the fact that gods themselves must abide by its dictates. See Hesiod *Theog.* 793–806.

By Zeus and Zeus' Justice and the light of the Sun,
Now I have set on my path, and I will have a fine victory,
My friends, over my enemies.
Now I have expectation that my enemies will pay the price.
(Eur. *Med.* 764–767)

Medea is not swearing an oath in this instance, but her declaration is a type of promise linked to the need to have the gods witness human action. It is common in tragedy for a character to come outdoors to speak of something to the elements, no doubt as a stage convention to allow for revelation of events inside to the audience (the Nurse talks in just this way at the beginning of the play, 56–58).[19] Yet such speeches also serve as appeals to the gods to see, and presumably in some way to act upon, the matter the character is speaking about,[20] and thus they are similar to an oath, in that they make an appeal to the gods to maintain justice in the cosmos. Since it is specifically Aegeus' own oath, sworn by Sun and Earth, that allows Medea to begin to implement her plan, it is fitting that she invoke Sun here when she talks of her expectations of revenge on Jason. The inclusion of Zeus is equally fitting, because he too is a god commonly invoked both in relation to open-air confessions[21] and to oaths,[22] since he is understood to ensure the sanctity of the oath if it is trampled upon. By doing so, Zeus ensures that there is "justice" in the universe, in the sense

[19] See Mastronarde 2002b on 57–58.

[20] An example of this, and one that links Zeus with Earth and Sun, is made early on in the play by the Chorus (148–149):

ἄιες, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ Γᾶ καὶ φῶς,
ἀχὰν οἵαν ἁ δύστανος
μέλπει νύμφα;

Zeus and Earth and light,
Do you hear what sort of cry
The wretched woman sings?

The Chorus also link Zeus and Helios when they refer to Helios at 1258 as "Zeus born" (διογενές). Mastronarde 2002b on 1258 suggests that the epithet is applied here either because Helios was identified with Apollo, son of Zeus, or because the light of the sun can generally be identified with Zeus. The former seems less likely, given that Apollo has no role in the myth or the play.

[21] See Barrett 1964 on 601, with references.

[22] See Kovacs 1993: 51 for the connection between Zeus and oaths in the play. The Nurse at 169–170, after Medea's invocation of Themis, specifically refers to Zeus as the one who upholds the sanctity of the oath.

of a balancing of accounts,[23] and so also do we get the invocation of "Zeus' Justice."[24]

Thus we have a connection made between oaths and the Sun god. This link may be strengthened if we consider an interesting suggestion made by Burnet that the original oath sworn between Jason and Medea in Colchis was made in the name of the Sun god then as well.[25] This cannot be proven, since the play does not give the original wording, but it is an easy assumption to make, given the references just discussed and Medea's personal connection to Helios. Hence Medea's numerous references to this previous oath may also bring to mind the connection.

When Medea appears on high at the end of the play, it is clear that her destruction of Jason, whatever it may mean in terms of her own involvement, reflects the punishment of Jason for his failure to stand by his previous oath to Medea.[26] When Jason reproaches her for her actions, she explains why he has suffered such a fate:

> μακρὰν ἂν ἐξέτεινα τοῖσδ' ἐναντίον
> λόγοισιν, εἰ μὴ Ζεὺς πατὴρ ἠπίστατο
> οἷ' ἐξ ἐμοῦ πέπονθας οἷά τ' εἰργάσω.
>
> I could make long answer to these words,
> Except that Zeus the father knows what sort of things
> You experienced at my hands and what sort of things you did.
> (Eur. *Med.* 1351–1353)

Here Zeus is invoked as the god who maintains justice within the cosmos, as Medea suggested herself at 764–767. However, he is also invoked because he is Zeus Horkios, the god who ensures the sanctity of the oath. The issue of the proper reciprocity of favours within the bond of *philia*, and Jason's failure to abide by such reciprocity, is referred to in 1353, and this is in keeping with Zeus' role as the one who guarantees the proper functioning of justice in the world, but this bond of *philia* was

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[23] See LSJ sv. IV 3.

[24] On the links between Zeus and the other gods of the play in *Med.*, see Lloyd-Jones 1983: 152.

[25] Burnett 1973: 14: "The oaths (*sc.* taken originally by Medea and Jason) were almost certainly taken in the name of Helius, and Helius oversees the punishment of him who now has failed to keep them." The link between the Aegeus scene and the ending is also made by Worthington 1990: 503–504. Kovacs 1993 emphasizes the role of the divine, and Zeus in particular, in the play.

[26] For a balanced view of the degree of divine validation involved in the *deus ex machina* scene, see Allan 2002:95–99.

itself established as a result of the oath taken between the two parties. The point is made clear shortly later in another exchange:

Ια. ἀλλά σ᾽ Ἐρινὺς ὀλέσειε τέκνων
φονία τε Δίκη.
Μη. τίς δὲ κλύει σοῦ θεὸς ἢ δαίμων,
τοῦ ψευδόρκου καὶ ξειναπάτου;

Jason: Yet may the Furies of the children,
and bloody Justice, destroy you.
Medea: What god or spirit hears you,
a swearer of false oaths and a deceiver of friends?
(Eur. *Med.* 1389–1392)

Jason wishes for vengeance to be visited on Medea for her crimes, but she responds that no god will listen to him since he is an oath-breaker. Thus the reason why no god, including Zeus, will heed Jason's words is that he has been punished for breaking his word.

After Medea has spoken her final words of the play, Jason prays to Zeus to witness what has happened, despite Medea's earlier comments concerning his own responsibility for his downfall:

Ζεῦ, τάδ᾽ ἀκούεις ὡς ἀπελαυνόμεθ᾽
οἷά τε πάσχομεν ἐκ τῆς μυσαρᾶς
καὶ παιδοφόνου τῆσδε λεαίνης;
ἀλλ᾽ ὁπόσον γοῦν πάρα καὶ δύναμαι
τάδε καὶ θρηνῶ κἀπιθεάζω,
μαρτυρόμενος δαίμονας ὥς μοι
τέκνα κτείνασ᾽ ἀποκωλύεις
ψαῦσαί τε χεροῖν θάψαι τε νεκρούς,
οὓς μήποτ᾽ ἐγὼ φύσας ὄφελον
πρὸς σοῦ φθιμένους ἐπιδέσθαι.

Zeus, do you hear how we are driven away,
And what sorts of things we suffer from this monstrosity,
This child-murdering lioness?
Yet at least in so far as is it possible and I am able
I lament and call upon the gods,
Taking the divine ones as my witnesses
That after killing my children you prevent
Me from touching them with my hands and burying them.
Would that I had never begotten them only
To see them dead at your hands! (Eur. *Med.* 1405–1414)

Since just a few lines before Jason wished for a Fury and bloody Justice to pursue Medea for her actions, his reason for calling on Zeus at the end of the play as a witness is that he is praying to Zeus as the one who ensures the functioning of justice in the world. Yet given that in the play Zeus has

also been invoked, as he commonly was in Greek society, in his role as Zeus Horkios, Jason provides the grounds for the rejection of his prayer at the very moment that he utters it.[27]

To return to the issue of staging at the end of the play, I suggest that this central point concerning the gods' punishment of Jason for his violation of the sanctity of the oath is made more forcefully if Medea remains on stage for this failed prayer of Jason. For by staying on stage to hear his words, and yet not bothering to respond to him, Medea can be understood to function as a representative of the gods' punishment. For Zeus' role as a principal god to invoke when making an oath calls to mind the similar role played by Helios in such situations. The connection is an easy one to make, since Zeus and Helios have been so linked in the play before, and since Medea is both the granddaughter of Helios and is currently being aided by him as evidenced by her arrival in his chariot.[28] Moreover, given that Medea is herself both the victim of Jason's crime and the human agent of the divine retribution that punishes him for it, we can understand her lack of response as the gods' own answer to Jason's final plea.[29]

This suggests why Medea should be on stage to hear Jason's final prayer, but we can also suggest why her response should take the form it does.[30] Another important theme of the work, well explored by Boedeker,[31] is that of the vanity of words. Two closely related points about "empty words" are relevant here. First, the play consistently presents language as

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[27] Although Mikalson 1989 does not consider this passage, it can be considered an unanswered prayer. There is no evidence from other mythical sources that Medea was ever in any sense punished for her crimes, beyond the fact of her various exiles. Apollodorus' Library tells us (*Epit.* 5) that Medea eventually was united with Achilles on the Isles of the Blessed. See Mikalson 1989: 94 on failed prayers due to the impiety of the one praying.

[28] Helios' implied rejection of Jason's words is perhaps emphasized by the fact that the Chorus earlier (1251–1260) prayed to him to stop Medea from killing the children, an example of another failed prayer. See Mastronarde 2002: 34. A further sign of (at least symbolic) support from Helios may be seen in the fact that the garments that destroy Creon and his daughter come from him (954–955). On the function and meaning of these gifts, see Mueller 2001: 490–500.

[29] See Kovacs 1993: 54, 67, Lawrence 1997: 54–55. Compare Clytemnestra's claim at the end of Aeschylus' *Ag.* that she is the personification of the curse of Atreus (1476–1477, 1500–1504). The points that Clytemnestra has self-serving reasons for presenting her murder in such a way and remains responsible for the murders do not change the fact that the claim is true.

[30] On silence as a rhetorically effective response to someone in debate, see Martin 1989: 71–72.

[31] Boedeker 1991.

deceptive. Jason's original oath to Medea had the effect of deceiving her in her expectations of him and of their future (whether Jason intended to deceive her when he first made the oath is another matter). In particular, it is Jason's verbal skill that reflects language's ability to deceive, as is suggested by the Chorus' remark, following Jason's speech claiming that by abandoning Medea he was acting in her best interests:

> Ἰᾶσον, εὖ μὲν τούσδ' ἐκόσμησας λόγους·
> ὅμως δ' ἔμοιγε, κεἰ παρὰ γνώμην ἐρῶ,
> δοκεῖς προδοὺς σὴν ἄλοχον οὐ δίκαια δρᾶν.
>
> Jason, while you have decked out these words well,
> All the same, and even if it offends, you certainly
> Seem to me to have done wrong by having betrayed your wife.
> (Eur. *Med.* 576–578)

Medea's own use of deception can be understood as a form of just revenge upon Jason, or even as an ability that she learned from Jason.[32]

The potentially deceptive power of words contains within itself the second point, which is that language is vain or empty because it is unable to reflect the truth, since the principal way words deceive is by distorting the appearance of the true nature of things. Interestingly, this makes language both powerful and weak. Deceptive words are a source of power in that they allow one to overcome an enemy, as is seen in the case of Medea's use of deception. But if words no longer accurately reflect reality, then they are vain and empty, and so weak, in the sense that they are "just words." This is seen easily in the case of the institution of the oath itself. An oath is an attempt to guarantee that words will reflect reality: I swear to do x, and I do x. In such a case words are given power by the fact that they accurately represent deeds and facts. By accurately reflecting deeds, words then gain the power to influence and cause further action: if you understand my oath to be a binding one, then you will think it reasonable to do something on the basis of my words. So Jason's oath to Medea resulted in the various deeds she performed in order to help him (475–487). But when this fundamental link between word and deed breaks down, then there is no longer any reason for us to give heed to words, and so words lose their power to influence our actions (cf. 492–498). Thus, Jason's original oath was powerful because it ensured Medea's

[32] That this is a legitimate reading of the relationship between Jason's and Medea's use of deception is supported by the fact that is it Medea who upholds the sanctity of the oath, which itself can be taken as the opposite of deception. See Boedeker 1997 for a discussion of how Medea "learns" in the course of the play.

much needed aid, but now that he has broken his oath, his words have become empty and without power, and so she fittingly says now of his words that they are spoken "in vain" (μάτην, 1404). This is revealed in the *deus ex machina* by the fact that his words are now unable to affect either god or mortal. Whereas he earlier called Medea vain in her lamentations and curses (see 446–458), he now recognizes that his words can no longer reach Medea:

> ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἄν σε μυρίοις ὀνείδεσιν
> δάκοιμι· τοιόνδ' ἐμπέφυκέ σοι θράσος;
>
> But I could not bite you with a million reproaches,
> Such boldness is your nature. (Eur. *Med.* 1344–1345)

This emphasis on deeds rather than words only confirms what Medea herself has said in the *deus ex machina*—that there is no need for a long speech and that the gods know the balance of wrongdoing between Jason and herself (1351–1353, 1371, 1391–1392). And indeed Medea has been of this mind for some time, as seen by her response to the Chorus' entreaty that she spare her children:

> Χο. ἀλλὰ κτανεῖν σὸν σπέρμα τολμήσεις, γύναι;
> Μη. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα δηχθείη πόσις.
> Χο. σὺ δ' ἂν γένοιό γ' ἀθλιωτάτη γυνή.
> Μη. ἴτω· περισσοὶ πάντες οὑν μέσωι λόγοι.
>
> Chor. Yet will you dare to kill your own children, woman?
> Med. (Yes), for thus might my husband be harmed (lit. "bitten") the most.
> Chor. But you would become the most unfortunate woman.
> Med. Let it go. All other words in the middle are useless.
> (Eur. *Med.* 816–819)

Thus the deed and its effect are all, and words are of no matter. This refers in the first instance to any further words before Medea's plan for vengeance has been fully realized, but we may take it as a general comment as well, that in the fractured world of the *Medea* "words in the middle," i.e., in just their normal function as modes of communication, have been shown meaningless and ineffectual.

Thus if words only deceive and fail to represent the truth, a silent Medea looking down upon Jason and his empty appeals to the gods makes for a highly suitable response.[33] Silence here reflects Medea's ability

[33] For silence as a form of rejection of someone's entreaties, see Oedipus' rejection of his son Polyneices in *OC* 1270–1275. For discussion see Seale 1982: 135, especially

to resist the persuasive tongue of the man who deceived her before. And if we understand this silence to be the message of the gods themselves in answer to Jason's appeal,[34] then this silence, far from reflecting a lack of dramatic importance or status, can be understood to be a thematically integrated dramatic gesture of her dominance. Suspended above the stage, Medea is now removed from Jason, both physically, in that he cannot seize her (cf. 1317–1322), and psychologically, in that his words, so effective in manipulating her before, can no longer affect her.[35]

I do not want to overstate my case. First, given the state of our evidence, it is not possible to prove the staging I argue for, although it should be recalled that this is also true for any envisioned staging. Secondly, I would not claim in negative fashion that the other staging is without thematic interest or dramatic effect. If Medea flies away after her final words, it will still reflect her rejection of and separation from Jason. Moreover, it is altogether likely that, if she did leave at that point, the audience would still assume that Jason's plea to Zeus is an ineffectual one. However, I do think that the staging of the *deus ex machina* I have argued for would have greater thematic resonance and therefore greater dramatic impact. A final tableau showing Medea standing with the slain children[36] above Jason as his final words fall into silence concisely encapsulates much of the force of the play, for both the cause and the agent of Jason's downfall can be read in this image. Medea, the instrument of the gods in this regard, "answers" Jason with a silence that aptly reflects his own abuse of language, thereby showing the logical result of his separation of word and deed, since when his words die out, we are left only with the silent impact of the staging itself.

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the suggestion that the silence reinforces the impact of the staging, with Oedipus' "true" family shown in the form of Antigone and Ismene standing by his side, in contrast to his hated son. Less similar is Neoptolemus' rejection of Philoctetes' entreaties in *Phil.* 932–935, 950–951, since they reflect not complete rejection, but rather shame and an inability to answer.

[34] Here we might compare the famous scene in *Il.* 6, when the women of Troy pray to the statue of Athena to save their city, only to have the poet tell us that Athena did not heed their prayer (311), but rather "nodded upwards" as a sign of rejection. This gesture may be meant to reflect the action of the goddess herself and not her statue (or the verb here is used in only the general sense of "to deny, reject"), but it seems possible that we are meant to understand that the statue itself miraculously gives a sign of rejection to the prayer of the Trojan women.

[35] On this physical distance, see Rehm 2002: 254, 258.

[36] Kovacs 1993: 59–60 notes that a common punishment invoked for breaking an oath was precisely the death of one's progeny.

THE "PACKED-FULL" DRAMA IN LATE EURIPIDES: *PHOENISSAE*

Ann N. Michelini

A basic characteristic of Euripidean drama is multiplicity or variegation, a characteristic that in fact is also basic to the original form of tragedy, an art-form that in combining lyric and spoken verse genres, creates an accompanying contrast between choral and individual performance. As many critics have also pointed out, this pluriform quality is also characteristic of tragedy in another way, in its ability to present differing points of view, ideologies, perspectives, and personas, and in its tendency to critique or problematize traditional form and language.[1] So, when Euripides developed his plays in this direction, he was, perhaps intuitively, following or exaggerating tendencies traditional to tragedy as an art-form.

In moving toward an increasingly variegated dramatic style, however, Euripides was to an extent working against tendencies toward a more naturalistic mimesis of human interaction. It is well known that dialogue in Euripidean plays becomes increasingly formalist, an example of Euripides' archaism (Michelini 1987: 96–97). The continual pointed allusions to tradition in Euripidean drama are the necessary complement or theme on which the technique of variation builds. Both traits are strikingly exaggerated in some of his later plays. *Phoenissae* is a profoundly derivative and profoundly innovative drama that evokes a mythic saga well known to us from other tragedies by Sophocles, Aeschylus, and even Euripides himself.[2]

I have argued that, in this play, as in two other late plays, *Orestes* and *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, Euripidean versatility moves in a new direction (2000: 43). In contrast to the remarkable *Bacchae*, which returns to tragedy's traditional concentration on a few protagonists and an active chorus, these plays are elaborate, complex, and—as the rather uncomplimentary

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[1] See Segal 1993: 19: Tragedy "incorporates the art forms of lyric celebration for enactments of pain and suffering." Cf. Grethlein on the "pluriform" tragic treatments of civic themes from the funeral oration, 2003: 122–123; and Mastronarde 2000: 30.

[2] See Foley 1985: 112–115. Amiech 2004: 16–17, 28–47, discusses various strands of influence, allusion, reworking, and parody in the play; see also Müller-Goldingen 1985: 14–36.

hypothesis to *Phoenissae* puts it, "packed full," *παραπληρωματικόν*.[3] Their design evokes the expansiveness of epic in marked contrast to the usual intense concentration of tragic plays on few events and personages, and limited time-spans.

In *Phoenissae* all the protagonists have familiar parts to play in the well-known saga of Thebes; but it is surprising to find all three (or, given the incest, two-and-a-half) generations active in the same play. As the play begins, Oedipus and Jocasta are both alive and in Thebes; and both their warring sons Eteocles and Polyneices will soon be on stage together. Jocasta's brother Creon is prominent, and his son Menoeceus makes an important appearance. And then there is young Antigone, who appears at the beginning as a naive innocent and ends in a more familiar role, as the hot-headed opponent of Creon. None of these seven characters is a mere supernumerary: each has a well-defined tragic fate to encounter. It is Euripides' bold plan to unite these seven tragic experiences into one and to produce a play that will prove their interrelation and bind them into a single, vertiginous time, the crucial day on which all Thebes' long history culminates in an agonizing military and familial crisis.[4]

The development of Creon is emblematic, for this figure ties the play together and also exemplifies its technique of variegation. Creon is on stage a great deal of the time, interacting with Eteocles, with Tiresias (for the famous Theban prophet also makes an appearance), with his own son, and finally with Antigone and Oedipus. As Creon meets different actors in the saga, his role moves back and forth between traditional outlines and less familiar ones. In his first scene, the apparent focus is on Eteocles, the ruling king of Thebes, whose amoral worship of power (*turannis*) has been displayed in the previous scene. In this context, Creon will appear to be functioning as a mere convenient interlocutor, a bland and reasonable foil for the headstrong tragic protagonist, somewhat as he does in *Oedipus the King*.[5] Eteocles, in an almost parodic exaggeration of

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[3] See Hyp. C in the Oxford edition of Diggle, Amiech 2004: pg. 116. The commentator goes on to complain of Antigone's *teichoscopia*, Polyneices' scene, and Oedipus' appearance as pointless and unnecessary. On other negative judgments in antiquity, see Müller-Goldingen 1985: 1–3, Amiech 18, 26. See also her comment, 27, on the "esthétique de profusion" of this play, and Burian 1981: 4.

[4] Jocasta begins with an address to the sun and the unfortunate day in which it shone on Cadmus' founding of the city (1–6); Arthur 1977: 163 and Luschnig 1995: 172 comment on the parallel. For defense of the first two lines, see Amiech 2004: 233–235.

[5] Cf. Luschnig: 1995, 166, on Creon as "regent, professional king … His very professionalism, moderation, and competence in his scene with Eteocles rob him of tragic stature."

the aggressive haste that he showed in Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes* (675–676), is eager to rush into battle.[6] In a long, and rather funny, stichomythy, Creon shows the young king that his preferred strategies are likely to fail. Finally, with Eteocles reduced to exasperation, Creon puts forward the traditional strategy of defending the seven gates. At the end of the scene, Creon receives final orders from Eteocles in a speech whose ominous stipulations for the treatment of Polyneices' body and the marriage of Antigone prefigure Creon's role at the end of the play.

The king closes with a preparation for the next scene: Creon's son Menoeceus is to summon Tiresias so that Creon may receive the prophet's advice for the city. The scene with Tiresias is a key node of the play, weaving together many themes, including those in the choruses, which I will discuss later. For the development of Creon's character, it is crucial, as the cautious advisor now emerges from his familiar role to take on greater depth. Tiresias states that only one thing can save Thebes, polluted as it is by the crimes of the Labdacids; but, paralleling a familiar moment in *Oedipus the King*, the prophet hesitates to deliver his grim news—that Creon's son must die to save Thebes. Finally, as Creon is insistent in his patriotic desire to help the city,[7] Tiresias blurts out the truth with a brutal directness that is also familiar from Sophocles.[8]

Immediately, Creon begins to develop a tragic personality and a tragic conflict. He refuses to hear the prophet, dismisses the city's salvation (χαιρέτω πόλις 919), and begs Tiresias to keep his prophecy a secret. As Tiresias sarcastically remarks, "The man's no longer the same. He's backing off!"[9] From a mere accessory figure, Creon has become himself a tragic protagonist.[10] We could see the "Creon tragedy," a tragedy of parent

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[6] On the parallel with Aeschylus *Sept.* 675–676, see Mastronarde 1994: 370; Amiech 2004: 71.

[7] Cf. Sophocles, *OT* 326–333: Oedipus appeals to Tiresias on civic grounds, but is rejected. For Creon's protestations see 900 and 902: καὶ πῶς πατρῴαν γαῖαν οὐ σῷσαι θέλω; … εἰς γὰρ τί μᾶλλον δεῖ προθυμίαν ἔχειν; See discussion in Amiech 2004: 449–450.

[8] 911–914 (Omitting 912 [see Mastronarde 1994: *ad loc.*] makes Tiresias' announcement even more abrupt.) Cf. *OT* 350 ff.: Oedipus' accusations provokeTiresias into speaking. The absence of such a long interchange here marks the Sophoclean parallels as formalist. See Amiech 2004: 64, Müller-Goldingen 1985: 146–147, Papadopoulou 2001: 25, on the "complex and dynamic 'dialogue' between texts/plays."

[9] 920, ἁνὴρ ὅδ᾽ οὐκέθ᾽ αὑτός· ἐκνεύει πάλιν. Ἐκνεύειν, used of horses refusing the bridle (Mastronarde 1994: 413), is uncommon in early texts; and the word here may have a colloquial and sarcastic tone. (See, however, 1268.)

[10] Cf. Amiech 2004: 23 Creon, who in the previous scene, "avait montré ses talents d'homme d'État," now "se trouve pris au piége de la tragédie."

and child, as paralleling and explicating the incestuous family tragedy of the Labdacids, much as the suffering of the less-flamboyant family of the Earl of Gloucester parallels the tragedy of King Lear in Shakespeare's play—a play that is also "packed full" of incident and characters. In Creon's final appearance he moves back into another more familiar role, as regent in place of Eteocles and antagonist to Antigone and Oedipus, a role in which he represents the interests of the city and of dynastic continuity. But the familiar role gains depth and irony from the previous scenes, since Creon is now once more placing civic concerns before those of family feeling, while in his own case he was ready to dismiss the city altogether to save his son.

Creon never appears on stage with his sister Jocasta; instead their roles are interwoven throughout the play. When he comes to find her so that she can prepare his son's body for burial (1310ff.), Jocasta has already gone to the battlefield to make a last attempt to reconcile her sons. There, in despair, as she finds them dying, she will kill herself over their bodies. Like her brother, Jocasta is a figure that spans the extent of this complex and varied drama. She is the prologue speaker, immediately revealing that, unlike the queen in Sophocles' play, she did not commit suicide after the discovery of her incestuous marriage. In surviving, Jocasta becomes the matriarch of a doomed family. She stands in a maternal relation to all her family members except Creon; and, as though to mark this extensive and excessive maternity, she turns out also to have been the foster mother of Menoeceus (986–988).

Themes and images of fertility and maternity are important to the play. Filial connection, so perverted in the house of Oedipus, is repeatedly stressed, as Jocasta and Creon both make doomed attempts to save their sons, while Antigone passes from the protection of her mother to take her place as protector of her brother/father Oedipus. Jocasta's agency in the play, like her function in the royal family, is one of uniting, as she twice attempts to reconcile her hateful sons.[11] But, because she is attempting to maintain a family founded in incest, Jocasta's expression of normative maternal drives is ineffective. Instead, she becomes the focus of suffering, as all the separate tragedies in this composite tragedy become one. As she says at 354: "the grief from these evils has come to me."[12]

[11] Her speech 528–585, in favor of balance and reciprocity, also parallels her conciliatory role in the *OT*.

[12] Cf. 1696, cited in text below. For Jocasta as clan-mother and focus of family suffering, see Müller-Goldingen 1985: 186, Luschnig 1995: 176, Hose 1990: 141.

Through her family of birth, and through her foster mothering of Menoeceus, Jocasta also links the two disparate bloodlines of Thebes. Married (twice) to a Labdacid descendant of the Phoenician settler, Cadmus, Jocasta, along with her brother Creon and his family, is descended from the only remaining pure-blooded line of the earth-born *Spartoi* or Sown Men, who were produced by Cadmus from the dragon's teeth.[13] This myth of Theban origins combines two stories, one of immigrant origins, Cadmus, and one of autochthony, the Sown Men. The Phoenician chorus in their odes reveal this complex origin, as their songs trace the entire stretch of Theban saga, from its first beginnings in the story of Cadmus.

I have argued elsewhere that it may be helpful to think of Euripidean plays as composed in a variety of "registers," that can correspond in part to the union of differing genres in tragedy (2000: 42–43). Besides lyric and iambic, the building blocks out of which this composite art form is made, late Euripidean plays also include allusions to epic that evoke tragedy's challenge to epic as the dominant poetic form of Greek culture. These differing generic sources correspond to differing perspectives on myth, the sagas and stories that are the material behind tragic plots. For us, the setting of *Phoenissae* in battle and siege is reminiscent of the *Iliad*; but two war epics that have almost utterly disappeared, the *Thebaid* and the *Oedipodeia*, will also have been important sources for this play.[14] Epic effects are injected in several ways. Most striking are the lengthy messenger speeches that, in a sequence of three, narrate the turns and twists of the battle for Thebes.[15] The speeches cover the stages of the war, an initial battle ended by the deaths of Parthenopaeus and Kapaneus, followed by a duel between the warring brothers, their deaths and the death of Jocasta, and the final battle in which Thebes is victorious. They are among the longest in Euripides, and the martial detail in which they abound has many parallels in the *Iliad*. When Kapaneus spirals off the walls (1182–1186), we have almost

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[13] This point is made by Tiresias, 942–943. See Riemschneider 1940: 33: Jocasta's surrogate maternity of Menoeceus strengthens his descent from the *Spartoi*. On the Spartoi as a military caste in Theban myth, see Vian 1963: 163–175.

[14] For another view, see Mastronarde 2000: 18. I would agree that Euripides' contemporaries had no narrow view of the epic genre: cf. 2000: 42, note 9. But contrast in extension between epic and dramatic forms is inevitable, while any tragic play about the siege of Thebes necessarily evokes the model of the battle epic.

[15] The epic quality of messenger speeches has most recently been pointed out by James Barrett 2002, who connects the tragic messenger's relative impersonality and remoteness with the authorial narrator of epic.

an exact copy of a climactic epic *phasma* or death description, with its combination of grisly physical detail with extravagance and exaggeration.[16]

But the battles are not wholly archaic. I have suggested (2000: 42–43) that a particularly strong contrasting additional register in Euripides is one that has resonances of the "reality" that animates later comedy, one source of the ironic dissonance that is typical of Euripidean plays like *Electra* or *Orestes*. But there are only fleeting moments of this dissonance in *Phoenissae*, and they usually serve to delineate a character rather than to put the entire play under a cast of irony.[17] But there is an aspect typical of Euripidean drama that abounds in this play and that tends to diminish the "distancing" effect of the tragic genre, which, I have argued (1987: 181–185), deals typically with a distant heroic world, in which events took place on a plane more elevated and significant than in the world of contemporary reality. This counterbalancing aspect I shall call circumstantiality, a technique of narration in which the underpinnings or logical background to narrative are highlighted by explanation. Circumstantial explanations for things that have traditionally not required explanation in tragic plays frame the epic events in relation to a fifth-century "real" world. The schema of seven pairs of opposing warriors at seven gates, climaxing in the formal duel of champions that destroys the warring brothers, is traditional and archaic;[18] the injection of circumstantial reality revivifies tradition, while it augments another epic feature of this play, the sense of a great extent of time comprehended in a single work of art, a vista that in this case extends from the earliest beginnings of Thebes down to a contemporized present.

In the prologue's second scene, Antigone's tutor brings her up to the roof of the palace for a traditional *teichoscopia*, familiar from the *Iliad* and very likely Theban epic tradition as well.[19] The old man carefully explains

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[16] Further parallels with epic *phasmata* include the dying combatants pictured as "divers" off the walls, 1151; see Mastronarde *ad loc.* and on 1157–1162 (pg. 473–474).

[17] E.g., the foolish impetuosity of Eteocles in his dialogue with Creon, with his previous amoral statements, creates a negative characterization (see Müller-Goldingen 1985: 121–124) that is partially counterbalanced by his role as defender of Thebes.

[18] Eteocles' impatience is the internal motivation for the pointed, formal rejection at 751 of the Aeschylean list of opposing champions; the list of the enemy champions is inserted later by a messenger (Foley: 1985: 114).

[19] Note that elements of the Iliadic *teichoscopia* make better sense in the Theban context, where Antigone cannot know the Argive champions and where the walls have particular significance, see Luschnig 1995: 164–166, 236 ff. On dramatic *teichoscopiai*, see Scodel 1997, on *Phoen.* 85–88.

how it is that he can recognize all the Argive champions: "I'll explain everything knowledgeably, from what I saw and heard from the Argives, when I brought the proposal of truce to your brother from here and from there brought their proposals back to here" (95 ff.). Further, it is easy to distinguish the individual heroes from the wall because, "you've come at the right time. The Pelasgian army is on the move and they are separating their squadrons" (106–107). These gratuitous explanations occur very frequently,[20] and their effect is to pull the time of the play into a closer relation to a "real" world, in which logical connections are inherent, while at the same time underlining a tension between traditional literary forms and the world of real events.

With a similar effect, military detail of a contemporary nature is injected into the tragic/epic setting. When Eteocles proposes a number of strategies that Creon rejects, he goes through a repertory of attacks, familiar from Herodotus and Thucydides.[21] In the climactic duel between the brothers, the tactics of each are minutely described, the blows they exchange, their postures, their feints and stratagems.[22] There is a careful explanation to show how each champion is sequentially deprived of his spear, so that, in conventional epic fashion, they next fall to with swords (1397–1403). Of course in epic, spears are usually thrown, so that fighters easily lose this means of attack; but the dueling brothers are using thrusting spears, in fifth-century fashion.

The structure of the play is one of delay, as the preliminaries to the epic battles are extended. The abortive attempt at truce between the brothers, the strategizing of Creon and Eteocles, the approach to Tiresias and the resultant death of Menoeceus all are preliminary to the epic meat of the story, the fight for Thebes, narrated in the great messenger speeches with their wealth of military detail. But this is not the only tendency of these early, preliminary scenes, since each is set off by a remarkable series of odes that extend and deepen the mythic background to the swiftly impinging events of the tragic day. The choruses supplement the

[20] On this technique, see Scodel 1999: 174. Similar passages in the play include 708–711, 774 (778), 1118, 1138–1139, 1164, 1465. And see Note 33, below, on 929–930 and 960–961. A probable instance, ὁμιλίαι χθονός, explains how Eteocles came by his "Thessalian trick," see Mastronarde, note 22, below.

[21] See Mastronarde 1994: 356.

[22] See discussion in van der Valk 1985: 5, Müller-Goldingen 1985: 216–218, Foley 1985: 129. The particularly careful analysis of Mastronarde 1994 shows the intermingling of epic elements (1401, throwing a massive stone) with contemporary military techniques of combat (1400–1401, ἐπὶ σκέλος and pg. 542, on the "Thessalian trick").

circumstantial narrative of Jocasta's prologue by opening up the drama to perspectives denied to the epic and tragic viewpoints.[23] These odes dwell in the marvelous and legendary, a realm of myth that belongs more to folktale than to narrative or dramatic genres.

The chorus who have given their name to this play are marked by their origin with an enormous distance from the action. They have, they inform us, been sent from the shores of distant Phoenicia toward Delphi, where they are to serve as attendants to Apollo's oracle (280–285). In the parodos, they sing wistfully of the delights of Delphi, all the more striking in the contrast with violent Thebes, where "swift Ares, coming before the walls, sets destructive carnage ablaze."[24] The chorus speak of their genealogical connection with Thebes, and they speak of it in particularly esoteric terms. In each of their first three odes, they mention a common ancestress, Io.[25] In fact, the Phoenician women of this chorus have no need of Io to mark their relation to Thebes, which comes directly through Cadmus. To find Io, we must go much farther back: the daughter of Inachus, transformed into a cow, wandered till she came to Egypt, where she bore Epaphos to Zeus. Several generations later, a descendant, Agenor, migrated to Phoenicia and fathered Cadmus. So why indeed mention Io, and mention her, not once, but three times? One answer is that this allusion shows how far back the chorus is prepared to go; they move away from the claustrophobic concentration of tragedy in the Theban present, into a huge perspective of mythical time.

The Theban foundation myth is explored in the chorus' first stasimon. The ode makes a strong impression of disjunction, since it follows immediately upon the hateful *agôn* of the brothers, and upon the many allusions to contemporary political idiom in that scene. In calm and even naive tones, the chorus brings us back to a primeval time and the story of Cadmus' encounter with the serpent:

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[23] On the *Liederzyklus*, see Riemschneider 1940:16–17, 24–25, 28–29. Foley (1985: 107) points out "No other tragedy crowds three stasima into 400 lines at the center of the play." My analysis owes much to Arthur [Katz]: 1977, who first showed in detail the interconnection of the odes and their relevance to the play's action. I treat bucolic themes, however, as problematic, not as a pastoral idyll corrupted by civilization (see Arthur 1977: 173, 185).

[24] Their mention of Delphic water, greenery, and Dionysiac cult will be reprised in the first stasimon in reference to Thebes (638–661, see Riemschneider 1940: 24), where Ares' wrath produces the serpent (Arthur 1977: 167–168). On the role of Ares in the play, see Riemschneider 1940: 28, 33, and Papadopoulou 2001: 23, "the god who is at once progenitor and enemy."

[25] 247–248, 676–678, 828–829. See Riemschneider 1940: 17.

Cadmus the Tyrian came to this land,
for whom the four-legged untamed heifer
made her fall, showing the authentic omen where
the oracle ordained he should inhabit the grain-bearing plains
as home, where the moisture of the lovely river water
comes to the furrows, the green, deep-seeded furrows of Dirke.
(Eur. *Phoen.* 638–647)

Translation cannot convey the quality of the original which, with its repetitive ithyphallic meter, and its naive relative clauses, seems to mimic cultic hymns of which our knowledge is very limited.[26] The effect is to widen the distance between their tale and the Theban present. In the river plain that nurtured ivy-crowned Dionysus,[27] Cadmus met the "murderous serpent, the fierce guardian of Ares, watching with the wandering glances of his eyes over the watery springs and verdant floods" (657–661).[28] Again, there is abundant greenery, but now it hides the deadly snake. In faux-naif narrative the ode continues its way: the Sown-men or *Spartoi* are born, ancestors of the ancient Theban people, but "ironhearted murder joined them back to mother earth and drenched with blood the earth that had shown them to the sunny breezes of the heavens (673–675)." The narration thus defines a circle: the death of the murderous serpent, himself a child of earth, impregnates the fertile earth, producing murderous offspring; and then, as violence is repeated, earth receives them back again. We might think here of Froma Zeitlin's

[26] 638–648

Κάδμος ἔμολε τάνδε γᾶν
Τύριος, ὧι τετρασκελὴς
μόσχος ἀδάματον πέσημα
δίκε τελεσφόρον διδοῦσα
χρησμόν, οὗ κατοικίσαι
πεδία νιν τὸ θέσφατον
πυροφόρα δόμων ἔχρη,
καλλιπόταμος ὕδατος ἵνα τε
νοτὶς ἐπέρχεται γύας
Δίρκας χλοηφόρους
καὶ βαθυσπόρους γύας·

The repetition of γύας at 648 has been questioned; but cf. repetition elsewhere, e.g., χλοήφορος in 647 and 653 (and χλοερά 660); the pun between ὀλεσίθηρ and ὠλένη, 663–664; the repetition of βαθυσπόρους γύας at 669. See comment by Amiech 2004, 386. Cf. *PMG* 935, Epidaurian hymn to the "Mother of the Gods" for naive repetitions.

[27] Dionysus' place in Cadmus' family is never alluded to; he and his cult are used to evoke an idyll of peace, cf. the parodos, above Note 24.

[28] The snake is Ares' but is also earthborn (931, 935); on this double parentage, see Vian 1963: 29, 106–107 and Amiech 2004: 389.

suggestion (1990) that Thebes in tragedy is a kind of anti-Athens. In these passages the famously meager soil of Attica might contrast with the phenomenal fertility of the Theban plain, its two great rivers, its eel-filled lakes, its cattle fields, and its rich soil. The myth of Theban autochthony, however, like the myth of Theban settlement, is bloody, awakening the ritual analogy of seed burial and death. The overproductive and malign fertility of the earth seems to match the overfertility of the earth-mother of this play, Jocasta. We can now suggest another reason why the choruses so persistently mention Io: she, as they twice point out, is the maternal ancestor, the προμάτωρ, of both Phoenicians and Thebans (676–677, 828). Io underlines the theme of maternity, and furnishes a Greek female ancestress to inaugurate the royal line.[29] Maternity is also evoked by the close of the ode, which is dedicated to the mother goddess Demeter and Earth, "nurse of all." (685–686).

The most brilliant of the odes is the second stasimon, composed in an elaborate "dithyrambic" style that contrasts with the simple meters and language of the first and third stasima. The first strophe places us directly in the terrible present, as Ares, with blood and the clash of brazen arms, makes an unmusical song that contrasts with the peaceful choruses of girls and the dances of maenads, again evoking the idyll of Dionysus. In the antistrophe, the ode moves backward in time to Oedipus, the infant exposed on Cithairon, and to the Sphinx, whose "songs" like those of Ares have no music. Discord, *eris*, "branches forth" (θάλλει, 813) in the doomed and incestuous family of Oedipus. In the final epode, the ode retreats still farther back, returning to the Sown Men. The dragon's brood are called Θήβαις κάλλιστον ὄνειδος (821), "the noblest shame of Thebes." This wonderful phrase epitomizes the circularity of Theban myth, in which glory and horror seem endlessly intertwined.

The Sown Men are immediately contrasted with Cadmus' triumphant marriage to Harmonia, one of those Edenic events in which gods and humans mingled peacefully at a wedding feast.[30] Next the ode evokes the music by which Amphion, another of Thebes' founders, expressed

[29] Io's bovine nature matches the heifer that marked the site of Thebes. Euripides may have known that in Near Eastern and Egyptian myth these animals are a familiar symbol of fertility and abundance (Katz 1977: 170–171). Cadmus was often associated with Egypt rather than Phoenicia, see Vian 1963: 31–33.

[30] On the marriage of Peleus and Thetis as an idyllic theme in the *IA*, see Michelini 2000: 46–47.

the meaning of Harmonia (she who fits things together), by magically causing the walls of the city to be built, walls now under siege. The ode ends on a finely balanced ambiguity:

> μυριάδας δ' ἀγαθῶν ἑτέροις ἑτέρας μεταμειβομένα
> πόλις ἅδ' ἐπ' ἄκροις ἕστακ' Ἀρηίοις στεφάνοισιν.
>
> Ever changing countless goods for others, this city stands now on the topmost crowns of Ares. (Eur. *Phoen.* 830–833)

It is ambiguous whether the "others" for which goods are exchanged are also good, or whether they are the evils detailed in the first two verses, as well as whether "standing on the crowns of Ares" is a metaphor for martial glory, or a reference to the dread Ares who now threatens the city's walls.[31] The lines must be understood within the context of the whole ode and especially the "noblest shame" with which the epode itself opens: the ugly music of Ares and the Sphinx cannot ultimately be separated from the music of Amphion and the heroism of Cadmus and Oedipus.

The third stasimon, following the death of Menoeceus, moves toward the most recent heroic event of Theban legend, Oedipus' victory over the Sphinx. But, in typically circular fashion, the ode ends with a prayer directed to Athena, whose aid, "brought about the stone-cast bloody death of the serpent, inciting Cadmus' mind to the act from which there darted upon this land, through the snatchings of the daimons, some destruction" (ὅθεν ἐπέσυτο τάνδε γαῖαν ἁρπαγαῖσι δαιμόνων τις ἄτα Eur. *Phoen.* 1063–1067). This ties the founding act, and the birth of the Sown Men, to the darting and snatching of the winged Sphinx (1024–1025, 1040–1041): Cadmus' glorious deed, like Oedipus' victory, bore bitter fruit. The choral odes treat these temporally separated heroic feats as similar, balancing their narration of events extended in time with suggestions that the saga of the Seven Against Thebes now unfolding on the tragic stage is a reenactment of and recompense for these earlier mythic events.

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[31] For largely positive interpretations see Parry 1978, 170; Müller-Goldingen 1985: 137; and Mastronarde 1994: 389–390. But ambivalence and Ares' malevolence are themes here. For "crowns" as a metaphor for walls, cf. Bremer 1980: 285 who connects the walltop with the site of Menoeceus' self-sacrifice and cites an important parallel from the death of Astyanax in *Tro.* 783–784. For similar views see Hose 1990: 174 n. 45, Luschnig 1995: 221, Katz 1977: 176–177: things generate their opposites, trapping Thebes in a recurring cycle.

This third ode, however, is rather a reflection of the preceding scene between Creon and Tiresias than an anticipation of themes to come. This scene, coming at the center of the play, ties the themes of the apparently remote lyrics into the complex tragic action. The opening of Tiresias' last speech is notably formalistic, as Creon turns from his personal grief to questions about the source of the curse that must be expiated by Menoeceus' death.[32] The formality marks the distance of the speech from the interaction of the personalities on stage and its connection to wider themes that have emerged in the lyrics. A remarkable passage in this speech reproduces the extraordinary circularity and repetitive language of the first stasimon: Menoeceus must die

> and give his murdered blood to the Earth as a libation for Cadmus, from the ancient wrath of Ares, who avenges the murder of the earth-born serpent. Doing this, you'll have Ares as ally. If the soil takes fruit for fruit, mortal blood for blood, you will have Earth beneficent, she who once sent up the gold-helmed crop of the Spartoi. But from the race (γένος) there must die one who grew from the serpent's jaw (γένυς).[33]

The naive pun seems of a piece with the repetitious style and matches similar puns in the first stasimon (663–665). The cycle of blood watering the earth, the conjunction between normal fertility, from the streams of Dirce, and abnormal fertility, the "gold-helmed crop" of the sown men, are echoed in the circle of Ares and Earth, twin guardians of the serpent, who now must be propitiated by further bloodshed.

Echoes of these themes appear in the final scene, in which Creon, in his more standard role of one "just following orders," confronts Antigone. Once the scenes of epic battle are past, the whole family of Oedipus is at last united, two living and three dead. Jocasta, mother of them all,

[32] The passage is a fine pastiche of Aeschylean tropes. Luschnig 1995: 226 points to the parallel between Creon's question at 929 and Aesch. *Pers*. 290–298 (cf. discussion in Michelini 1982, 29–31). Tiresias replies, "You ask me rightly and enter a contest of words" (ἀγὼν λόγων 930). When Creon fails to make a responding speech, he is asked by the chorus for the cause of his "silence," which they then themselves supply: he is shocked (960–961).

[33]

σφαγέντα φόνιον αἷμα γῆι δοῦναι χοάς,
Κάδμου παλαιῶν Ἄρεος ἐκ μηνιμάτων,
ὃς γηγενεῖ δράκοντι τιμωρεῖ φόνον·
καὶ ταῦτα δρῶντες σύμμαχον κτήσεσθ' Ἄρη.
χθὼν δ' ἀντὶ καρποῦ καρπὸν ἀντί θ' αἵματος
αἷμ' ἢν λάβηι βρότειον, ἕξετ' εὐμενῆ
Γῆν, ἥ ποθ' ἡμῖν χρυσοπήληκα στάχυν
Σπαρτῶν ἀνῆκεν· ἐκ γένους δὲ δεῖ θανεῖν
τοῦδ' ὃς δράκοντος γένυος ἐκπέφυκε παῖς. (Eur. *Phoen*. 937–945)

as Antigone sings, “lies there pitifully, having all evils together” (1696). When Oedipus bemoans his fall from heroic glory, as slayer of the Sphinx, his daughter replies, “Do you bring up the shame of the Sphinx? Stop speaking of former good fortune.”[34] The circle of heroism and sorrow reaches its culminating point in the downfall of the Labdacids, a misfortune so comprehensive that, from its perspective, even the glories of Thebes’ legendary and heroic past appear as oxymoronic, fortunate or glorious shames.

This phrase, linking glory and shame as in the earlier ode, can also be seen as encapsulating the generic opposition between epic and tragedy, contrasting forms that in this play are brought into a tension-filled union. Tales of glory in epic, the quintessential genre of praise, become, in their transmutation into tragedy, stories of the shameful and agonizing deaths that closed the careers of heroes like Aias and Agamemnon. In the case of Thebes, however, the great epic event of the siege of the Seven is in fact enmeshed with a tragic story, since the victory of the city requires the shameful fratricidal deaths of both heirs to the Theban throne. Such a saga is ideally suited as a site for the confrontation between these great opposing genres. This confrontation matches the vast stretch of legend and saga that the play encompasses, as well as the bold juxtaposition of lyric and trimeter performance through which this extension is accomplished. The play’s epic ambitions lead to the combination of many usually separate tragedies into a single narrative that stretches from Thebes’ first beginnings to the final victorious disaster that separates Thebes forever from their Kadmean founders, the Labdacids and descendants of the Sown Men.

Mastronarde 1994 notes the circularity in 941–942. Riemschneider 1940: 31–33 remarks on the convergence of themes: Ares, originally confined to lyric, “erscheint nun im Dialog. Um ihn gruppieren die anderen bekannten motive der Polis-Lieder.”

[34] Eur. *Phoen*. 1732–1733: Σφιγγὸς ἀναφέρεις *ὄνειδος*. ἄπαγε τὰ πάρος *εὐτυχήματ’* αὐδῶν.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE GODS: POLITENESS IN THE PROLOGUE OF THE *TROADES*[*]

Michael Lloyd

Euripides' *Troades*, set before the smoking ruins of Troy, begins with a speech by Poseidon (1–47). He explains that he has felt good will towards Troy ever since he and Apollo built its walls (4–7). This contrasts with his attitude in the *Iliad*, where he is proud of the walls (Hom. *Il.* 7.446–453; 21.446–447) but hostile to the Trojans on account of Laomedon's failure to pay for them (*Il.* 21.435–460).[1] He is mentioned as one of the three gods who have been unremittingly hostile to Troy (*Il.* 24.25–30; cf. Davies 1981; Macleod 1982: 88), but actually seems somewhat less so than Hera and Athena (*Il.* 8.198–207), in particular when he rescues Aeneas from Achilles (*Il.* 20.292–340). Euripides develops these Trojan sympathies. The chorus of *Andromache* reproaches Poseidon and Apollo for giving up to destruction the work which their hands had fashioned (Eur. *Andr.* 1009–1018), implying that they might have been expected to protect it, and there is an unequivocally pro-Trojan Poseidon at Eur. *IT* 1414–1415: "The ocean's ruler watches over Troy, august Poseidon, opposing Pelops' family" (tr. Cropp 1988). Apollo favours the Trojans in the *Iliad* despite Laomedon's treachery, and the apparent inconsistency (noted by Poseidon, *Il.* 21.458–460) may have been resolved by making them both pro-Trojan.

Poseidon goes on to mention the fall of Troy, with particular emphasis on the violation of altars (15–17). The Greeks are waiting for a fair wind to take them home to their wives and children with their booty (18–22). Poseidon leaves Troy, remarking that a deserted city can no longer worship the gods (25–27; cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 217–218; Pelling 1988: 303–304). He realizes that he has been defeated by Hera and Athena, deadly

[*] Some material in this chapter derives from a paper delivered at the Euripides conference at Banff in 1999 (cf. Cropp et al. 2000).

[1] Cf. O'Neill 1941: 296–297; Scodel 1980: 65–66. The view that Poseidon is still pro-Greek in *Troades*, and that it is the walls of Troy rather than the Trojans themselves that he favours, is refuted by Erbse 1984: 62–63. The walls of a city are integral to its existence (cf. Croally 1994: 167–168).

enemies of Troy since the judgement of Paris (23–24), and the final words of his speech attribute the destruction of Troy directly to Athena (46–47).

This mention of Athena prepares for her entry immediately afterwards, what Taplin (1977: 137–138) calls a "talk of the devil" entry. Her dialogue with Poseidon begins as follows (48–58):

Αθ. ἔξεστι τὸν γένει μὲν ἄγχιστον πατρὸς
μέγαν τε δαίμον' ἐν θεοῖς τε τίμιον,
λύσασαν ἔχθραν τὴν πάρος, προσεννέπειν;
Πο. ἔξεστιν· αἱ γὰρ συγγενεῖς ὁμιλίαι,
ἄνασσ' Ἀθάνα, φίλτρον οὐ σμικρὸν φρενῶν.
Αθ. ἐπῄνεσ' ὀργὰς ἠπίους· φέρω δὲ σοὶ
κοινοὺς ἐμαυτῆι τ' ἐς μέσον λόγους, ἄναξ.
Πο. μῶν ἐκ θεῶν του καινὸν ἀγγέλλεις ἔπος,
ἢ Ζηνὸς ἢ καὶ δαιμόνων τινὸς πάρα;
Αθ. οὔκ, ἀλλὰ Τροίας οὕνεκ', ἔνθα βαίνομεν,
πρὸς σὴν ἀφῖγμαι δύναμιν, ὡς κοινὴν λάβω.

ATHENA: May I address the one who is my father's closest relative, a god mighty and revered in heaven, renouncing our former enmity?
POSEIDON: You may, Queen Athena. When kinsfolk meet, it is no small comfort to the heart.
ATHENA: I thank you for your graciousness. I propose that we discuss a matter of common interest to us both, my royal lord.
POSEIDON: Do you bring some news perhaps, from a god, from Zeus or one of heaven's lesser company?
ATHENA: No; it is for the sake of Troy, where now we stand, that I have come, hoping to enlist your power
(Eur. *Tro.* 48–58 tr. Davie 1998).

This dialogue is extremely polite, as O'Neill (1941: 312) notes: "Athene speaks first, very stiffly and pompously, in fulsome diction [48–50] … Poseidon is completely the gentleman, and family ties mean a lot to him. His reply [51–52] is cordial and accommodating, but very reserved … He evinces a polite and restrained curiosity, and again expresses himself fulsomely [55–56]." These judgements are intuitively plausible, but could usefully be subjected to further analysis in order to establish in more detail the implications of the dialogue for the relationship between the speakers and the social structure within which they are represented as operating.

Politeness has been helpfully analysed as a universal human phenomenon by Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson (1987). The basic concept in Brown and Levinson's theory is "face." The term "face" is famil-

iar in English from such expressions as "saving face" and "losing face," but it is used in politeness theory in a somewhat specialized sense (derived from Goffman 1967). There are two kinds of face. The first, termed "positive face," is the want to be approved of or admired. This want is assumed to be universal. The positive face of the hearer in a talk exchange would be threatened (e.g.) by criticism or abuse. The positive face of the speaker would be threatened (e.g.) by an apology or a confession. The second kind of face, termed "negative face," is the want not to be imposed upon or impeded. This, too, is assumed to be universal. The negative face of the hearer would be threatened (e.g.) by a request or a threat. The negative face of the speaker would be threatened (e.g.) by expressing thanks or accepting an offer.[2] The seriousness of a face-threatening act depends not only on the view taken of the act itself in a particular culture, but also on both the relative power of speaker and hearer and the social distance between them.

A distinctive feature of this theory is the argument that every act of politeness is oriented to a specific face-threatening act. Politeness is treated in terms of the rational choices of individuals, rather than in terms of obedience to rules. The cultural specifications of politeness may vary, but the deep structure is universal. Politeness theory distinguishes two completely different types of politeness. Positive politeness offers redress to positive face (e.g., by expressions of interest, approval, sympathy, agreement, or affection). "Positive-politeness utterances are used as a kind of metaphorical extension of intimacy" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 103). Negative politeness is oriented to negative face, and thus aims to leave an "out" (i.e., scope for evading or ignoring the face-threatening act) and to minimize the imposition (e.g., by indirectness, deference, or apologies).

Brown and Levinson's theory is by far the most influential model for the empirical study of politeness phenomena in a wide range of cultures. It provides remarkably sensitive tools for the analysis of dialogue, despite some problems with its more formal attempts to compute the weightiness of a face-threatening act and predict the appropriate politeness strategy. The main objection is that it assumes too individualistic a notion of face, and that negative face in particular has little meaning in more collectivist societies. Richard Watts (2003: 101–107) prefers Goffman's

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2 Brown and Levinson (1987: 65–68) give a useful classification of face-threatening acts. The socio-linguistic terminology has partial equivalents in such Greek words as τιμή, αἰδώς, and ὕβρις.

concept of face as something continually constructed in social interaction, as opposed to the Brown-Levinsonian notion of a pre-existing and relatively stable "personality." A related objection is that Brown and Levinson take a rather paranoid view of social interaction, with the constant need to negotiate face-threat by means of an elaborate set of strategies. The notion of the "virtual offence" (see below) addresses one aspect of this objection, and a further response is that human behaviour can be analysed in terms of quite elaborate strategies even if those strategies are in practice formalized and even unconscious.

Literary works are a useful source of evidence for politeness phenomena even when experimental data are available, as of course they are not for ancient Greece (see Lloyd 2004: 75). Greek tragedy is particularly valuable in that it contains dialogue between high-status individuals in which the face of both speaker and hearer is often at stake. Brown and Levinson's theory relates politeness to the face of the speaker as well as that of the hearer, although this is often overlooked in practice, even by Brown and Levinson themselves. R. Brown and Gilman (1989: 161) thus write "Politeness means putting things in such a way as to take account of the feelings of the hearer", and Watts (2003: e.g., 12–17) treats "consideration for others" as basic to the concept of politeness. There is much to be gained from reinstating the face of the speaker in the analysis of politeness, and this might indeed do something to address the objections of Watts and others that Brown and Levinson overlook the social construction of face.

In this dialogue in *Troades*, the main face-threatening act is Athena's request for Poseidon's help. Any request potentially threatens the face both of the speaker and of the hearer, and the face-threat here is increased by the high status of the persons involved and by the social distance between them due to their enmity over Troy. Poseidon's negative face (i.e., his want not to be impinged upon or impeded) is threatened by Athena's request for assistance. Athena's own negative face is threatened by the possible obligations which she is incurring by her request. Her positive face is threatened by exposing herself to the possibility of rebuff from an enemy, and by admitting that she cannot achieve her ends unaided.[3]

Athena only arrives at her eventual request (65–66) by stages, ensuring that the face threat of any individual utterance is comparatively small. Her first step is negative politeness at its most extreme, asking permission

[3] Cf. O'Neill 1941: 312: "Athene is breaking the ice, but she is greatly concerned not to lose face in so doing".

to address Poseidon at all. Compare the following dialogue between Orestes, Electra, and the Dioscuri

Ορ. ὦ παῖδε Διός, θέμις ἐς φθογγὰς
τὰς ὑμετέρας ἡμῖν πελάθειν;
Κα. θέμις, οὐ μυσαροῖς τοῖσδε σφαγίοις.
Ηλ. κἀμοὶ μύθου μέτα, Τυνδαρίδαι;
Κα. καὶ σοί· Φοίβωι τήνδ᾽ ἀναθήσω
πρᾶξιν φονίαν.

ORESTES: Oh sons of Zeus, is it permitted
for us to approach and converse with you?
CASTOR: It is; this slaughter does not defile you.
ELECTRA: May I too share this discourse, Tyndareus' sons?
CASTOR: You too; to Phoebus I ascribe
this act of murder.[4] (Eur. *El.* 1292–1297)

Orestes and Electra are of vastly inferior status to the Dioscuri, and have good reason to fear that they may pollute them. Later in *Troades*, Helen is likewise in a subordinate position, and in danger of her life, when she asks Menelaus to be allowed to defend herself (*Tro*. 903–904). These parallels suggest that there is an element of exaggeration in Athena's request, as she is of equal status to Poseidon and he is unlikely to refuse to speak to her. Politeness tends to be oriented to a pessimistic estimate of any given offence (the "virtual offence"), and thus to have an inbuilt element of exaggeration.[5] One may thus say (e.g.) "I am extremely sorry to bother you" even when the probable inconvenience to the hearer is quite small. The hearer may correspondingly be offended if the apology is oriented to the actual inconvenience rather than to this exaggerated view of it. Politeness strategies have both a primary function (e.g., reducing the imposition) and the secondary function of signalling conventionally that the speaker is trying to be polite.[6]

Athena further reduces the imposition on Poseidon by addressing him in the third person "May I address the one who is …?" (48–50), thus avoiding "nailing" him with a second-person singular pronoun.

[4] This is the translation of Cropp 1988, with the his preferred speaker attributions and the restoration of L's ordering of the lines (along with L's μυσαροῖς in 1294). He rightly disagrees with Diggle's text here, which he prints in accordance with the practice of the Aris and Phillips Euripides series.

[5] Brown and Levinson (1987: 1–2, 33, 51 n. 7) adopt this concept of the "virtual offence" from Goffman 1971: 108–109.

[6] Unanswerable introductory questions serve a similar purpose, e.g., Eur. *IT* 658 ("Pylades, do you have the same feeling as I do?"). Cf. Soph. *El.* 1098–1102 (with Lloyd 2005b: 236–238).

Compare Odysseus addressing Silenus (Eur. *Cyc.* 101): χαίρειν προσεῖπα πρῶτα τὸν γεραίτατον ("I offer greetings to the eldest first"). The third-person greeting τὸν γεραίτατον ("the eldest") avoids the second-person singular pronoun which would have threatened Silenus' negative face by emphasizing the immediacy of Odysseus' contact with him. Odysseus' politeness is also oriented to his own positive face, demonstrating that he is a superior character despite his embarrassing circumstances (cf. Lloyd 1999: 34–35). Contrast the prologue of *Alcestis*, a scene which is structurally similar to the prologue of *Troades* in that a god, in this case Apollo, delivers the opening speech and is then addressed by another god, Death (29–31):

> τί σὺ πρὸς μελάθροις; τί σὺ τῇδε πολεῖς
> Φοῖβ'; ἀδικεῖς αὖ τιμὰς ἐνέρων
> ἀφορίζομενος καὶ καταπαύων;
>
> What are *you* doing about these halls? Why are *you* hanging about here, Phoebus? Are you once again committing the injustice of encroaching on the infernal gods and suppressing their prerogatives?
> (Eur. *Tro.* 29–31 tr. Conacher 1988, his emphases).

Death threatens Apollo's negative face by "nailing" him with second-person singular pronouns and direct questions. This is the language of an angry tyrant (e.g., *Med.* 271–276; Soph. *El.* 1445–1447), or of a god addressing a mortal (e.g., *Hipp.* 1283–1285; *Or.* 1625–1628; *Bacch.* 912–914), and sometimes also used in contexts of extreme urgency (e.g., *HF* 1214–1215; cf. Lloyd 2005b: 232–233). It is therefore very impolite for Death to address Apollo in this way, indicating his refusal to engage in civilized dialogue. This not only threatens Apollo's face but also degrades Death himself. Dale (1954: 54) writes: "he is not represented as a majestic infernal Power but as an ogreish creature of popular mythology, … snarling malignantly at Apollo, who treats him with a light disdain." Impoliteness threatens the face of the speaker as well as of the hearer.

Another negative politeness feature is the nominalization ("nouniness") of the expression πρὸς σὴν … δύναμιν (58, "hoping to enlist your power," rather than "… you who are powerful"). Contrast the two English sentences "I am surprised that you failed to reply" and "Your failure to reply is surprising." The latter is more distanced, and thus more polite. "Intuitively, the more nouny an expression, the more removed an actor is from doing or feeling or being something; instead of the predicate being something attributed to an actor, the actor becomes an attribute (e.g. adjective) of the action" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 208). Athena's

indirect mode of expression thus mitigates the threat to Poseidon's negative face. It also distances her from the threat posed to her own face by her request. This elaborate politeness is appropriate both to the intrinsic weightiness of the face-threatening act and to the status of those involved. Less well-judged is the Old Man's request to Creusa at *Ion* 739–740: τοῦ γήρως δέ μοι / συνεκπονοῦσα κῶλον ἰατρὸς γενοῦ ("Please be a healer of my old age by sharing the effort of my legs").[7] The Old Man is embarrassed by his physical frailty (742, 746), and tries to distance himself from his request.[8] A similarly pompous impression is given by Agathon's response to Euripides' appeal for help, τίς οὖν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐστιν ὠφέλειά σοι; (Ar. *Thesm.* 183). Austin and Olson (2004: 117) translate "And what assistance canst thou have from *us*?," observing that it is an "overinflated" way of saying τί οὖν σ' ὠφελήσω; ("How can I help you?").

Compliments ("a god mighty and revered in heaven," 49) are a common form of positive politeness in the context of requests (e.g., *Hipp.* 267–270; Soph. *OT* 300–304). Another positive politeness strategy is to emphasize the relationship between the speaker and the hearer ("my father's closest relative," 48). Apollo thus begins his request to Hermes at *Ion* 29–36 by addressing him ὦ σύγγον' ("kinsman"), and Medea repeatedly identifies herself with the Chorus as a woman (e.g., *Med.* 259–266). That is why φίλος ("friend") is so common in requests, even when there is no particularly close relationship between speaker and hearer (e.g., *Med.* 1133; *Hipp.* 288, 473; *Andr.* 530–531, 842; *Hec.* 286; *Phoen.* 158; *Or.* 136–138; cf. Lloyd 2005b: 229 n. 8).

Poseidon's reply too is interesting from the point of view of positive politeness. O'Neill (1941: 312) writes: "His reply is cordial and accommodating, but very reserved. ... The formality of these lines is shown by the title ἄνασσ' Ἀθάνα, [Queen Athena], and by the fulsomeness of the diction." The first point to note here is that Poseidon threatens Athena's face by giving her permission to speak to him, although of course far less than if he had refused permission. "Formal acceptance of anything is intrinsically face-threatening to the speaker, who is explicitly committed to a debt or to a future course of action. Less obviously, it can also threaten the face of the hearer, by putting on record that (s)he has made a particu-

[7] The translation is by Lee 1997, commenting in his note that it is "a strangely fulsome and somewhat pompous expression."

[8] Long 1968: 80 sees the nouniness of Soph. *Trach.* 1212–1213 "purely as a means of elevating the style", but there seems also to be some distancing from Heracles' disagreeable request. Cf. Soph. *El.* 469, an extremely polite request by Chrysothemis.

lar offer and implying that rejection was an option for the speaker" (Lloyd 1999: 36). In this case, it would plainly be out of the question for Poseidon to refuse to speak to Athena, so acceptance in itself is not especially polite. Politeness requires some redress to Athena's face, and this redress must be oriented to the "virtual offence" (i.e., be somewhat exaggerated).

A good example of a polite response in a somewhat similar situation is Agamemnon's reply to Odysseus' introduction to his advice that Ajax should be buried:

Οδ. ἔξεστιν οὖν εἰπόντι τἀληθῆ φίλῳ
σοὶ μηδὲν ἧσσον ἢ πάρος ξυνηρετεῖν;
Αγ. εἴπ'· ἦ γὰρ εἴην οὐκ ἂν εὖ φρονῶν, ἐπεὶ
φίλον σ' ἐγὼ μέγιστον Ἀργείων νέμω.

ODYSSEUS: May a friend speak the truth and remain your
partner no less than before?
AGAMEMNON: Speak; for otherwise I should not show sense,
since I consider you my greatest friend among the Argives.
(Soph. *Aj.* 1328–1331 tr. Garvie 1998).

We see here a similar request for permission to speak, together with positive-politeness redress in the form of an emphasis on the relationship between the two speakers. Agamemnon's reply may seem at first sight to be surprisingly effusive, but he is aware of the vulnerability of Odysseus' face and takes correspondingly energetic steps to redress the face-threat (cf. Soph. *OT* 282–283; *OC* 464–465, 1414–1415; Lloyd 2005b: 230–231). Poseidon does nothing of the sort, and indeed expresses the value which he places on kinship in a strikingly "nouny" and roundabout way (lit. "kin-meetings are no small cause-of-love for the heart"). His response may be favourable, but could have contained more polite exaggeration.

Athena correspondingly uses the rather reserved "tragic" aorist to express her appreciation ("I thank you for your graciousness," *Tro.* 53; cf. Lloyd 1999: 39). Her expression φέρω … ἐς μέσον λόγους ("I propose that we discuss" *Tro.* 53–54) suggests a formal and public arena (e.g., *Supp.* 439; Hdt 4.97.5; Dem. 18.139), distancing herself from her request. She does this so effectively that Poseidon assumes in his reply that she is bringing a message from someone else (another common meaning of φέρειν λόγους, e.g. *Hipp.* 1157). This negative politeness strategy is combined with the common positive politeness strategy of indicating that speaker and hearer have common interests and wants ("a matter of common interest to us both," cf. Brown and Levinson 1987: 103).

Poseidon's next couplet (55–56), begins with μῶν. The important discussion of this particle by Barrett (1964: 314–315) refutes the traditional

view that it always introduces a question expecting a negative answer. Barrett proposes that the speaker may well expect a positive answer but is reluctant to accept that it is true. He cites this line for the reluctance weakening down into hesitation, so that "the particle then may mark the question as a mere guess." The extremely polite context of Poseidon's use of μῶν here raises the possibility that it is a pessimistic hedge, a common negative politeness gambit whereby the imposition on the hearer is reduced by the assumption of a negative response. Brown and Levinson (1987: 173–176) cite English expressions of the type "I don't suppose there'd be any chance of you . . .". μῶν can thus be used to prompt a response without expressing too strong an expectation of what that response will be. There are two examples in *Andromache*. Orestes replies to Hermione's statement that she retaliated against the rival for her husband's bed, μῶν ἐς γυναῖκ' ἔρραψας οἷα δὴ γυνή; ("Did you perhaps plot against her as women do?," Eur. *Andr*. 911). Peleus later responds to the Chorus's statement that Hermione was afraid that Neoptolemus would throw her out, μῶν ἀντὶ παιδὸς θανασίμων βουλευμάτων; ("Because of her plot to kill his son, perhaps?," Eur. *Andr*. 1058). The answers to these questions are fairly predictable, and there is no reason why the questioners should be reluctant to accept that they are true. The particle is appropriate to tactful prompting (cf. 906).

It is also more polite to offer alternative possible answers than to ask a straight question, since this reduces the negative face-threat (i.e., the imposition on the interlocutor) by simplifying the task of answering. Ion, for example, asks the Chorus: "Has Xouthos already left the sacred tripod and oracle, or is he still in the temple enquiring about his childlessness?" (Eur. *Ion* 512–513).[9] Contrast (e.g.) *Hec*. 484–485 or *Or*. 375–376, where alternatives are not offered. Poseidon employs a negative politeness gambit which redresses, if only formally, the threat to Athena's face in her previous utterance. Poseidon offers more than Creon's habitual τί δ' ἔστι; ("What is it?" Soph. *Ant*. 387, 991, 997), but still falls short of the level of redress offered (e.g.) by Agamemnon at Soph. *Aj*. 1330–1331.

Conacher (1967: 137) expresses a widely held view when he writes, "The most striking feature of the prologue is its picture of the gods as cruel and selfish in their awful decisions and fickle in their alle-

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[9] Tr. Lee, who remarks in his note (1997: 215): "The style here is formal and dignified." Cf. the "Am I right in thinking?" gambit (e.g., Soph. *El*. 660–665; Ar. *Plut*. 959–961), which similarly transfers the emphasis from second to first person (contrast "Who do you think that is?").

giances". The Trojans repeatedly complain that they have been betrayed by the gods (e.g., 469–471; cf. Parker 1997: 154–155), but the reasons for Athena's hatred are familiar enough even if they are nowhere mentioned in the play. Poseidon, while initially surprised by the apparent fickleness of her allegiances (59–60, 67–68), is soon satisfied when she explains why she wants to punish the Greeks. He himself is far from indifferent to Troy, and abandons it with resentment and regret. Nevertheless, Euripides is at pains to establish the distance between the world of gods and the world of mortals. The high status of Athena and Poseidon is emphasized, and it is no accident that this is perhaps the most polite dialogue in Greek tragedy.

EURIPIDES' NEW SONG: THE FIRST STASIMON OF *TROJAN WOMEN*

David Sansone

The final section of the final chapter of Walther Kranz's *Stasimon* is entitled "Das neue Lied" (Kranz 1933: 228–266) and bears the following epigraph, based on the opening of the first stasimon of Euripides' *Troades* (cf. 511–513): Ἀμφί μοι Ἴλιον, ὦ Μοῦσα, καινῶν ὕμνων ἄεισον ᾠδάν. For Kranz, these words serve as an announcement, as it were, of a program for a new style of choral composition, a style that would characterize the works of Euripides' final decade, from the *Troades* in 415 BCE until the poet's death not long before the production of Aristophanes' *Frogs* at the Lenaea in 405. Kranz connects this style with the "new music" associated with Agathon, Timotheus and others, referring to the style as "dithyrambic."[1] Kranz deserves credit for identifying this as a metapoetic statement on the part of Euripides (although "metapoetic" is, naturally, not an element of Kranz's critical vocabulary), and he deserves credit for acknowledging that the new style coincides in time, paradoxically, with Euripides' growing tendency to admit certain archaizing features into his dramatic technique.[2] Kranz addresses this paradox by referring to the "reinvigoration of the earliest form" ("Neubelebung ältester Form," 1933: 232) of tragic lyrics, which he sees as characteristic of late Euripidean style. There is, however, a difficulty with Kranz's analysis.[3] One of the salient features of the "dithyrambic stasima," of which *Troades* 511–567 is supposedly the first, is their self-contained character, whereas the earliest tragic lyrics to which we have access are anything but self-contained. The

[1] Kranz (1933: 313) acknowledges that Wilamowitz (1921: 174) was the first to associate Eur. *Tro*. 511–567 with contemporary dithyramb. Cf. also Wilamowitz 1906: 272; Hofmann 1916: 77.

[2] Kranz 1933: 232–233. If the composition of a connected trilogy in 415 BCE is to be regarded as an archaizing feature, however, it must be admitted that it appears to have been an isolated experiment and is not characteristic of Euripides' last decade. I take it as certain that the plays of 415 do, in fact, comprise a connected trilogy (see Scodel 1980); indeed, further instances of connections among the three tragedies that make up the trilogy will be suggested below.

[3] For penetrating criticism of some of the details of Kranz's treatment of late Euripidean lyrics, see Csapo 1999–2000: 406–412.

stasima of the surviving Aeschylean tragedies are in fact notable for the way in which their imagery and thematic material cohere harmoniously not only with the play in which they appear but, as we have learned especially from the brilliant work of Anne Lebeck (1971), with the entire trilogy.

I should like to suggest a way out of this difficulty that preserves Kranz's understanding of *Troades* 511 as a metapoetic statement but severs its connection with dithyrambic verse. There is, after all, nothing about the stasimon that suggests an association with the dithyramb. Indeed, there are two features of its opening words that point in another direction entirely. Kranz ignores one of those features and suppresses the other. For his quotation, not only in his epigraph but also when he refers to the passage in his text (1933: 254), is incomplete. Here is how the opening of the stasimon appears in Diggle's Oxford edition: ἀμφί μοι Ἴλιον, ὦ Μοῦσα, καινῶν ὕμνων ἆισον *σὺν δακρύοις* ὠιδὰν *ἐπικήδειον* (Eur.*Tro*. 511–514). In other words, Kranz has omitted the tears and the funereal nature of the song, elements that are antithetical to the character of dithyramb. And he passes over in silence what no commentator fails to point out, the "epic" invocation of the Muse.[4] This invocation is arresting, not only because it is immediately reminiscent of some other genre, but because it is entirely out of place in tragedy, the one genre that by its very nature precludes the poet from invoking the Muse in his own person. Not surprisingly, Euripides' invocation of the Muse here is unparalleled in tragedy. It appears, then, that Euripides has put into the mouth of his chorus an opening to an epic song which neither they, as captive Trojan women, nor he, as tragic poet, is in a position to perform. This is a "new song" indeed, with the very words of the song calling attention to its own novelty (καινῶν ὕμνων … ᾠδάν). But epic, of course, is not new. What is new, relative to the time of the Trojan War, is tragedy.

Part of what Euripides is doing, then, in this stasimon is asserting the role of tragedy as the successor to, even the supplanter of, epic poetry. The subject-matter is eminently epic; the treatment, however, is neither epic nor dithyrambic but strictly tragic. For the events of the capture

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[4] Cf. e.g. Breitenbach 1934: 285; Neitzel 1967: 44; Lee 1976: *ad loc.*; Barlow 1986: *ad loc.*; Rodari 1988: 134; Biehl 1989: *ad loc.* While this invocation cannot be considered an "allusion," we are reminded of the Greek poetic convention, identified and documented by Richard Garner (1990: 6, 187–188 et passim), whereby allusions to earlier verse are more likely to be found, and therefore more to be expected, at the start of a poem or a strophe than elsewhere.

of Troy are related not by an omniscient narrator using a third-person account but by the unfortunate victims themselves, singing as captive women of their own last night of freedom.[5] It may seem strange indeed to call attention to the disjunction between poet and character precisely by putting into the latter's mouth the invocation of the Muse that is regularly the province of the former. But there is a particular reason Euripides has done this, and the reason relates specifically to the subject-matter of this Trojan trilogy. Not only does the obliteration of Troy conveniently symbolize the elimination of the subject par excellence of epic verse, but the previous play in the trilogy had dramatized the silencing of a particularly eloquent poetic voice. The remains of Euripides' *Palamedes* are meager, yet they are sufficient to tell us that the protagonist was represented as a poet. In fr. 588 K someone,[6] reacting to the unjust execution of Palamedes, sings:

> ἐκάνετ' ἐκάνετε τὰν
> πάνσοφον, ὦ Δαναοί,
> τὰν οὐδέν' ἀλγύνουσαν ἀηδόνα Μουσᾶν.
>
> You have killed, you have killed, you Danaans, the famous all-
> wise one, the Muses' nightingale who harmed no man.
>
> Eur. fr. 588 K; Collard 2004

The hero's association with music is also apparently hinted at in the corrupt fr. 580 K, line 3 of which refers to μουσικῆς φίλοι.[7] This portrayal of Palamedes as a musician is attested, apart from Euripides, only in sources that are likely to be influenced by his treatment (Alcid. *Od.* 22–25, Suda Π 44), and it is surely a Euripidean invention. We do not

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5 Rodari 1988: 134; Hose 1991: 303–304.

6 The lines are attributed to Oeax by several scholars (see Falcetto 2002: 144 n. 3 for a list, to which may now be added Christopher Collard *apud* Collard et al. 2004: 101), who seems an unlikely candidate for a singing role. The obvious alternative is the chorus, identified variously as Greek soldiers or Trojan women (see Falcetto 2002: 182–183). The address ὦ Δαναοί is odd in the mouth of Greeks, so a chorus of Trojans is more likely. But why not (male) Trojan prisoners waiting for their ransom to be paid? Achilles has twelve Trojan prisoners whom he sacrifices at Patroclus' funeral (*Il.* 23. 175); elsewhere he claims to have been in the habit of taking prisoners alive and holding them for ransom (21.100–102, a passage alluded to by Euripides at *IT* 344–350; see Cropp 2000: *ad loc.*). And Odysseus' successful plot against Palamedes requires the availability of at least one Trojan prisoner of war in the Greek camp: Apollod. *Epit.* 3. 8 αἰχμάλωτον Φρύγα, Σ Eur. *Or.* 432 Φρύγα αἰχμάλωτον, Hyg. *Fab.* 105. 2 *Phrygi captivo*, Serv. *Aen* 2. 81 *captivo*. Is it possible that the gold hidden under Palamedes' tent was money intended to pay the chorus' ransom? According to Σ Eur. *Or.* 432 the gold is specifically identified as Trojan (although it is said to be intended "for Sarpedon").

7 So, e.g., Scodel 1980: 51; Falcetto 2002: 154; Collard *apud* Collard et al. 2004: 99.

know what kind of poetry Palamedes was represented as composing (or inventing?), but his status as a warrior and the tradition according to which he was the originator of military tactics[8] suggest that, like Homer's Achilles (Hom. *Il.* 9. 189), Palamedes sang κλέα ἀνδρῶν, that is, epic verse.

The second play, then, of Euripides' Trojan trilogy dramatized the death of an innocent and outstandingly wise poet while the third play ended with the utter destruction of Troy, the city whose name is memorialized in the title of the greatest poet's greatest work. By opening the first stasimon of *Troades* with an invocation of the Muse, asking her to sing ἀμφὶ Ἴλιον, Euripides was deliberately inviting comparison with Homer, and he was doing it in a way that called attention to the most distinctive feature of tragedy, namely the inability of the dramatist to speak in his own voice. But there are other ways in which a dramatist can make his voice heard, and the remainder of this paper will concern itself with an examination of the way in which Euripides has constructed this song as a means of focusing on the Iliadic elements of the stasimon and relating those elements to the trilogy as a whole.[9]

The comparison with Homer, and particularly with the *Iliad*, is further underlined by the chorus' designation of their "new song" as a dirge (ἐπικήδειον, 514), which reminds us that the *Iliad* had ended with laments for the dead Hector sung by three of the main characters of *Troades*: Andromache (24.725–745), Hecuba (748–759) and Helen (762–775; Anderson 1997: 159–160). The word also reminds us of the first play of the trilogy, for it is a very rare word, attested only twice in verse, here in *Troades* and in fr. 46a.12 K of *Alexandros*, a fragment that most likely "contains a dialogue between Priam … and someone else about the games established for his dead son" (Martin Cropp *apud* Collard et al. 2004: 73). As the *Iliad* came to an end with funeral games for Patroclus and laments for the death of Hector, so Euripides' Trojan trilogy began with a lament (frr. 43–46 K) and arrangements for funeral games for Hec-

[8] Aesch. fr. 182 R, Gorg. *Pal.* 30, Alcid. *Od.* 22; cf. Soph. fr. 432. 1 R οὗτος δ' ἐφηῦρε τεῖχος Ἀργείων στρατῷ, Pl. *Resp.* 522d1–2 Παγγέλοιον γοῦν … στρατηγὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις Παλαμήδης ἑκάστοτε ἀποφαίνει.

[9] The form of the connected trilogy in which Euripides has chosen to embed his new song is itself a reminiscence of the earliest days of tragic composition, perhaps specifically intended as a reminder of the trilogy that contained Aeschylus' Trojan War plays (*Myrmidons*, *Nereids* and *Phrygians*, or *The Ransom of Hector*). Aeschylus' trilogy was produced quite early in the fifth century ("um 490" according to Döhle 1967: 124), but appears to have been revived for the stage not long before 421 BCE, to judge from the frequent allusions to *Myrmidons* in the plays of Aristophanes (West 2000: 343).

tor's brother Alexander. But, of course, Alexander was only *thought* to be dead; he is actually alive and will in fact participate in the contests held to commemorate his supposed death. Had Alexander been killed at birth, as ought to have happened, none of the events of the *Iliad* or the Trojan trilogy would have occurred. In other words, Euripides' dramatic production, which presents itself as the successor to Homeric epic, also represents Homer's masterpiece as in some sense *dependent* on the very story that Euripides is dramatizing. What is more, the subject matter of Euripides' trilogy encompasses that of the *Iliad*, which is concerned with the events of only a few days during the Trojan War, whereas *Alexandros* dramatizes the origins of the war and *Troades* the war's bitter end. *En passant*, Euripides even manages to compress into fewer than a dozen lines a précis of the *Odyssey* in Cassandra's prophecy (*Tro*. 433–443). In this respect Euripides goes beyond even Aeschylus' ambitious Trojan War trilogy, which confined itself to events within the time-frame of Homer's *Iliad*.[10] At the same time, Euripides makes it clear that Aeschylus is his model for this expansive view of the role of tragedy, by acknowledging his indebtedness not only to the earlier poet's Trojan War trilogy but to the *Oresteia* as well.[11]

We have noted that the first stasimon of *Troades*, by identifying itself as a funeral lament, recalls the end of the last book of the *Iliad* and also reaches out beyond itself to the dramatic whole of which the stasimon is a part. There are other ways in which it does this. The song relates how the Achaeans left the wooden horse at the gates (ἐν πύλαις, 521) and how the populace shouted out from the heights of Troy on which they stood (ἀνὰ δ' ἐβόασεν λεὼς Τρῳϊάδος ἀπὸ πέτρας σταθείς, 522–523). The heights of Troy are the location to which Cassandra had mounted and from which she alone saw Priam returning with the body of Hector in Cassandra's lone appearance in the *Iliad*.[12] The Euripidean chorus quotes the words shouted out by the Trojan populace, encouraging everyone to come and bring the horse to Athena's temple, just as Homer had quoted

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[10] Unless, that is, West (2000: 340–343) is correct in seeing the trilogy end not with *The Ransom of Hector* (the orthodox view; cf. Sommerstein 1996: 338–348) but with a play, presumably *Nereids*, dealing with the death of Achilles.

[11] Aélion 1983: vol. 1, 75 well notes that Euripides' trilogy ends at the point where the action of the *Oresteia* begins. For the influence of Aeschylus on Euripides in general, see Aélion 1983 passim, with vol. 1, 47–59 and 75–89 on the Trojan trilogy and vol. 2, 217–233 on the representation of Cassandra in the two dramatists.

[12] Hom. *Il*. 24. 699–701; cf. Hose 1991: 304 n. 35. Cassandra is elsewhere mentioned only in passing at 13. 365–366 as the loveliest of Priam's daughters.

Cassandra's words. Cassandra cries out to the people of Troy (κώκυσέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα γέγωνέ τε πᾶν κατὰ ἄστυ, Hom. *Il.* 24. 703), urging them to rejoice at the sight of Hector's return, for he was a great source of joy to the city while he lived (χαίρετ', ἐπεὶ μέγα χάρμα πόλει τ' ἦν παντί τε δήμῳ, *Il.* 24. 706). The sight of the wooden horse also causes the Trojans to rejoice (κεχαρμένοι, Eur. *Tro.* 529) and everyone, young and old, male and female, rushes to the gates (τίς οὐκ ἔβα νεανίδων, / τίς οὐ γεραιός, 527–528; cf. *Il.* 24. 707–708 οὐδέ τις αὐτόθ' ἐνὶ πτόλεϊ λίπετ' ἀνὴρ / οὐδὲ γυνή). The joy of Euripides' Trojans is, of course, delusory, since what they let in was death in disguise (δόλιον ἔσχον ἄταν, *Tro.* 530; cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1523 δολίαν ἄτην). By alluding to the Trojans' joy at seeing the dead body of their greatest warrior and their lone hope of salvation Euripides manages to make even more ominous the rejoicing over the wooden horse.

There is yet another way in which the stasimon recalls Book 24 of the *Iliad*. The chorus begin their account by saying that they will sing of "how I was deprived of life by the four-footed vehicle" (τετραβάμονος ὡς ὑπ' ἀπήνας, Eur. *Tro.* 516). Commentators explain this unusual locution by assuming that the horse was equipped, either by the Greeks or by the Trojans, with wheels or rollers. This is undoubtedly correct, and is borne out by Virgil's description (*pedibusque rotarum / subiciunt lapsus*, *Aen.* 2. 235–236), which is regularly quoted in this connection. But why has Euripides chosen to use precisely the word ἀπήνη rather than some more elevated expression? There is something incongruous about comparing a horse, even a wooden horse with wheels, to an ἀπήνη. For an ἀπήνη is drawn not by horses but by mules.[13] Rodari (1985: 89 and 1988: 136) properly points out that the word here serves to prepare for the immediately following episode, in which Andromache makes her entrance riding on an ἀπήνη, accompanied by Astyanax and the plundered arms of Hector (568–574). And Seaford (1987: 130) notes that the type of conveyance involved contributes to "the idea of Andromache's departure from Troy as a perverted bridal journey."[14] But in this "epic"

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[13] The one possible exception is Laius' conveyance, described at Soph. *OT* 802–803 as a πωλικὴ ἀπήνη; but cf. Braswell 1988: 187 on Pi. *Pyth.* 4. 94. For races at the games for mule-carts, see Kratzmüller 1993: 81–89; for their "second-class status," see Nicholson 2005: 82–84.

[14] For the mule-cart as the normal vehicle for conveying the bride to her new home, see Oakley and Sinos 1993: 26–30. The aim of marriage is said to be the propagation of legitimate offspring, and the horse that is compared to a mule-cart is often spoken of as "pregnant" (Rodari 1985), including *Tro.* 11 and Ennius, *Alexander* fr. 26 Jocelyn.

context we cannot help also being reminded of the ἀπήνη used in *Iliad* 24 to convey the ransom for Hector to Achilles' lodging and to convey Hector's body—and, presumably, his armor, since Euripides imagines it to have been returned—to his family. This is the only context in the *Iliad* in which this type of vehicle is mentioned.[15] We have already seen that the cries of joy that greet the appearance of the wooden horse in *Troades* are reminiscent of Cassandra's shouts in *Iliad* 24 alerting the Trojans to the return of this mule-cart carrying the body of Hector, the man whose death signals the beginning of the end for the city of Troy. It thus seems virtually certain that Euripides' use of the word ἀπήνη to describe the horse is designed to underline this connection. Once again, the stasimon relies on its epic associations to enhance the depth of its meaning by incorporating Homeric material into its tragic fabric.

In addition to comparing the wooden horse to a mule-cart the chorus further say that the horse was dragged to the temple of Athena "with hawsers of spun flax, like the dark hull of a ship" (κλωστοῦ δ' ἀμφιβόλοις λίνοιο ναὸς ὡσεὶ / σκάφος κελαινόν, Eur. *Tro*. 537–538). Various efforts have been made to explain the point of comparison. Anderson (1997: 20–26) examines a number of "narrative analogies" between the story of the wooden horse and that of the building of Paris' ships, and he cites this passage from *Troades* in that connection.[16] More pertinent to the immediate context are Panagl's observation (1971: 58) that comparison of the horse to a ship recalls to us the fact that the Greeks will shortly return on their ships to destroy Troy and Rodari's comment (1988: 137) that we are reminded that it was ships that brought the Greeks to Troy and ships that will transport the Trojan women to Greece. These scholars, however, have lost sight of the fact that the chorus are not making a general comparison of horse and ship. Rather, the comparison is with a ship being hauled, not one being rowed or under sail. Biehl (1989: *ad loc.*) recognizes this and also recognizes that the joyful context in which the simile is situated demands that the reference be to a happy occasion. He assumes, therefore, as does Pot (1943: 33), whom he cites, that the horse

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15 The word occurs in the *Iliad* only at 24. 275, 324 (τετράκυκλον ἀπήνην), 447, 578, 590 and 718. In the *Odyssey* it is used only in Books 6 and 7 of the mule-cart in which Nausicaa transports her laundry.

16 Anderson says (1997: 21 n. 9), "no scholar to my knowledge has yet explored this narrative correlation." The connection is in fact noted by Rodari (1988: 137), who points out that Paris' ships were "construits avec le même bois de l'Ida que le cheval" and that the ships and the horse represent respectively the beginning and end of the sorrows of Troy.

is compared to a ship being drawn up on shore at the welcome conclusion to a voyage. This view has much to commend it. But Euripides' text gives no indication of whether the ship is to be imagined as being hauled onto or off the beach.[17]

Euripides' audience was quite familiar with an incident from the epic past in which ships were hauled down to the sea in an atmosphere of rejoicing, namely the deceptive testing of the troops in *Iliad* 2. I should like to suggest that that is what Euripides has in mind with his simile here, especially since the cause of the rejoicing is the same for Homer's Greeks and for Euripides' Trojans: The former have been told by Agamemnon (2.134–141) that the war is now over and they should return to their wives and children while the latter are convinced that the Greeks have in fact returned to their wives and children, meaning that the war is now over. In both instances the joy is short-lived because, in both instances, it is the product of a deception. As a result of Agamemnon's announcement the entire assembly is roused into motion (πᾶσ' ἀγορὴ κινήθη, 149) toward the ships;[18] just so the entire population of Troy rushes to the gates to haul the wooden horse inside (πᾶσα δὲ γέννα Φρυγῶν πρὸς πύλας ὡρμάθη, Eur. *Tro*. 531–532). The motion of the Greeks is accompanied by their shouts of joy (ἀλαλητῷ, 149), shouts of such energy that they reach to high heaven (ἀϋτὴ δ' οὐρανὸν ἶκεν, 153). This hyperbole is echoed by Euripides when he refers to the wooden horse as giving out a heaven-high roar (οὐράνια βρέμοντα, *Tro*. 519–520).

The narrative pattern of the testing of the troops, whereby the Greek forces appear to give up the war and go home but in fact return to the endeavor to capture Troy, is a doublet of the narrative of Troy's last day (Anderson 1997: 75–76), and that is presumably why Euripides has alluded to it here. But there may be a further resonance to the allusion if this narrative pattern was also found in the previous play in the trilogy. According to Hyginus (*Fab*. 105.1), whose account may reflect the plot of Euripides' *Palamedes*, as part of his intrigue to discredit Palamedes,

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17 Morrison and Williams (1968: 301) claim that the anchor cable "was also used to haul the ship off the beach." Unfortunately, they provide no citation to confirm this claim.

18 The excitement of the troops is compared to the effects that a south-easterly gale (Εὖρός τε Νότος τε, 145) has on the Icarian sea and those that the west wind (Ζέφυρος, 147) has on standing crops of grain. These are precisely not the winds that the Greeks would want to blow for their homeward journey, and Virgil seems to call Homer to account for this apparent lapse when he puts into Sinon's mouth the claim that the Greeks often wanted to sail home but were prevented by storm-winds from the south (*saepe illos aspera ponti / interclusit hiems et terruit Auster euntis*, *Aen*. 2. 110–111).

Odysseus sent one of his men to tell Agamemnon that he had had a dream in which Athena instructed the Greeks to decamp for one day. The dream, the deception, the temporary departure from camp and the involvement of Athena, Agamemnon and Odysseus are all reminiscent of the testing of the troops in the *Iliad*. It is not certain that these details in Hyginus' account derive from Euripides' play rather than from the *Palamedes* of either Sophocles or Aeschylus but, given the way in which Euripides uses allusion in this stasimon to draw together the epic past and the dramatic present, a Euripidean origin seems more likely. Possibly under Euripidean influence, Virgil adds to this network of allusions by making Sinon, who is instrumental in bringing about the fall of Troy, a relative of Palamedes (*consanguinitate propinquum*, *Aen.* 2.86). Because of that relationship Sinon earns the hatred of Odysseus, who had contrived to condemn Palamedes to death on trumped-up charges of treason because Palamedes tried to prevent the Greeks from pursuing the war effort (*quia bella uetabat*, 84). This is generally regarded as a purely Virgilian invention.[19] After all, according to the usual version of the story (Falcetto 2002: 8 n. 14), it was Palamedes who disclosed Odysseus' ruse to avoid going to war in the first place by feigning madness. But there is no incompatibility between advocating the end of a war and treasonous behavior (as letter-writers to my local newspaper never tire of pointing out). Indeed, Thersites earns a severe beating from Odysseus precisely for verbally abusing his commanders and favoring the idea of giving up and going home (Hom. *Il.* 2. 250–251). If in fact Euripides' Palamedes had, like Homer's Thersites, publicly challenged Agamemnon's authority[20] and suggested that it would be better to call an end to the war than persist under incompetent leadership, Odysseus would certainly have made use of that fact in his prosecution of Palamedes for treason. All of the sources tell us that Odysseus charged Palamedes with allowing himself to be bribed by the enemy in exchange for "betraying" the Greek army.[21] But what form could that betrayal have been imagined to take? Palamedes was especially noted for his eloquence (as, apparently, was Thersites: λιγύς περ ἐὼν ἀγορητή, Hom. *Il.* 2. 246), and one possibility is that Odysseus represented him as agreeing to persuade the troops

[19] E.g. König 1970: 42; Scodel 1980: 54 n. 22; Paschalis 1997: 106. So already Servius *ad loc.*: "iam hoc falsum est, sed dicitur ad Sinonis commendationem; nam aliam ob causam Palamedes periit."

[20] As seems to be the case in fr. 581 K; cf. also Pl. *Resp.* 522d1–2, quoted in n. 8 above.

[21] Apollod. *Epit.* 3. 8 and Σ Eur. *Or.* 432 περὶ προδοσίας, Hyg. *Fab.* 105. 2 *si castra … proderit*, Serv. *Aen.* 2. 81 *gratias proditionis*.

to give up the war and go home.[22] It will have been easy for Odysseus to portray Palamedes as disguising his treasonous behavior as pacifism (Falcetto 2002: 180) in a play in which Palamedes had been presented as a poet and musician, and it is only in Euripides that Palamedes is so represented. The *agôn*, then, will have resembled that in the roughly contemporary *Antiope*, in which Amphion defended himself against his brother's charges that his lyre-playing renders him idle, effeminate and useless in war.[23]

Commentators have sometimes seen the first stasimon of *Troades* as an ἐμβόλιμον, a generic, detachable interlude of the sort that Aristotle associates with the influence of Euripides, in whose tragedies the chorus is, supposedly, less well integrated into the action than is the case with Sophocles (Arist. *Poet*. 1456a25–32). This view has been forcefully rejected in recent years,[24] and it is hoped that the allusions identified above will add weight to that rejection. These allusions have a special character that justifies the chorus' description of the stasimon as a "new song." For their field of reference includes and integrates two poetic genres, archaic epic and its replacement, the newer genre of tragedy. Epic, naturally enough, is represented by the *Iliad*, the poem named after the city whose demise *Troades* laments. Tragedy is, of course, the genre into which the song is introduced, but it is a different form of tragedy than that to which Euripides' audience had become accustomed. Kranz (1933: 232) was right to speak of a "reinvigoration of the earliest form," but it is the earliest form of tragedy, not of tragic lyrics, that is at issue, namely the form of a connected, coherent, dramatically and thematically integrated trilogy. There are some indications that Euripides' model for this was, specifically, Aeschylus' early Trojan War trilogy (see n. 9 above). Among the meager fragments of that trilogy are some striking similarities to themes taken up by Euripides in his trilogy of 415 BCE. The hero of Aeschylus' *Myrmidons* is, like the hero of Euripides' *Palamedes*,

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22 At a point in the *Cypria* before the death of Palamedes Achilles had to restrain the army from going home (Procl. *Chr*. p. 105, lines 9–10 Allen).

23 Frr. 183–202 K. For the date of *Antiope* (426–419 BCE), see Cropp and Fick 1985: 74–76.

24 See Neitzel 1967: 42–68; Rodari 1988 and 1985: 85–90; Hose 1991: 301–308. Note also the work of Henrichs (1994–1995 and 1996) on what that scholar terms "choral projection," which, so far from breaking the dramatic illusion, serves to draw the audience "into a more integrated theatrical experience" (Henrichs 1996: 48). Henrichs does not discuss the first stasimon of *Troades*, but he does note that it, along with *Tro*. 1071–1076 and 325–342, sung by Cassandra, contains an instance of "choral projection" (Henrichs 1996: 54 n. 17).

accused of betraying the Achaean army (fr. 132a8. 4–5 R), as a result of which he is, apparently, threatened with stoning (fr. 132c. 1 R), the punishment in fact meted out to Palamedes. One of the passages quoted from the play has Achilles telling Antilochus that the living Achilles is more to be lamented than the dead Patroclus (fr. 138 R), a sentiment that is echoed and elaborated in Andromache's speech in *Troades* (634–683), which seeks to show that Andromache, destined to serve the bed of Achilles' son, is worse off than Polyxena, who has been sacrificed at Achilles' grave. In another fragment of Aeschylus' *Myrmidons* (fr. 139 R) Achilles recounts the fable of the eagle who, when he is shot with an arrow to fledge whose shaft he has lent his plume, exclaims that he is the cause of his own undoing. All three plays of Euripides' Trojan trilogy contain characters who can, and in some cases do, make the same claim (Scodel 1980: 74): Alexander says, "I am going to die because of my virtue, which for others is a source of protection" (fr. 62i K, in Martin Cropp's translation *apud* Collard et al. 2004: 69). This is conspicuously echoed at *Troades* 742–743, the second line of which is almost identical with the second line of the fragment from *Alexandros*, when Andromache addresses the doomed Astyanax, saying, "The noble blood of your father has destroyed you, a thing which for others is a source of protection" (cf. Eur. fr. 62i). Earlier (657–658) Andromache had said of herself that it was her own reputation as a virtuous wife that brought about her own doom. And in *Palamedes* it was the hero's own invention of writing (fr. 578 K) that supplied the conclusive evidence that condemned him to death. If Euripides was the source of the Suda's claim (Π 44) that Palamedes was an epic poet whose works were deliberately suppressed out of envy, either by Homer or by the descendants of Agamemnon, his death in the Trojan trilogy will have served perfectly to symbolize the demise of the epic genre and its replacement by the new type of song enacted on the fifth-century Athenian stage.

EURIPIDES, *ELECTRA* 432–486 AND *IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS* 827–899

Charles Willink

Three of Euripides' surviving plays have Orestes (with Pylades) and a sister as principal characters. Having edited and translated two of them, it may be considered appropriate that Professor Cropp should be honoured with a contribution—partly adversarial indeed—from this editor of the third such play.[1]

As always in Euripides, especially in the 'Alphabetic' plays, there are numerous troubling issues for the textual critic, and *Electra* gets into its stride with a controversial opening verse (ὦ γῆς †παλαιὸν Ἄργος†, Ἰνάχου ῥοαί).[2] But, apart from a footnote on that, I shall confine myself to discussion of sundry issues, familiar and less familiar, in the First Stasimon of *Electra* (especially the first pair of stanzas) and in the 'reunion' amoibaion and monody in *IT*.[3]

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[1] Cropp 1988 and 2000, Willink 1986 (1989). All three plays feature in Weil's *Sept tragédies*.

[2] So obelized by Diggle. The obeli are in fact scarcely necessary here. The opening phrase Ὦ γῆς παλαιὸν ἄργος (*sic*) was accepted by Murray in the previous Oxford Text, and persuasively defended by Denniston, with ἄργος understood as 'plain' and the phrase as a whole explained, with convincing parallels, as a characteristically Euripidean word-play. As Denniston observed, 'none of the suggested emendations is attractive,' and the same may be said of those favoured by more recent editors (ἀρδμός Herwerden, ὅρμος Zuntz, ὄλβος Semitelos) with or without other changes. The only change I should countenance here is Schneidewin's neglected γύαι (for ῥοαί), at once apter in apposition to 'plain' and apter before ὅθεν . . . , since it was properly from the land, not from the river, that the Thousand Ships set forth. Cf. Νείλου γύαι for 'land of Egypt' at *Hel.* 89, and for the error at line-end (where variants commonly abound) cf. the probable confusion at *Hel.* 1–3, where Murray proposed . . . γύαι | . . . | . . . ῥοαῖς for L's . . . ῥοαί | . . . | . . . γύας and Heiland proposed δρόσωι for γύας (accounting for the latter as a variant for πέδον at the end of the preceding line).

[3] Cf. Willink 1989 and 2006 on the 'Reunion Duo' in *Helen* and the First Stasimon of *IT*, also my discussion of *El.* 699–746 in *ICS* 30, 2005 (2007), 11–21. On both *El.* and *IT* I have had fruitful exchanges with Professor Kovacs; but on several points I have had further thoughts. Kyriakou's commentary on *IT* (2006) has not changed my mind on any of the issues discussed in that play.

Of the first I give Diggle's text of 432–451 (so also Cropp's),[4] with the apparatus as trimmed by Cropp:

κλειναὶ νᾶες, αἵ ποτ' ἔβατε Τροίαν — στρ. — **432–441**
τοῖς ἀμετρήτοις ἐρετμοῖς
πέμπουσαι χορεύματα Νηρήιδων,
ἵν' ὁ φίλαυλος ἔπαλλε δελ-
  φὶς πρῴραις κυανεμβόλοι-
  σιν εἱλισσόμενος,
πορεύων τὸν τᾶς Θέτιδος
κοῦφον ἅλμα ποδῶν Ἀχιλῆ
σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι Τρωίας
ἐπὶ Σιμουντίδας ἀκτάς·

Νηρῆιδες δ' Εὐβοῖδας ἄκρας λιποῦσαι — ἀντ. — ~ **442–451**
μόχθους ἀσπιστὰς ἀκμόνων
Ἡφαίστου χρυσέων ἔφερον τευχέων,
ἀνά τε Πήλιον ἀνά τ' ἐρυ-
μνᾶς Ὄσσας ἱερὰς νάπας
Νυμφαίας σκοπιὰς
†κόρας μάτευσ',† ἔνθα πατὴρ
ἱππότας τρέφεν Ἑλλάδι φῶς
Θέτιδος εἰναλίας γόνον
ταχύπορον πόδ' Ἀτρείδαις.

434 χορεύματα Diggle: χοροὺς μετὰ L 435 φίλαυλος Tr² et Ar. *Ran*. 1317: φιλάδελφος ⟨L⟩P 442 ἄκρας Orelli: ἀκτὰς L 443–444 μ- ἀσ- ἀκ- Ἡ- χ- Headlam: Ἡ- χ- ἀκ- μ- ἀσ- L 445 ἐρυμνᾶς Wilamowitz: πρυμνὰς L; ἐρυμνὰς Musgrave 446 ἱερᾶς Reiske 449 τρέφεν Tr²: ἔτρ- ⟨L⟩P 450 εἰναλίας Kvíčala: ἐνάλιον L; εἰναλίου Walberg, -ον Seidler

432–434. The thematic Nereids, first introduced in the genitive case, will be the subject of 442 ff. (and both stanzas will end with a focus on Thetis' son, Achilles). The opening metre is straightforwardly *wil ba* (||) *wil* | *wil sp* || (with Seidler's certain correction of Νηρηΐδων in 434 to give a 'dragged' close).[5]

433 'with your numberless oars' goes primarily with 434 πέμπουσαι χορούς … in line with the metrical pattern, but may also be construed ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with ἔβατε. Diggle's (also West's) χορεύματα here is seduc-

[4] Basta Donzelli's text differs only in (rightly) adhering to χοροὺς μετὰ in 434.

[5] For the period-end after *wil ba*, cf. n. 16 below. Then the sequence *wil* | *wil sp* is like *wil* ~ *gl* ʃ *wil sp* (bonded with word-overlap) at *El*. 173–174 / 196–197 and similarly *wil* ʃ *gl sp* at Soph. *El*. 122–123 etc. (*CQ* 47, 1997, 299–301 with n. 12).

tive,[6] but misconceived as I have previously argued.[7] As Weil appreciated, the Thousand Ships that went to Troy are 'glorious' precisely because their 'going' (as nicely expressed by the verb ἔβατε) was a 'processional dance' (with the numberless oars analogous to feet) *in association with* (μετά) the (famously dancing, hundred-footed) Nereids. As Chadwick has argued, πέμπειν does not mean 'to escort,' and χορὸν (-οὺς) πέμπειν properly has a sense in line with πομπὴν πέμπειν. 'Escorting the dances of the Nereids' is otherwise wrong, since, if escorting were the point, the Nereids should be escorting the ships rather than the ships escorting the Nereids.[8]

A further reason for keeping χορούς in 434 is that we can then remedy an anomaly in 438, where the 'conveying' of Achilles (with Agamemnon) to Troy is strangely attributed to the dolphin alone (πορεύων ...). This can scarcely be right, although Denniston thought it 'a pleasing touch.'[9] Following πέμπουσαι χοροὺς ... it is easy to emend πορεύ*ων τὸν τᾶς* Θέτιδος to πορεύ*οντας τὸν* Θέτιδος, properly attributing the 'conveying' to the combined χοροί of the ships and the Nereids (and the dolphin too), while removing one of a clumsy pair of definite articles.

435–437. '(χοροί) in which (also) the flute-loving dolphin went leaping (imperfect tense) in whirling motion *alongside* the cyan prows.' ἑλίσσειν -εσθαι is apt both to dancing (especially in Euripidean lyric: *HF* 690, *Phoen.* 234, *Or.* 171, *Bacch.* 569, *IA* 1055, etc.) and to 'racing' (cf. *IA* 215 ἑλίσσων περὶ νίκας), and so compoundly apt to the progress of the dolphin in this 'dance' as he went curvaciously leaping in an otherwise linear course (typically, and surely in this case, a *parallel* course). φίλαυλος further associates the dancing dolphin with the dancing ships (each with a prominent αὐλητής).

As to the text, there are two issues here. (i) The vulgate ... κυανεμβόλοι-/σιν εἱλισσόμενος | ... breaches a rule enunciated by Buijs (89), that anaclasis (⏑ – ... for – × ...) is eschewed in aeolic cola in conjunction with

[6] Proposed by Diggle in *ICS* 2 (1977) 111–112 (= *Euripidea*, 153–154), and also by West in *BICS* 27 (1980) 14.

[7] *JHS* 119 (1999) 175, in my review of Chadwick (who rightly adheres to χοροὺς μετὰ here in his important lexicographical discussion of the verb πέμπειν).

[8] Cf. Soph. *OC* 716–719, where the swift oared ship θρῴσκει τᾶν ἑκατομπόδων / Νηρῄδων ἀκόλουθος. There the Nereids properly have superior status, with the Phoenician ship as an attendant.

[9] An improbable enhancement of status. The dolphin is certainly not a *choregus* at *Hel.* 1451–1455, where the swift oar (ταχεῖα κώπα) is addressed as *choregus* of the καλλίχοροι δελφῖνες.

word-overlap. We must surely divide after κυανεμβόλοις (with Triclinius; also Ar. *Ran.* 1318);[10] but – – ⏑ ⏑ – is then an unlikely short colon. (ii) More needs to be said about the obscurely constructed dative πρῴραις, variously taken as 'at the prows' (the usual view) or 'for the prows' (as preferred by Denniston).[11] Neither convinces; and the chances are that this unsatisfactory feature is the consequence of the loss of a disyllabic word following εἱλισσόμενος, giving at once a metrical and linguistic completion to the clause (and period).[12] ⟨πέλας⟩ might be considered, but ⟨πάρα⟩ would more accurately convey the sense 'alongside,' and would also be more likely to drop out before πορεύ-.[13] *Brevis in longo* is perfectly acceptable at this period-end, with anaclasis following.[14]

442–444. Orelli's ἄκρας (⏑ –) for ἀκτὰς is commonly accepted as necessary for the *wil ba* metre of 442. But a different issue should give us pause. How can the bringing of the Arms from Euboea to Achilles on (or near) Pelion be properly treated as apparently *sequential to* the bringing of Achilles to Troy? A remedy for this illogicality may allow us to keep ἀκτὰς Εὐβοΐδας—a phrase likely to be sound, as thematically—perhaps also chiastically—linked with the preceding Σιμουντίδας ἀκτάς. Cf. also the phrase ἐκλιπόντες Εὐβοΐδ' ἀκτάν at *Heracl.* 83. It could well be that the word Νηρῇδες has intruded here, as an explanatory gloss, on a stanza originally beginning with a pronoun (like the similarly antistrophic ταὶ δ' ... at *Andr.* 284 in the First Stasimon of that play).[15] There will then be room to write

[10] The reading κυανεμβόλοις (Tr[2], Ar. *Ran.*) is not reported in Diggle's apparatus. The evidence of Ar. *Ran.* 1317–1319 is indeed tainted by omission of εἱλισσόμενος and by the obscure substitution of μαντεῖα καὶ σταδίους following κυανεμβόλοις, apparently (so Dover) as internal accusatives governed by ἔπαλλε.

[11] Scarcely more plausible would be to take it as an extension of the 'comitative' use with verbs such as ἀκολουθεῖν (K-G i. 430). Dover (on Ar. *Ran.* l.c.) accepts the 'local' interpretation, citing Soph. *OC* 411 σοῖς ὅταν στῶσιν τάφοις, but 'leap whirling' is very different from 'stand,' and 'prows' very different from 'tombs.'

[12] I no longer favour ⟨συν⟩ειλισσόμενος (suggested to and accepted by Kovacs), now looking for a telesillean (‸*gl*) both here and in the corresponding place. Hermann proposed to add ⟨κύκλωι⟩ at this point; others (as Wecklein) have obtained a seven- or eight-syllable colon by including πορεύ- (~†κόρας†).

[13] For the divided anastrophe πρῴραις κυανεμβόλοις ... πάρα, cf. K-G i. 554 (mostly indeed with prepositions governing the genitive; exx. with πάρα 'from' at Soph. *Ant.* 1012, *Trach.* 370). The construction is straightforward, and there is no need, I think, to postulate a rare anastrophic tmesis of an unattested compound *παρελίσσειν (credible in itself, cf. παρελαύνειν).

[14] Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 102 / 119 (before anaclasis in 103 / 120); Willink 2001: 66 with n. 6.

[15] Discussed in *Philologus* 149 (2005) 187–188.

αὗται δ' ἀκτὰς Εὐβοΐδας λιποῦσαι …

'*These same* (Nereids) …' will, I think, sufficiently indicate that we are now concerned with a *different* sea-crossing by the Nereids (and presumably earlier, the strophe having taken them to ἀκταί remote from Euboea).

Then in 443–444 Headlam's favoured transposition may well be wrong. 'Golden' should indeed describe the famous Arms, not the anvil (cf. *IA* 1071–1072 χρυσέων ὅπλων Ἡφαιστοπόνων); but I should prefer, with Weil, to keep 'Hephaestus's' and 'golden' as appropriately the first and second words, while emending two concords:

Ἡφαίστου χρυσέους ἀκμόνων
μόχθους ἀσπιστᾶν ἔφερον τευχέων·

χρυσέους (describing the 'labour-products') will all too easily have been corrupted to χρυσέων before ἀκμόνων; and similarly ἀσπιστᾶν (describing the weaponry) to ἀσπιστὰς following μόχθους. As Denniston allowed, there is nothing wrong with the hiatus after λιποῦσαι marking a light pause at phrase-end at the end of a naturally self-contained verse.[16] Both χρυσέους (with μόχθους) and ἀσπιστᾶν (with τευχέων) were excellently conjectured by Weil; for the latter, cf. the adjectival use of ὁπλίτης with a word denoting 'armament' (κόσμος) at *Heracl.* 699.[17] These emendations are possible only if we adhere to L's word-order.

The force of the imperfect ἔφερον is 'immediative,' cf. Soph. *Trach.* 47 δέλτον λιπὼν ἔστειχε (Rijksbaron 17–18), focussing attention on the *presumably swimming* Nereids' portage of the famous Arms after leaving the coast of Euboea.

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[16] For the presumable period-end after *wil ba*, as after *gl ba*, cf. Itsumi 79. For the personal genitive properly at the beginning of complex phrasing with other genitives, cf. *HF* 413–415 with my note in *Philologus* 148 (2004) 205–206.

[17] Weil also compared αἰχματὰν κεραυνόν at Pind. *Pyth.* i. 5. He should indeed have acknowledged the boldness of what may have been a linguistic novelty—the poetical extension of using an adjectival -τής word, not merely with a non-personal noun (such as κόσμος), but with a *neuter* noun, analogously to the adjectival use of -άς -άδος (properly feminine) with a neuter noun, as at *Hel.* 1301–1302 δρομάδι κώλωι. The boldness of this is scarcely greater than the difficulty in the vulgate of explaining ἀσπιστάς with μόχθους (to which Denniston properly drew attention). As adjectivally describing the weaponry, while focussing primary attention on the famous and elaborately worked Shield, it properly implies the *full* weaponry of an ἀσπιστής (honorific for 'warrior,' cf. *HF* 1192; *CQ* 38, 1988, 86).

445–448. The vulgate ἀνά τε … ἀνά τε … can only be '*both* … and …,' and (since asyndeton would be intolerable here) we have to suppose that the construction of ἔφερον continues, and therefore that μάτευσ' somehow conceals a participle. So Denniston; but 'searching Pelion …' (etc.) follows oddly after 442–444 as interpreted above; and the narrative will proceed much more naturally if (with Bothe) we change the first ἀνά τε to ἀνὰ δὲ (connective-progressive),[18] beginning a new sentence:

> ἀνὰ δὲ Πήλιον ἀνά τε πρυμ-
> νὰς Ὄσσας ἱερὰς (-ᾶς Reiske) νάπας …

ἀνά (local) is loosely 'on, over' with 'Pelion' (a region as well as a mountain) and 'in/on' with 'Ossa's wooded slopes,' or 'glens.' There are then three issues (before we get to the verb). (i) Which adjective goes with which noun? (ii) Is the vulgate τ' ἐρυμνὰς (or -ᾶς) a necessary correction of τε πρυμνὰς (as Denniston argued)? (iii) Is the run of four -ας endings tolerable (with three more immediately following)? As to (i), Reiske was surely correct in taking 'holy' with 'Ossa' (cf. ἱερὸν Τμῶλον at *Bacch.* 65), with this phrase sandwiched between agreeing adjective and noun. (ii) It should then be clear that the νάπαι searched are more appropriately designated as πρυμναί (literally 'basal,' here implicitly 'hidden') than as ἐρυμναί ('strongly fortified' and/or 'sheer').[19] (iii) The homoeoteleuton is indeed remarkable,[20] but may have been less so, if (as I suspect) Euripides actually wrote Ὄσσας ἱεροῦ, treating this Thessalian mountain as masculine.[21]

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[18] τε and δέ are 'very commonly confused' in the tradition: cf. Diggle, *Studies* 59 and *Euripidea* 91 n. 4.

[19] Cf. the compound πρυμνώρεια at Hom. *Il.* 14. 307, and the κεκρυμμένη νάπη at Soph. *OT* 1398. Denniston obscurely demanded ἐρυμν- on the ground that the reference must be to high ground, since "Chiron lived high up on the mountains … and that is where the Nereids would look for him." He seems to have overlooked the prominence of νάπαι in the phrasing. The habitat of the Centaurs, as partly equine, will naturally have been glades (*saltus*) in the πρυμνώρεια.

[20] Denniston tolerated it as an "indication—and there are many others—of the insensitiveness of the Greek ear to such kinds of assonance." But he did not cite justifying parallels; and there is clear contrary evidence, especially in Euripides, of avoidance of homoeoteleuton by the use of two-termination forms of adjectives with feminine nouns, and of corruptions caused by neglect of that, e.g. οὐρίους (v.l. -ας) πνοάς at *Hec.* 900.

[21] It should not be assumed that Ὄσσα must be feminine. Masculine -σα is by no means unlikely in this Thessalian proper name (cf. K-B i. 371), especially as the name of a mountain. Evidence from Latin poets is equivocal, but several editors (and Lewis and Short) have accepted the masculine reading *subiecto Pelion Ossae* at Ov. *Met.* i. 155; cf. *nemorosum … Oeten* at *Met.* ix. 165. Perhaps the gender of this mountain (and similarly Oeta) was optional.

Then in 447–448 the words Νυμφαίας σκοπιὰς κόρας μάτευσ' are an acknowledged crux, in which all the words have at some time been altered.[22] Denniston too credulously regarded the words Νυμφαίας σκοπιὰς as securely protected (despite the suspect run of -ας endings) by Νυμφᾶν σκοπιάς at *Hel.* 1324. 'Searched *the peaks*' is in fact questionable sense, after the focus on νάπαι. At the same time the notion of the aquatic Nereids not merely going ashore, but heading inland into the mountains, is stranger than commentators seem to have appreciated. The Nereids' delivery of the Arms to Achilles is likely to have been effected at a ceremony *on the shore* (whence the hero could directly depart with them for Troy).[23] If Achilles needed to be looked for in the mountains, the task of finding and fetching him thence will have been better performed by other (presumably Oread) nymphs; and I should tentatively restore the sentence thus, incidentally emending all the -ας terminations:

> νύμφαι (Hermann), σκοπιᾶν κόραι
> μάτευ⟨σαν κεῖ⟩σ', ἔνθα πατὴρ …

'Daughters of the peaks' thus seems to be a new suggestion,[24] but κόραι (Milton) for the obviously impossible κόρας has been accepted by (among others) Jacobs, Bothe, Fritzsche and Reiter.[25] We then need four syllables in place of μάτευσ' before ἔνθα πατὴρ preferably ⏑ – – – for exact correspondence with πορεύοντας τὸν Θέτιδος. Hermann's μάτευον was plausibly in line with ἔφερον in 444, but μάτευσαν is better for a successful (*completed*) search.[26] With it, for the further syllable needed, ⟨κεῖσ'⟩ ('*to that place*, where …') adds adverbial definition to the verb as

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[22] It would be laborious and unprofitable to rehearse all the proposals recorded by Prinz-Wecklein. To these I would add only Murray's Νυμφαῖος σκοπιὰς χορὸς / μάτευσ(ε) (-σ⟨εν⟩ being in itself plausible before ἔνθα).

[23] Cf. (also ἀνὰ Πήλιον) the elaborately pictured coming-together παρὰ λευκοφαῆ ψάμαθον of Nereids, Centaurs (including Cheiron) and Pierian Muses for the nuptials of Thetis and Peleus in *I.A.* 1036–1079.

[24] For the apposition thus, cf. the epic νύμφαι κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο (Hom. *Il.* 6.420) and LSJ s.v. κόρη. For the less personal parentage here, cf. *Hel.* 168 παρθένοι, Χθονὸς κόραι, and Soph. *OC* 40 Γῆς τε καὶ Σκότου κόραι. The wrong σκοπιὰς for -ιᾶν is like the wrong ἀσπιστὰς for -τᾶν in 443 above.

[25] Barnes' alternative κόραις has also been quite widely favoured; but 'searched *with (their) eyes*' is feeble sense. Others have approved Hermann's κόρον, but 'searched the peaks for the lad' is an unlikely double accusative construction, and κόρον for κοῦρον is otherwise questionable (as Denniston observed).

[26] 'μάτευσαν Reiter; but for the augmentless form cf. τρέφεν 449. Milton's ματεύ⟨ου⟩σ' had technical merit, but a shift to historic present is improbable.

thus used intransitively, while allowing us to visualize a scribal skip from (ευ)σαν to (ει)σεν.

452–463 ~ 464–475. In this second pair of stanzas, Kovacs gives a better text in three places. At 456–457 he accepts Diggle's excellent suggestion δείματα ⟨γᾶι⟩ Φρυγίαι, in responsion with ὄμμασιν Ἑκτορέοις at 468–469; and in 459 he accepts Weil's no less excellent … ὑπὲρ ἅλμας (for … ὑπὲρ ἁλός), giving a normal dactylic cadence, in responsion with … (ἀοί)διμον ἄγραν.[27]

476–486. In the epode the metre and lineation are questionable at 479–482:

τοιῶνδ' ἄνακτα δοριπόνων	(*2ia*)
ἔκανεν ἀνδρῶν, Τυνδαρί,	(?)
σὰ λέχεα, κακόφρων κούρα·	(?)

The vulgate … Τυνδαρί, / σὰ λέχεα … (Seidler) for L's τυνδαρὶς ἀλέχεα is open to the objection that the dimeter ἔκανεν ἀνδρῶν, Τυνδαρί(ς) breaches the rule requiring (especially in iambic cola) a short syllable at word-end before a terminal cretic word.[28] The residue ⏑⏑ ⏖ ⏑⏑ ––– is then anomalous, but becomes more acceptable with Dindorf's κόρα.[29] It may be thought that the abnormality in 480 should be tolerated as an exceptional licence; but the words Τυνδαρί, σὰ λέχε(α) (kept together,

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[27] –⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–– || is obviously straightforward (with period-end before the shift to ionic metre beginning with ⏑–––⏑⏑––…). –⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⁝⏑⏑⏑– admits analysis in the strophe as *D*⁝*cr* (resolved); but that is scarcely possible in the antistrophe without diaeresis after the hemiepes. The corruption is credible, since ἅλς for 'sea' is much commoner than ἅλμα. [Basta Donzelli, with West, *Greek Metre* 130, divides implausibly after *3da*. The shift without pause from open-ended dactyls to iambic occurs only as outlined in Willink 2001: 70 with n. 19 (on Soph. *Ant*. 341 / 352) and 2002: 74 with n. 77 (on *OT* 177–178 / 188–189). There is no parallel either for such division after *three* dactyls or for *ia ch* … as the continuation.]

[28] See Parker, especially 15–16 where she reports the few exceptions (including *El*. 480) in lyric iambics. One at least of the others can be rejected: *Hypsipyle* fr. 64.104 ἐμόλετ' : ἀκτὰν Λημνίαν is now rightly analysed (so Diggle) as dochmiac. But –⏑––⁝–⏑– cannot easily be evaded at *Alc*. 227 (unless we write δάμαρτος ᾶ̆ς for δ- σᾶς?) and *Hipp*. 1149 (the latter perhaps different as occurring in enoplian context as *e*-*e* between ⏑ *D*- and a terminal aristophanean). On the 'illusory' instances in Aeschylus, see West, *Studies in Aeschylus* on *Ag*. 140.

[29] ⏑⏑–⏑⏑––⏑– (*T*) is a favourite verse, with affiliations variously aeolic and enoplian; but it is a good deal less happy thus as the sequel to iambic dimeters.

as transmitted) invite recognition as an initial iambic metron -⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑(⏑) . . .;[30] and an altered word-order will give a plausible long verse beginning with that:

Τυνδαρί, σὰ λέχε' ἀνδρῶν ἔκανεν, κακόφρων κούρα.

This is the same enoplian length as occurs twice (in another epode) at *Hec.* 647–650: ἐπὶ δορὶ καὶ φόνωι καὶ ἐμῶν μελάθρων λώβαι· / στένει δὲ καί τις ἀμφὶ τὸν εὔροον Εὐρώταν | … (there clearly shown by 649–650 to be a form of the extended iambelegus × *e* × *D* × -).[31] As modified here (as also at *Hec.* 647–648), the verse articulates after an initial iambic metron (resolved), rather than after penthemimer. κούρα can (indeed, should) then be retained for the favoured 'dragged' close; while before it Radermacher's κακόφρον could be right, but -φρων is at least defensible.[32]

Iphigenia in Tauris 827–899.

Iphigenia begins this amoibaion wih a spoken verse, but then moves from speech to song, and she will conclude with monody of some length. Orestes' part consists entirely of spoken utterances (all, as argued, single trimeters, except for the pair at 850–851). We thus have a pattern of 'punctuated monody' beginning at 828, following a substantial pause after 827 (. . . οὐδὲν ἄλλο . . .) for a wordless embrace.[33]

Ιφ. ὦ φίλτατ'—οὐδὲν ἄλλο, φίλτατος γὰρ εἶ . . . **827–833**

(*the parties embrace*)

ἔχω σ', Ὀρέστα, τηλύγετον πατρίδος
χθονὸς ἀπ' Ἀργόθεν, †. . . ὦ φίλος†.
Ορ. κἀγὼ σέ, τὴν θανοῦσαν ὡς δοξάζεται.
⟨Ιφ.⟩ κατὰ δὲ δάκρυα, κατὰ δὲ γόος ἅμα χαρᾶι—
Ορ. τὸ σὸν νοτίζει βλέφαρον, ὡσαύτως δ' ἐμόν.

828–829 πατρίδος | χθονὸς ἀπ' Ἀργόθεν Jackson: χ- ἀπὸ π- ἀρ- L 830 φάος Willink

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[30] For this common rhythm, cf. especially *Andr.* 796–797 Ἰλιάδα τε πόλιν … / εὐδόκιμον ὁ Διὸς … (also in an epode.).

[31] For this "extended iambelegus with drag" (Dale, *Lyric Metres* 162) cf. also *Ion* 718 (in another epode) and *Phoen.* 121. The same occurs in amoibaia, with speaker-change after penthemimer, at *Ion* 1483–1484 and *HF* 1185, 1187.

[32] Cf. K-G i. 47–48.

[33] Contrast the extended 'Embrace' in *Hel.* 625–659 (with speech and song for both parties) preceding the 'punctuated monody' in *Hel.* 661–697; Willink 1989: 45–46, 61.

832 ⟨Ιφ.⟩ Lohmann: Orestae continuat L δάκρυα post Aldinam (δ- bis) Bothe: δάκρυ L

In 828–830 (three lines as transmitted) Jackson's advancement of the word πατρίδος merits acceptance, as the most plausible way of completing an appropriate iambelegus followed by a dochmius (probably the first of a pair).[34] For the rest, obeli must remain. The participles ⟨συθέντ'⟩ (Jackson) and ⟨σύμενον⟩ (Diggle, with a different treatment of the rest) are unconvincing: 'having sped' is indeed 'a little inappropriate,' as Cropp rightly observes. Attention needs also to be directed to the concluding ὦ φίλος, which follows weakly after the superlatives in 827. As I previously wrote, "τηλύγετον ("latest-born") πατρίδος φάος would be a plausible phrase; but it is hard to know what other words to add or subtract."[35] Tentatively I should now suggest that … ⟨τηλύγετον⟩ [ὦ] φάος would effectively complete Iphigenia's sentence. Epanalepsis is common in dochmiacs, and the repetition of this rare, richly meaningful (if also somewhat obscure) epic word may make it easier to hear a double sense (with 'from afar' also implied). ὦ is of course very often interpolated (as at *Or.* 160, 161, 174, 186, etc.).

The three verses in 831–833 (*3ia* | *2δ* | *3ia*) are then surely, as I now think, to be given to Orestes—Iphigenia—Orestes, establishing at the outset the pattern of speech and song.[36] Confirmation comes not only from the evidently emotional much-resolved dochmiac metre of 832, in contrast with the more sober-sounding (so 'manly') trimeters,[37] but also from the sense, more closely considered. When Iphigenia links the opposite emotions of γόος and χαρά with δάκρυα, she is not simply thinking of 'bedewed eyes.' Her emotions are *tumultuous*, of a nature in which the

[34] Jackson 34–35. Acceptance of … τηλύγετον χθονὸς / ἀπὸ πατρίδος … gives an unacceptable penthemimer + dochmius in the opening verse. Division before χθονὸς (as Sansone) gives a contextually unlikely instance of the rare verse ⏑ *e* ⏑ *d* (as *Alc.* 572 / 582), and a metrically unacceptable continuation (*δ* || *δ* with *brevis in longo* at πατρίδος).

[35] Willink 1989: 46 n. 6 (mentioning *Ion* 1439 and S. *El.* 1224 for this metaphorical use of 'light' in similar contexts). ΦΑ- of course, corrupts easily to ΦΙΛ- (the more easily after φίλτατ' … φίλτατος).

[36] Lohmann's attribution of 832 to Iphigenia (1905), conjectured independently by Maas (*Hermes* 61, 1926, 240), has been endorsed by Mastronarde (57). My view on this has changed since 1989 (when I accepted the singing of just this one verse by Orestes).

[37] It is in general noticeable that spoken trimeters alongside chanted utterance habitually have few or no resolutions, thus enhancing the contrast of tone (and, in amoibaia, of character). For ⏑ ⏑⏑ ⏑⏑ ⏑ ⏑⏑ ⏑ ⏑⏑ ⏑⏑ ⏑ ⏖ in dochmiacs sung by emotional ladies, cf. *Hel.* 694 (etc.) and my commentary (p. 106) on *Or.* 149–151 / 163–165. Attempts (with or without emendation) to make 832 an *iambic* verse spoken by Orestes are without merit.

sensations of extreme grief and extreme joy can be hard to distinguish (a fine psychological insight). So the sense of the κατα- compound fully to complete her sentence will be something like 'overwhelm me' (most simply, perhaps, κατέχει με). Orestes, however, has heard enough and assentiently breaks in with a sentence-completion, straightforwardly referring to the first-mentioned δάκρυα, at once seen and experienced, affecting both parties' eyes; and we have no need to understand νοτίζει as κατανοτίζει (though we may, if we wish).[38]

In retrospect we may notice that Orestes' previous trimeter at 830 similarly picks up (and adds to, with a different apposition) just the kernel of what Iphigenia has said and sung, viz. the words ἔχω σε.

Ιφ. τὸν ἔτι βρέφος ἔλιπον ἀγκάλαι- **834–841**
σι νεαρὸν τροφοῦ, νεαρὸν ἐν δόμοις.
⟨Ορ.⟩ ὢ κρεῖσσον ἢ λόγοισιν εὐτυχῶν ἐγώ.
Ιφ. ⟨ὦ⟩ ψυχά, τί φῶ; θαυμάτων
πέρα καὶ λόγου τάδ' ἀπέβα πρόσω.
Ορ. τὸ λοιπὸν εὐτυχοῖμεν ἀλλήλων μέτα.

834 τὸν ἔτι Bergk: τὸ δέ τι L 837 ⟨Ορ.⟩ Willink: Iphigeniae continuat L ὢ] ὦ L ἐγώ Bauer: ἐμοῦ L 838 ⟨ὦ⟩ Monk: ψυχά L (~P)
840 τάδ' ἀπέβα (Reiske) πρόσω (trai. Weil) Willink: πρ- τ- ἐπέβα L

τὸν ἔτι ... : Bergk's single-letter correction is sufficiently probable.[39] Then, having previously transferred a chanted line from Orestes to Iphigenia, we should now conversely (as suggested to and accepted by Kovacs) transfer a spoken line from Iphigenia to Orestes, the pattern of 834–841 thus becoming recognizable as symmetrically *δ*˄˄3*δ* :: trimeter :: *δ*˄˄3*δ* :: trimeter;[40] an altered assignation which will also point to a

[38] κατανοτίζειν (LSJ) is not attested elsewhere. For νοτίζει (without preverb) and the singular βλέφαρον with the sense 'eyes' (frequent in Euripides), cf. βλ-ὑγραίνω at *Hel.* 673 (Willink 1989: 64). [Sansone's excision of 832–833 (1979: 239–240) is unjustifiably drastic. Lee's version of 832–833 (Cropp 1997: 33–34), giving Orestes only the words ὡσαύτως δ' ἐμόν, and requiring us to change τὸ σόν into τοὐμόν, introduces an improbable instance of *antilabe* at this point (here only) in the amoibaion, with Iphigenia improbably reverting to speech (here only). It also goes against the present interpretation of Iphigenia's tumultuous emotion.]

[39] The relative continuation is good (intelligibly, *pace* Sansone, though not directly, following ἔχω σε, with the antecedent pronoun also sufficiently implied in the preceding word ... ἐμόν); and τὸν accounts for τοδ better than Diggle's ὅν (there is no good reason for requiring the more prosaic form of the relative in *cantica*). At the same time there is no need for added syllables here (as Hermann and others); cf. n. 40 below.

[40] For the metrical symmetry (of a frequent type, scarcely meriting recognition as 'strophic') cf. on *HF* 888–893 in *Philologus* 148 (2004) 216. There is no need for supplementation to fill out two dochmiacs, either at the beginning or with Fix's doubling of

straightforward remedy for the corrupt end of line 836.[41] Orestes' two utterances here are appropriately linked in sense, flanking further emotional dochmiacs in which Iphigenia develops the 'beyond words' theme enunciated by Orestes. For the phrasing ⟨ὦ⟩ ψυχά, τί φῶ; cf. 882 ὦ μελέα ψυχά, *Ion* 859 ὦ ψυχά, πῶς σιγάσω; and *Hel.* 656 τί φῶ; and for the transposed word-order, removing the ⏑⏑– word from the end of a dochmius and giving exact symmetry (. . . ⏑ ⏑⏑–⏑– ||), cf. *Hipp.* 815, 841.[42]

842–899. For the rest, there is little that I would wish to change in Kovacs' text (which mentions or accepts suggestions of mine, all neglected by Kyriakou, at 870, 874, 881, 885, 889, 894, 896). But I would commend a different version of 876–880 (with a different supplement, and acceptance of Cropp's excellent ἀποπόλεως for ἀπὸ πόλεως):

τίνα σοι πόρον εὑρομένα ⟨πάλιν αὖ⟩ (⟨αὖ⟩ *iam* Bruhn)
πάλιν ἀποπόλεως ἀπὸ φόνου πέμψω
πατρίδ' ἐς Ἀργείαν;
πρὶν ἐπὶ ξίφος αἵματι σῶι πελάσαι;[43]

And I take this opportunity of clarifying, with indentations and metrical annotations, the revised colometric interpretation of lines 884–891, giving harmony between metrical lengths and syntax, as should always be looked for in non-strophic *cantica*:

πότερον κατὰ χέρσον, οὐχὶ   *T* ⏑ ⁝ *D* – – ||
  ναΐ⟨αι⟩ ἀλλὰ ποδῶν ῥιπᾶι;
θανάτωι πελάσεις ἄρα βάρβαρα φῦλα   *A* ⏑ ⁝ *D* – – ||
  καὶ δι' ὁδοὺς ἀνόδους στείχων·
διὰ Κυανέας ⟨γε⟩ μὰν   *T* | *3δ* ||

ἔλιπον, as favoured by Diggle. On dochmiac sequences beginning and ending with a *δ* but not containing an integral number of dochmiacs (so best annotated as *δ*‸‸*δ* etc. rather than *ba/mol δ* or *δ cr/mol*), cf. *Mnemosyne* 57 (2004) 57 (on *Ion* 776), where several other occurrences of *δ*‸‸*δ* are cited.

[41] ὢ (*sic*) . . . εὐτυχῶν ἐγώ is the opposite of ὢ (*sic*) τάλαιν' ἐγώ (non-allocutory) and similar exclamations, cf. *CQ* 49 (1999) 412 with n. 17 (on *Hipp.* 366). The corruption of ἐγώ may perhaps be connected with the loss of ὦ at the beginning of the following verse.

[42] Discussed in *CQ* 49 (1999), 418–419, where I failed to credit Weil for the recommended transposition here.

[43] Without supplementation, 876 is an unacceptable 'anapaestic tripody.' We surely need ⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑⏑– (*A*), like 880, before the three dochmiacs; cf. the sequence *T* | *3δ* at 889–891. But Diggle's doubling of τίνα σοι can be improved upon. αὖ with πάλιν is an enhancement of the sense (cf. *IT* 377 ἐς Ἄργος αὖ πάλιν, *Hel.* 528, *IA* 843, Soph. *Trach.* 1088), and for the pleonastic further addition of πάλιν or αὖ(θις) cf. *Hel.* 932, Soph. *Phil.* 952. πάλιν αὖ πάλιν thus is an instance of 'split anadiplosis' (cf. my commentary on *Or.* 200); at the same time πάλιν αὖ drops out easily before πάλιν ἀπ-.

στενοπόρου πέτρας μακρὰ κέλευθα να-
ΐοισιν δρασμοῖς.

884–885 is the same dicolon as *Hec.* 1067–1068, and 886–887 the same as *HF* 1017–1018 (as correctly divided by Kovacs); and the 'enoplian dochmiac' sequence *T* |*3δ* is like the *T* |*2δ* sequence at *Ion* 1486–1488.[44] In 884–885 the emendation ναΐ⟨αι⟩ eliminates an intolerable hiatus, and the lost syllable here is readily explained either as 'haplography' or as an instance of "the habitual failure of scribes to recognize correption" (Diggle, *Studies* 3). In 889 adversative γε μήν (Denniston, *Greek Particles* 348–349) is otherwise likelier than adversative μήν in a positive statement ("hardly ever in drama," *GP* 334); the error here being sufficiently accounted for by the tempting hexameter obtainable by the omission of γε.

[44] On these characteristic sequences in 'enoplian dochmiacs,' cf. Willink 1986: 113. For the clarifying value of indenting cola for continuity, cf. Willink 2001: 65, 69, etc.

PART FOUR

EURIPIDES AND HIS CONTEXT

AITIOLOGIES OF CULT IN EURIPIDES: A RESPONSE TO SCOTT SCULLION

Richard Seaford

Scott Scullion[1] has skilfully argued that all the cultic aitiologies in Euripides' extant tragedies involve invention by the poet, either of the aitiological myth ("*aiton*") or in some cases even of the cult itself.[2] In opposing him, I am in the unenviable position of arguing for the re-instatement of what may seem obvious. However, the issue is important for understanding the nature of Athenian tragedy, and raises some interesting methodological issues.

The first (unavoidably enormous) methodological issue is that of "preconception." S. characterises the views he attacks as deriving from "the preconception that imaginative literary work is necessarily subordinate to religious, political or other authoritative ideologies." We can never escape entirely from our preconceptions, but it helps to be aware of them. S. does not indicate the possibility of preconceptions of his own, but the language he uses is, even in this very sentence, revealing. "Imaginative" is a positive term, "subordinate" a negative one—and "necessarily subordinate" is even worse, as it implies failing to evaluate each case on its merits. And "authoritative ideologies" are of course bound to distort. We cannot but abhor "an *inescapable* cultic reality to which the literary and mythical tradition of the villainous Eurystheus *must* be *subordinated*" (emphasis added). To "subordinate tragedy to one or another extradramatic agenda" is almost sinister. S. is valiantly defending the freedom of literature, the "radically imaginative world of tragedy," from the alien straitjacket that some scholars blindly insist on imposing on it. I am arguing here not that S.'s preconceptions are mistaken (though I believe they are), but that they exist.

S. emphasises, in the spirit of freedom, that "Greek religion" is "an almost infinitely various set of practices, divinities, and beliefs," and that

[1] Scullion 2000 (Henceforth S.).

[2] He claims to have dealt with every specifically cultic *aition* in the extant plays of Euripides (230). But he overlooks *Hipp*. 32–33 and *HF* 1328–1333, and it is a pity that he did not discuss the fragmentary *Erechtheus*.

"a given cult could have more than one *aition*—we often have two or more and they are often strikingly different ..." Quite so. It is likely that many myths (or versions of myths) were never written down, and that even many written myths have been lost, and that many ritual practices too have left no trace. It is precisely because of this enormous loss, this "almost infinite variety," that I am suspicious of S.'s assumption that, where Euripides (or Aeschylus or Sophokles) is the only or the earliest source for an *aition* or a cult, he is likely to have invented it himself.

We agree of course that this is an area in which certainty is often impossible. And so S. starts with the cases for which he claims to provide "fairly compelling arguments," so as to break down our resistance to the subsequent ones. Lack of space prevents me from tackling him wherever I think he is wrong. I will begin by criticising these "fairly compelling arguments" (in 1–3), and would also suggest, conversely, that the accumulation of cases in which he is almost certainly wrong casts doubt on his position in the others.

1. In *Andromache* Thetis *ex machina* commands the burial of Neoptolemos' body "next to the Pythian hearth, a reproach for the Delphians, so that the tomb may report (ἀπαγγέλλῃι) the violent death by the hand of Orestes" (1241–1243).

S. argues that ἀπαγγέλλῃι here must refer to a verbal report,[3] hence an inscription. But "no one can believe that such an inscription existed—quite apart from the fact that a persistent general tradition regarded Neoptolemos as himself to blame."

There was certainly a tomb of Neoptolemos at Delphi in the fifth century, and there could easily have been an inscription on it recording his "violent death." The incredulity must be about Orestes being therein named as agent. We do not know enough about Delphi when *Andromache* was being written (circa 425 BCE) to exclude this possibility entirely, especially as naming Orestes would diminish the responsibility of Delphi. But let us suppose that he was not named. We have then various possibilities. One is that, as S. proposes, Thetis makes a "wholly fictitious claim" that "any number of people in Euripides' audience will have known of their own experience to be false." The lines are not required by anything else in the play. Why did Euripides want to (inevitably) discredit Thetis by adding them? S. does not ask the question.

[3] He makes a good case. But Michael Lloyd (1994) in his commentary compares *Hipp*. 1077.

Alternatively, the words of Thetis—so far from being obviously false—are designed by Euripides to bestow divine authority on his chosen (or conceivably invented) version: that it was Orestes who was responsible for the killing (there were indeed, as S. says, other versions). On this assumption there are several possibilities that do not entirely exclude each other. We may say that Thetis mentions the inscription reporting Orestes' violent death, and in the following words gives her authoritative view, identifying the murderer as Orestes. If it is thought that Euripides should not have blurred this distinction (between the actual inscription and Thetis' statement), then I would adduce the factors of fallible memory and—more importantly—of wishful thinking. Imagine the inscription being seen by Euripides, or by one or more people whose description of it eventually reached Euripides. If they firmly believe that Orestes killed Neoptolemos,[4] then what they will remember is an inscription about the violent death of Neoptolemos at the hands of Orestes. What the inscription actually says may not be kept apart, in the memory, from the preconceived guilt of Orestes. Or perhaps they gladly interpreted something obscure or enigmatic to refer to Orestes. There are numerous such possibilities, which may at any stage have combined—with each other or with the desire to have Thetis settle the matter—to produce Euripides' tendentious version. Tendentious, but not simply invented.

2. At *Suppliant Women* (1188–1204) Athena commands Adrastos to swear an oath binding the Argives to perpetual non-aggression against Athens, and that the oath be inscribed on a bronze tripod to be preserved at Delphi. S. cites Jacoby, for whom this is

> a poor invention made for the politics of the day ... The tripod with its oath either did not exist at all ... or if it did exist it bore another treaty between Athens and Argos (perhaps that of 462–461?), for Euripides can hardly have invented entirely at random.[5]

But for S.

> Euripides clearly feels entitled as a poet to invent an object and an inscription giving concrete imaginative shape to an obligation his audience would willingly attribute to Argos.

[4] We cannot know whether there were political reasons for this belief. Euripides seems in this play to be wanting to please not only Athenians: Allan 2000: 149–160.

[5] *FGrH IIIb Suppl.* II 351 n. 23.

The tripod to be inscribed is, Athena has explained, in Theseus' house. Herakles, after sacking Troy, and when he was rushing off to another task, told Theseus to take it to the Pythian hearth. S. does not say whether these details are also part of the "concrete imaginative shape" given to the obligation.

According to S., Euripides knows that tripod and inscription are fictional (leaving it unclear whether or not Euripides is trying to pass off his invention as the truth). But more likely is that Euripides believes in their reality. Whether or not there was anything at Delphi to inspire Athenian wishful thinking, we are faced with all the various possibilities of self-deception that I raised apropos of the *Andromache* passage. In addition, this was a time in which alliance with Argos was vital, and such circumstances make wishful thinking even more likely. If Athenians believed in a non-existent Delphic inscription (or misinterpreted an existing one), and had—let us say—been challenged to locate the inscription, they may well have replied—and sincerely believed—that it had been removed or destroyed by enemies. In the political conflict of our own times it is easy to find whole communities holding beliefs much stranger than that.[6] It should be unnecessary to point out that in conflict preconceptions create "facts."

3. In *Helen* (1664–1669) the Dioskouroi *ex machina* tell Helen that after her death she will be called a deity, and join them in receiving the type of offering called *theoxenia*; and at *Orestes* 1635–1637 Apollo declares that Helen now has a place in the heavens with the Dioskouroi as saviour of sailors. Because there is no evidence for Helen receiving *theoxenia*, S. infers that Euripides is "simply transferring" the activities of the Dioskouroi to her.

But the inference is unjustified. S. himself cites an inscription (380–375 BCE) that records offerings to Helen along with the Dioskouroi at Thorikos on the east coast of Attica.[7] Much cult activity was no doubt never recorded, and many records lost. Perhaps Euripides, desiring to make his drama bear on religious practice, has attributed divine authority to what was no more than a marginal phenomenon. But this is not the same thing as sheer invention.

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[6] For instance about what happened in Palestine in 1947–1948.

[7] *SEG* 3 (1983) 147.

4. In *Herakleidai* (1026–1044) Eurystheus responds to Alkmene's threat to kill him by saying that he will be buried near the temple of Athene at Pallene, where he will benefit the Athenians and be hostile to the (Peloponnesian) descendants of Alkmene. He adds that libations and blood should not be allowed to flow into his tomb.

Strabo (8.6.19) reports that Eurystheus' body was buried at Gargettos, near Pallene, but his head by the spring of Makaria in Trikorythos, which is on the other (north east) side of Pentelikon. This is the only evidence for a cult of Eurystheus in Attica.[8] Pausanias (1.44.10) and Apollodorus (2.8.1) locate his tomb in the Megarid.

It is of course perfectly possible that two tombs should be claimed as the tomb of the same hero.[9] S. argues (without claiming certainty) that the tomb at Pallene is a Euripidean invention. Both Wilkins (1993) and Allan (2001) argue strongly against this. In what follows, which is designed to supplement their arguments, the first paragraph under each heading gives S.'s case, the second my response.

(a) The passage of Euripides may have prompted the creation of the cult of Eurystheus subsequently attested by Strabo. This is indicated by the fact that Strabo locates Eurystheus' head near the spring of Makaria, "whose self-sacrifice was probably invented by Euripides in this very play (though he does not in fact name her)."

This is of course possible. But there is no mention in Euripides of Eurystheus' head being buried separately, and so this is certainly (and strikingly) different from Euripides.[10] There is no evidence that Euripides invented the self-sacrifice of Makaria. Given the likely existence of numerous lost versions of local myths (oral if not written), such an invention seems to me unlikely. And why would Euripides leave unnamed the person whose self-sacrifice he invented?

(b) Strabo and Pausanias, and their intermediate sources, "clearly regarded the tragedians as authorities for religious history." S. gives as an example Pausanias 1.28.6, where Pausanias identifies the Athenian

[8] Apart from lexicography.

[9] One example from many is at Paus. 1.21.1.

[10] Unless we suppose that in lines now lost Alkmene (despite having threatened to give his body to the dogs) declared that she would decapitate Eurystheus and bury his head in Trikorythos.

Semnai theai with the Erinyes and comments that although "Aischylos was the first to represent them with snakes in their hair, there is nothing frightful in their images."

Although what matters to S.'s argument here is Strabo, the only example he gives is from Pausanias. The study (cited by S.) of Pausanias' sources states that Pausanias is concerned to be honest in giving information about his reading of sources.[11] For matters of myth or religion (though never for the practice of cult) Pausanias cites Aeschylus seven times, Sophokles once, and Euripides not at all. Strabo cites all three tragedians frequently, but not for the burial of Eurystheus.

(c) As early as the 360s BCE the Theban Epameinondas makes a political point by referring to the stories of the polluted heroes Oidipous and Orestes being received at Athens. This, according to S., is evidence for even a Theban regarding "the alternative versions of the myths of Oidipous and Orestes that were invented or at any rate most memorably retailed by the Athenian tragedians as at least quasi-authoritative in real-world terms."

The story is (contrary to S.'s footnote) not in Isocrates.[12] And S.'s argument is circular: it assumes—rather than demonstrating—that Epameinondas is basing his claim on nothing but the tragic versions. Moreover, even if Epameinondas did have only Athenian tragedy in mind, it would be for a specific point—that even the Athenians have to agree about what happened. It would not demonstrate the proposition that Athenian tragedy defined the past for Thebans.

(d) Euripides has Eurystheus prohibit libations and blood (i.e., animal) offerings at the tomb[13] "because there existed no cult of Eurystheus in Attica." And he gives the same explanation for the secrecy surrounding Oidipus' tomb that is prescribed at the end of Sophokles' *Oedipus at Colonus* to ensure well-being for Athens.[14]

If Euripides is happily inventing a fictitious tomb (and its benefits for Athens), why is he at pains to rule out a fictitious cult for it? The kind of reason there might have been for such prescriptions, which is not even

[11] Regenbogen (1956) 1080.

[12] Its earliest occurrence is in Cornelius Nepos (*Epam*. 6. 1–3). And Epameinondas is not said to say that Orestes and Oidipous "ended their lives" (as Soph. puts it) in Athens.

[13] My argument does not require discussion of the various possible meanings of 1040–1041.

[14] 1760–1765; cf. 91–93, 1520–1535.

mentioned by S., is indicated by Athena's instruction *ex machina* at the end of Euripides' *Erechtheus* (fr. 370. 87–89). I give Martin Cropp's (1995) translation.

> There shall be an untrodden sanctuary dedicated to these maidens; you must prevent any of your enemies from secretly making offerings there so as to bring victory to themselves and affliction to this land.
>
> Eur. *Erechtheus* (fr. 370. 87–89).

That this consideration applied also to the tomb of Eurystheus is indicated by the very next line of the play. There must be no offerings, says Eurystheus, "for (*gar*) I will give them (his Peloponnesian enemies) a bad homecoming in return for these things" (their mistreatment of him). How would S. explain the *gar*? It is in the interest of the Athenians that the anger of Eurystheus, which is directed against their enemies, should *not* be propitiated by offerings, although there may have been other forms of cult at the tomb. As for Oidipous, there are several known cases of secret tombs, which were not invented by tragedians.[15]

(e) S. recognises that "the motif of the enemy who becomes a protecting hero is familiar," and states that "there is every reason to believe that the motif of the protector hero enters this play … as a reflex of the play's themes, not as an inescapable cultic reality to which the literary and mythical tradition of the villainous Eurystheus must be subordinated."

S. does not tell us what "every reason to believe" consists of. I have here no space to set out in detail the seemingly perverse but actually compelling logic of "the motif of the enemy who becomes a protecting hero." Suffice it to say that it emerges not from literature but from the aetiology of cult.[16] In contrast to much of this discussion, on this issue there can be no doubt: this widespread complex of ideas does not emerge from the mind of Euripides or of any other poet.

Even apart from this, S.'s view that the motif enters the play "as a reflex of the play's themes" is puzzling. Critics find surprising[17] the sudden reversal that consists of sympathy with the villain Eurystheus and the

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15 Kearns 1989: 51–52.

16 Visser 1982; Fontenrose 1968. The need to perpetuate hero-cult generates a sense that the hero has been harmed (and so must be propitiated). Athenian tragedy typically imagines the harm as caused by non-Athenians.

17 E.g. Wilkins 1993: 177 "surprising;" Allan 2001: "surprising development;" Zuntz 1963: 35.

demonisation of Alkmene. I have elsewhere explained in detail, and with analysis of specific passages of the *Herakleidai*, how this unexpected turn of events is a result of the fact that Euripides is elaborating a (typical) aetiological myth. As a merely dramatic motif, which S. wants it to be, the suddenly introduced enemy hero theme makes little sense, but as a (widespread) aetiological myth of hero-cult it makes perfect sense. Moreover, and even if the enemy hero theme were merely literary, to explain the sudden reversal as a "reflex of the play's themes" would require S. to show how and why the "reflex" occurs, how and why the reversal "enters" from the earlier themes of the play. This he does not attempt to do, understandably—because it would be to say the least difficult.

5. In *Medea* (1378–1383) Medea announces that she will take her dead children to the sanctuary of Hera and bury them there, so that no enemy may insult their tomb. She adds that she will found in Corinth "for the future a solemn festival (*heortē*) and rituals (*telē*) in return for this impious killing."

In a tradition attested in several late texts it is not Medea but the Corinthians who kill her children. S. gives two reasons for there being "no doubt" that the *aition* in the *Medea* is invented by Euripides. The first is that "even ancient sources like Parmeniskos and Ailianos say so."

But Parmeniskos and Ailianos[18] maintain the tradition that the Corinthians killed the children, and so naturally infer (how could they know?) that it was Euripides who transferred the murder to Medea. Parmeniskos in fact claims that Euripides was paid five talents by the Corinthians for doing so: are we also to believe that? (S. does not mention it). According to Didymus (cited by S.) it was the *Corinthians* who (guiltily) attributed the infanticide to Medea.

The other reason is that "it is surely inconceivable that a story of deliberate internal infanticide can ever have been the traditional or acceptable *aition* for a public cult." Why is it "surely inconceivable?" S. does not say. But Euripides conceived of it, and others may have done so too. Moreover, to imagine that some stories are just too horrific to act as *aitia* of public rituals is a misunderstanding of Greek religion. I have here no space to describe the good reasons why the horrific is so often a feature of *aitia*. In order to refute S.'s logic it suffices to cite a single one of the numerous

[18] Parmeniskos and Didymus in Σ *Med.* 264; Ael. *VH* 5. 21.

examples.[19] At Patrai the fairest couple are sacrificed every year until the Cult of Dionysos is instituted. And for intra-familial violence, consider the story of Makareus of Mitylene (Aelian *VH* 13. 2). During a sacrifice one of his sons kills the other, and is in turn killed with a brand from the altar by his mother, who is in turn killed by her husband Makareus with a *thyrsos*. Makareus confesses to his crime and is killed, but receives public honour (the narrative pretext being that he was killed illegally) and is buried according to instructions from Dionysos. In such stories, as in *Medea* (1053–1054), the children are often imagined as sacrificed, perhaps in order to represent the horrific sacrifice now replaced by good sacrifice, as in the aetiological stories of human victims being replaced by animal victims in Dionysiac sacrifices.[20]

S. does in this case offer a positive reason for Euripides' supposed invention. He calls it "the sort of perversion of ritual that we have become accustomed to recognise in tragic imagery and metaphor through the work of various scholars." Ritual is indeed frequently perverted in tragedy. In particular, this perversion frequently takes the form of ritual, which normally creates cohesion and ends well, being used as an instrument of conflict, notably within the family.

Medea's treatment of her children as sacrificial victims is a good example. What S. proposes is that her foundation of a public cult at Corinth falls into the same category. But the public cult is (supposedly) "perverted" only by virtue of being founded by Medea. There is no suggestion that it is to be, or actually was, performed for a bad reason or in a perverted form.

The point is brought out further by S.'s comparison with Klytaimestra, in Sophokles' *Elektra* (276–285), establishing ritual "to memorialise her successful murder of her husband." This is (so far as I remember) unique as a ritual of commemoration within a tragic plot. What Klytaimestra establishes, in gleeful triumph (277), are choruses and monthly sacrifices of sheep. This is indeed (fictional) perversion of ritual, to express her own wicked pleasure. But the Corinthian ritual was a fact, which not even S. tries to deny. And the Corinthians did not pervert their polis ritual in gleeful celebration of a mother's murder of her children. Indeed, as

[19] Although tragedies tend to embody the earliest aetiological myths, presumably not even S. would maintain that all horrific aetiological myths—whether in local myths of Patrai, Lesbos, or anywhere else—derive from Athenian tragedies that have otherwise sunk without trace.

[20] Dodds 1960: xix.

Medea herself says, it is for the future to be performed "*in compensation for*[21] the *impious* killing" (my emphasis). This, incidentally, indicates that the horrific functions in aetiological myth as a stimulus to perform the ritual every year. Medea's founding of the cult is a "perversion of ritual" only if the idea of the perversion of ritual is extended—far beyond its application in tragedy generally—to be almost meaningless.

However, at this point I can offer a tiny olive branch to S. Although I think it unlikely that Medea's murder of her children as an *aition* was simply invented by Euripides, I regard it as less unlikely (though I still protest at S.'s "no doubt") that Euripides was the first person to make Medea herself prescribe the cult.

6. In *Hippolytus* (1423–1430) Artemis briefly tells Hippolytus that Trozenian maidens before marriage will for ever cut their hair for him in grief and sing of him in hymns. S. accepts that Hippolytus did receive heroic worship at Trozen, but observes that "we have a fair amount of evidence for pre-marriage hair-offerings by girls, but in every case the recipient, whether goddess or heroine, is female." Therefore, according to S., Euripides invented the *aition* (as well as the cult). But there are in fact only four other known instances of pre-marriage hair-offerings, and there is no reason why at Trozen the recipient should not have been male, especially as he is as a male unique also in the intensity of his devotion to virginity (and accordingly to Artemis), which is unlikely to have been invented by Euripides.[22]

Why does Euripides ignore the existing cult for Hippolytus and invent another one? S. briefly combines what he has briefly proposed for *Herakleidai* ("reflex") and *Medea* ("irony"): "As a reflex of the play's themes . . . and as a typical example of Euripidean ritual irony, the maidens' worship makes perfect sense." This is hard to criticise because neither S. nor Euripides spells out what it means. "Reflex" and "irony" are no more specific than "perversion."[23]

7. In *Iphigeneia in Tauris* (945–960) Orestes says that when he went to Athens he was, as a matricide, avoided, and that this gave rise to the

[21] The same aetiological role is played by ἀντὶ at *Hipp.* 1423 and *Suppl.* 1187, at *IT* 1459 by ἄποινα.

[22] It is connected rather to his role as hunter: see further Burkert 1979: 111–122.

[23] Is it that whereas Hippolytus disastrously resisted the transition to marriage, the girls will (reluctantly) yield to it?

practice of each person drinking from his own pitcher (*chous*) at the Anthesteria. S. declares that this idea "does not hold water," and infers that Euripides invented it. But, once again, if Euripides maintained it, why should not others have maintained it? Indeed, the oddity of the story makes it *more* likely to be aetiological myth than something arbitrarily made up by Euripides. The logic of aetiological myth is often (to our mind) illogical in the way that the dramatic scenes written by Euripides are not. We do not even have to look beyond the Anthesteria for an example. Why was the practice of girls swinging (in a vase-painting one is being pushed on the swing by a satyr) motivated by the sad story of Erigone's hanging herself after the murder of her father Ikarios? S. regards the Orestes *aition* as incredible because "the mood of the worshipers broaching the new vintage was clearly very jolly." He admits that a few sources speak of gloom, but not with reference to the drinking. But he seems to have overlooked Walter Burkert's detailed account of the interpenetration of positive and negative elements at the festival. As Robert Parker puts it, "it has come to be generally and surely rightly believed that the mixture of fair and foul in the festival is intrinsic and uneliminable."[24] Moreover two further *aitia* that should probably be assigned to the Anthesteria both combine wine drinking with murder.[25]

He also fails to mention the other sources in which the Orestes *aition* for the individual *choes* is preserved. Notably, the account by the fourth-century BCE Athenian scholar Phanodemos (*FrGH* 25F11) is obviously not derived from Euripides, because it is put in a quite different form and most of its elements are not in Euripides. And Callimachus (fr. 178) describes an Athenian in Egypt remembering the customs of home, which include the "Orestean *Choes*." This consideration is decisive, even by itself.

8. Towards the end (1449–1461) of *Iphigeneia in Tauris* Athena founds the cult of Artemis Tauropolos at Halai on the east coast of Attica. A temple is to be built there to house her statue, and "Tauropolos" is connected by a pseudo-etymology with the Taurians (from whose land the statue has been brought) and with the "roaming (*peri<u>pol</u>*)" of Orestes.

[24] Burkert 1983: 213–247; Parker 2005: 312.

[25] One is the well-known murder of Ikarios, the other the murder of Aetolians (also introducing wine to Athens: Aelian fr. 73). Presumably S. would not want to claim that Euripides invented these too, in lost plays.

At a festival there a sword is to draw blood from the neck of a man "in compensation for" (*apoina*) the slaughter that was almost inflicted in the play by the Taurians on Orestes. S. writes that "Euripides introduces a residual human sacrifice into the cult at Halai, which he connects with Orestes, and invents the pseudo-etymology."

Euripides may of course have invented the pseudo-etymology. But why should he have invented a ritual that did not take place? S. maintains that "as we move towards the play's conclusion, the barbaric practices of the Taurians and their barbaric Artemis, more markedly foreign earlier in the play, increasingly take on an Athenian aspect as residual components of—or dark shadows round—Attic rituals." But that is of course precisely what we would expect were Euripides dramatising the existing *aition* of a barbaric, quasi-human sacrifice.

Menander *Epitrepontes* 451–457 depicts a riotous *pannuchis* at the Tauropolia, and this is—S. believes—"incompatible" with a myth of human sacrifice. Quite apart from the fact that it would ruin Menander's narrative to describe the grim elements of the festival, we have already exposed this preconception of S. apropos of the Anthesteria. Even more oddly, S. proposes that Artemis Tauropolos "sending madness" at Sophokles *Ajax* 172–178 "coheres" with the "licentiousness" of her festival. In fact the anxious chorus are expressing their fear that in her anger she has inflicted on Ajax the madness that made him slaughter the flocks!

Especially revealing is S.'s remark that "if a real ritual lay behind the *aition* it could hardly be regarded as anything other than a reflex of human sacrifice and as such a unique phenomenon in the history of Greek religion." If you assent to that "could hardly be regarded," then you will have to believe that Euripides invented the ritual, for indeed the Greeks did not practice human sacrifice. But they often *imply* it (as at Halai) in their rituals. Human sacrifice may be an aetiology for cult, a human may undergo an imaginary sacrifice, and an animal victim may be treated or even dressed as a human.[26]

9. In the very next lines (*IT* 1462–1467) Athena appoints Iphigeneia priestess at Brauron, where she is to be buried and to receive dedications of garments by women who die in childbirth. S. believes that it is

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[26] E.g., in an aetiology of an Attic coastal cult of Artemis a priest sacrifices a goat dressed up as his daughter (discussed by Parker 2005: 238–239). See also e.g. Paus. 9. 8. 2; Theophrast. ap. Porph. *Abst.* 2. 8; Aelian *NA* 12. 34; Burkert 1983: 4 n. 10, 21 n. 35; Dodds 1960: xix; Seaford 1994: 281–293.

the etymology of Iphigeneia's name (meaning strong birth) that prompts Euripides to invent an association with childbirth. And the *aition* is (once again) merely a "reflex of the plays' themes." Brauronian inventories provide abundant attestation of the dedication of garments to Artemis as offerings for childbirth, whereas in such archaeological evidence as has been published (and much has not) there is no mention of any dedication of anything (garments, building, or anything else) to Iphigeneia.[27]

Again there is the problem of Euripides' motive for inventing something that his audience knew did not exist. And the argument from archaeological silence cannot be compelling. If there was a tomb of Iphigeneia in the sanctuary, this would conform to a pattern, defined by modern scholars (tomb of mortal in cult of Olympian),[28] that Euripides would hardly be at pains to replicate even if he was conscious of it. The name "Iphigeneia" suggests an early association with childbirth, perhaps in the cave-like cleft,[29] and perhaps with progressive loss of functions to Artemis (ending as her "priestess").[30] A tomb might be regarded as an appropriate place for the garments of women who (as Euripides says) had *died* in childbirth, with the successful cases going to Artemis. If the records of dedications from the dead were kept in a single place—wherever that was—this is just one of numerous possible reasons[31] why they may all have been lost.

"Who of us," asks S., "can assert with confidence that Greek tragedians, poets who without hesitation brought gods on the stage and put words in their mouths, cannot possibly have exercised their imaginations on cults too?" But myth belongs to the distant and unknown past, whereas the social practice of polis cult is a reality experienced by the Athenians. That is why we can logically divide cults (but not myth) into real and fictitious.

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[27] S. also refers to Euphorion fr. 91 Powell (Iphigeneia's cenotaph at Brauron), and to Euripides *IA* 1442–1443: Iphigeneia says that she will have no tomb, but that Artemis' altar will be her memorial. This refers to the immediate aftermath of her sacrifice (forbidding mourning, 1437–1438, 1448), and the scene alludes to subsequent events dramatised in *IT*: Page 1934: 110.

[28] E.g. Seaford 1994: 324–325. Tomb of Iphig. at Megara: Paus. 1.43.1. At Hermione Iphigeneia and Artemis are merged: Paus. 2.35.1.

[29] But the small *hieron* at the entrance to the cave-like cleft is neither necessarily Iphigeneia's (Papadimetriou) nor necessarily the Old Temple (S.).

[30] as argued by Holinshead 1985: 425–426.

[31] Might they at some point have been thought to be polluted? Might the tomb have been re-named or even demolished? And so on.

Why would the tragedians have invented cults? Lending a non-existent cult divine authority would make sense as an attempt by the poet to persuade the Athenians to institute the cult. But S. does not propose this answer, and would have difficulty doing so. The reasons he gives are entirely *literary* ones, in terms of "reflex," "irony" and "perversion." It is unfortunate that he neither defines these terms more precisely nor cashes them out, especially as the relationship of the aitiologies to the action of the play can in fact seem remote and artificial (i.e., the opposite of what S. takes it to be).

I can see no purely literary reason for the aitiologies. But I can see excellent reasons why Euripides would want to emphasise (even at the cost of some artificiality) the significance of his drama for living cult. S. accepts Oliver Taplin's view that there is "consolation" in the "*continuous* (emphasis added) memorialisation into the present established in the tragic aitiologies," but then oddly maintains that this effect "is not achieved by pointing beyond tragedy itself." This prompts me to end where I began, with the importance of preconception. S. concludes by exhibiting his need to keep the literary imagination pure and free not only from cult but even from history: "What matters to us, twenty-four hundred years on, is what was surely the essential thing then too." Consider the enormous amount of work done here by "surely." The association of tragedy with living cult does not matter to us. So why should it have mattered to them?[32]

[32] My thanks go to Donald Mastronarde and Scott Scullion for their useful comments.

TRAGEDY AND PRIVILEGE

Rush Rehm

The "tragedy" of the title refers to drama entered as such at the City Dionysia in Athens. But "privilege," a vaguer concept, needs definition: "right, advantage, favor, or immunity specially granted to one; esp. a right held by a certain individual, group, or class, and withheld from others."[1] The word derives from the Latin, *privus* + *lex, legis*, "private law," *privilegium*—"an exceptional law, for or against any individual," as if, in a sense, the privileged operated as a law unto themselves. And yet privilege is clearly relational. Recalling the old Jewish riposte to "How are you?" "Compared to what?," we understand privileged parties only by comparing them to those with less advantage, benefit, access, resources, rights, prestige, and so on.

Some statistics may clarify our relationship to privilege, and why it warrants our attention:

> Half the world's assets are owned by 2 % of the world's adult population.
> The poorest half of the world's population holds only 1 % of the world's wealth.
> To belong to the top 1 % (roughly 37 million people, currently), you need to possess more than $ 500,000.
> Adults with more than $ 2,200 of assets are in the top half of the global wealth table. Those with more than $ 61,000 are in the top 10 %.
> North America has 6 % of the world's population, but holds 34 % of the world's wealth.
> In the U.S. the top 10 % hold 70 % of the wealth; in France 61 %; in UK 56 %; in Germany 44 %; in Japan 39 %.[2]

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[1] *Webster's New World Dictionary*, 2nd ed.

[2] World Institute for Development Economics Research of the United Nations University (UN-Wider; *Financial Times*, January 2007). Among developed nations the US ranks number 3 (after Russia and Mexico) for greatest income disparity; the number of Americans now living in poverty is 37 million, 12.7 % of the population (*Hightower Report*, July 7, 2006; US Census Bureau 2005). In the *Forbes* 400 annual list of the richest Americans, their combined wealth in 1985 was $ 238 billion (in 2005 dollars); in 2005, their combined wealth was $ 1.3 trillion, more than the GDP of Canada, and more than the GDP of Switzerland, Poland, Norway, and Greece combined (*NY Times*, Sept. 25, 2005). As of September 2006, the 60 richest Americans had an estimated $ 630 billion of wealth, up more than $ 62 billion (about 10 %) from 2005. To take one example, Larry

Those statistics speak of individual privilege based on income and economic assets; corporate privilege is no less shocking, with a decreasing share of the tax burden paid by the 250 largest US corporations, while CEO compensation and corporate profits have skyrocketed.[3] Other privileges exist—appearance, education, culture, political power—but in each of these money talks loudly, and access to them is increasingly for sale.

Privilege is clearly alive and well in today's world. How was it viewed in ancient Athens? I propose five privileged groups drawn from Homeric epic, which provided the foundation for later Greek views on the subject.[4] Using these categories as a basis, we can compare what tragedy has to say on the issue:

1. Privilege based on valor, ἀρετή, an excellence present to behold, manifest in the various ἀριστεῖα in the battle scenes of the *Iliad* and epitomized by Achilles.
2. Elite, blood- and wealth-based privilege, the aristocratic power exemplified by Agamemnon in the *Iliad*.
3. Those honored for wise, persuasive, or insightful speech, represented by the sage elders and inspired prophets.
4. Outside of those privileged for their battle courage, their bloodline and wealth, or their verbal powers, we have "everyone else:" common soldiers, charioteers, henchmen, women, children, slaves.
5. Finally, we have the poet, capable of delivering lasting *kleos* (fame) to his chosen subject.

Ellison (Oracle's founder) had a net worth in 2006 of roughly $ 16 billion. At a 10 % rate of return, he would need to spend more than $ 30 million a week ($ 183,000 an hour) on things that can't be resold simply to keep from accumulating more money than he already has (*NY Times*, March 1, 2007). Professor William Doherty's "Birthdays Without Pressure" documents birthday "excesses", including a $ 10 million party thrown for a 13-year-old in New York, including performances by Aerosmith and 50 Cent [!], and $ 10,000 gift bags for the guests (*Financial Times*, January 2007). This in a world where over one billion people have no access to clean water, and 2.6 billion people live without basic sanitation (*The Independent* [London], Nov. 10, 2006).

[3] A study by the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy found that from 2001–2003 U.S. federal corporate tax collection fell to its lowest sustained level in six decades. (*www.itepnet.org*).

[4] Scholars traditionally associate Homeric epic with aristocratic audiences, as opposed (say) to Hesiod's *Works and Days*, with concomitant differences in what constitutes privilege. Nonetheless, Homer seems a better source than Hesiod for our purposes, given the popularity of Homeric epic in classical Athens and its strong ties to tragedy.

Privilege earned by valor in battle provides the basis for Sarpedon's famous speech to Glaucus in *Iliad* 12:

> Γλαῦκε τί ἢ δὴ νῶϊ τετιμήμεσθα μάλιστα
> ἕδρῃ τε κρέασίν τε ἰδὲ πλείοις δεπάεσσιν
> ἐν Λυκίῃ, πάντες δὲ θεοὺς ὣς εἰσορόωσι,
> καὶ τέμενος νεμόμεσθα μέγα Ξάνθοιο παρ' ὄχθας
> καλὸν φυταλιῆς καὶ ἀρούρης πυροφόροιο;
> τὼ νῦν χρὴ Λυκίοισι μέτα πρώτοισιν ἐόντας
> ἑστάμεν ἠδὲ μάχης καυστείρης ἀντιβολῆσαι,
> ὄφρά τις ὧδ' εἴπῃ Λυκίων πύκα θωρηκτάων·
> οὐ μὰν ἀκλεέες Λυκίην κάτα κοιρανέουσιν
> ἡμέτεροι βασιλῆες, ἔδουσί τε πίονα μῆλα
> οἶνόν τ' ἔξαιτον μελιηδέα· ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ ἲς
> ἐσθλή, ἐπεὶ Λυκίοισι μέτα πρώτοισι μάχονται.
>
> Glaucus, you know how you and I
> Have the best cuts of meat, full cups, everybody
> Looking at us as if we were gods?
> Not to mention our estates on the Xanthus,
> Fine orchards and riverside wheat fields.
> Well, now we have to take our stand at the front,
> Where all the best fight, and face the heat of battle,
> So that many an armored Lycian will say,
> "So, they're not inglorious after all,
> Our Lycian lords who eat fat sheep
> And drink the sweetest wine. No,
> They're strong, and fight with our best." (Hom. *Il.* 12.310–321)

In this speech, Hainsworth (1993, 352) identifies "a kind of social contract: valour in exchange for honour ..." Public esteem and reward emerge in competition with others, a basic agonistic relationship that operates both on and off the battlefield.

Privilege arising from lineage, wealth, and political status is personified by Agamemnon, commander of the Greeks, "lord of Myceneae rich in gold," who wields great power, as Nestor reminds Achilles:

> μήτε σὺ Πηλείδη 'θελ' ἐριζέμεναι βασιλῆϊ
> ἀντιβίην, ἐπεὶ οὔ ποθ' ὁμοίης ἔμμορε τιμῆς
> σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεύς, ᾧ τε Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκεν.
> εἰ δὲ σὺ καρτερός ἐσσι θεὰ δέ σε γείνατο μήτηρ,
> ἀλλ' ὅ γε φέρτερός ἐστιν ἐπεὶ πλεόνεσσιν ἀνάσσει.
>
> Son of Peleus, do not hope to contend against
> A king, since never does he have the same portion of honor,
> A scepter-bearing king, to whom Zeus has given greatness.
> If you are mighty and a goddess mother gave you birth,
> Yet he is greater because he rules over more men. (Hom. *Il.* 1.277–281)

In the case of Agamemnon, however, Rose notes a "relative divorce of status and merit," forcefully expressed by Achilles when he assaults Agamemnon's undeserved privilege:

οὐ μὲν σοί ποτε ἶσον ἔχω γέρας ὁππότ' Ἀχαιοὶ
Τρώων ἐκπέρσωσ' εὖ ναιόμενον πτολίεθρον·
ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλεῖον πολυάϊκος πολέμοιο
χεῖρες ἐμαὶ διέπουσ'· ἀτὰρ ἤν ποτε δασμὸς ἵκηται,
σοὶ τὸ γέρας πολὺ μεῖζον, ἐγὼ δ' ὀλίγον τε φίλον τε
ἔρχομ' ἔχων ἐπὶ νῆας, ἐπεί κε κάμω πολεμίζων.

My honors never equal yours,
whenever we sack some wealthy Trojan stronghold—
my arms bear the brunt of the raw, savage fighting,
true, but when it comes to dividing up the plunder
the lion's share is yours, and back I go to the ships,
clutching some scrap, some pittance that I love,
when I have fought to exhaustion. (Hom. *Il.* 1.163–171)[5]

In Book 9, Achilles spurns the lavish gifts—one might say "public bribes" —that Agamemnon offers to lure him back to battle: tripods, gold, cauldrons, stallions, slave women for his use and delectation, one of Agamemnon's daughters in marriage, and a dowry of seven citadels, with all the subjects, fields, vineyards, and livestock (Hom. *Il.* 9.260–299). Achilles' rejection of Agamemnon's wealth and status supports the view that the *Iliad* challenges inherited privilege, championing in its stead the superiority of demonstrable excellence in a context of absolute—and shared—risk.[6]

The next group—wise elders, counselors, and those whose utterances are connected to the gods—garner honor and respect, although their advice may prove unwelcome or ineffective. Nestor cannot stop the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles (1.247–305); Hector ignores the wise Polydamas' advice to return behind the walls (18.249–313); Agamemnon rails at Calchas for pointing out the cause of the plague that devastates the Greek camp (1.101–120). Although we rarely find warranted criticism of wise speakers in Homer, Achilles' response to

[5] I use Robert Fagles' translations of both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

[6] Rose (1992: 103), who notes (63) that in the *Iliad* the emphasis falls "not on 'natural' transmission of wealth, power, and excellence through birth, but rather on the constant necessity to prove oneself before competing peers and jealous inferiors, and secondarily, on the constant threat of arbitrary loss of divine favor . . ."

Odysseus in Book 9 anticipates later Greek concerns about the potential duplicity of *any* speaker:

> ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κεῖνος ὁμῶς Ἀΐδαο πύλῃσιν
> ὅς χ᾽ἕτερον μὲν κεύθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴπῃ.
>
> I hate that man like death itself, who says
> One thing out loud, but hides another in his heart
>
> (Hom. *Il.* 9.312–313).

Words may not reflect intentions, the truth, or the source of their inspiration, an issue that emerges with increasing force in tragedy.

"Everyone else" includes the almost silent voices of the non-heroes in the army, the Thersites of the world. In his assault on Agamemnon's failed leadership in Book 2, this bandy-legged mongrel delivers a soldier's eye critique of the "great leader" Agamemnon, who piles up booty that others have fought and died for, his privilege an insult to those who do most of the fighting.[7] Below the common soldier are various hierarchies of ever diminishing privilege: henchmen, Trojans, foreigners, wives and children, war brides and concubines, slaves. Most significantly in the *Iliad* we meet the women of Troy, whose presence helps clarify the difference between the Greek invaders and the Trojans, who fight for their community's survival.

Perhaps the ultimate privilege in Homer lies in becoming the subject of epic poetry, which recalls and praises κλέα ἀνδρῶν ["the famous deeds of men"].[8] Attaining this κλέος reflects the competitive nature of Greek society, mirrored in the poem that delivers it (Martin 1989: 238):

> this is poetry meant to persuade, enacted in public, created by authority, in a context where authority is always up for grabs and to be won by the speaker with the best style … Homeric μῦθος [act which is a feat of memory] is inherently antagonistic [and] the poet invents incidents to overpower opposing versions. […] the *Iliad*, a poem about contest, was created *for* a contest.

As an instrument of the Muses and guarantor of κλέος (based on the quality of the poem he performs), the poet/bard himself is privileged above others, as Odysseus indicates at the court of Alcinoos:

[7] As Postlethwaite (1998) argues, Thersites' assault on Agamemnon's undeserved privilege echoes Achilles' own.

[8] Achilles is singing just such a song when the embassy arrives (Hom. *Il.* 9.189–200), and Helen predicts (*Il.* 6.375–376) that she and Paris will be the subject of song for all time to come.

κῆρυξ, τῆ δή, τοῦτο πόρε κρέας, ὄφρα φάγῃσι,
Δημοδόκῳ, καί μιν προσπτύξομαι, ἀχνύμενός περ·
πᾶσι γὰρ ἀνθρώποισιν ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἀοιδοὶ
τιμῆς ἔμμοροί εἰσι καὶ αἰδοῦς, οὕνεκ' ἄρα σφέας
οἴμας Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε, φίλησε δὲ φῦλον ἀοιδῶν.

Here, herald, take this choice cut of meat to Demodocus
so he can eat his fill—with warm regards
from a man who knows what suffering is ...
From all who walk the earth our bards deserve
esteem and awe, for the Muse herself has taught them
paths of song. She loves the breed of harpers. (Hom. *Od.* 8.477–481)

In the *Odyssey*, views about privilege—merited, unmerited, and malignant—differ somewhat from the *Iliad*. We witness a new kind of hero in Odysseus, whose valor must include debasement, deception, diplomacy, and self-control. Representing upper crust Ithacan males, the rude, dissolute, and destructive suitors seem undeserving of their social status. But we find the most radical re-thinking of privilege from Achilles, the warrior hero of the *Iliad* now in the underworld, who brushes off Odysseus' praise of his honor among the shades:

βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλῳ,
ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ᾧ μὴ βίοτος πολὺς εἴη,
ἢ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.

I would rather work as a wage slave in the land of the living–
some dirt-poor tenant farmer who struggles to keep alive–
than rule down here over all the breathless dead.
(Hom. *Od.* 11.488–491).

Let us see what fifth-century tragedy does with these epic views of privilege. Regarding esteem earned in battle, where military valor and social status are reciprocal, by the fifth century hoplite warfare has supplanted epic combat (whatever its historical reality).[9] Equality of risk, with each soldier dependent on the man to his right to guard his exposed flank, allowed for common soldiers to rise to the ranks of the honored. However, status and leadership continued to play a significant role, indicated by the cost of supplying one's own armor and by the continued importance of generals, στρατηγοί (Wheeler 1991). Introduced in the second round of Cleisthenes' democratic reforms in 501/500, a board of ten

[9] See generally Hanson (1991); on the "hoplite reform," Wheeler (1991: 132–135); on the functioning of the Athenian command, Hammond (1973: 346–394). Wees (1988) provides a valuable reappraisal of the modes and outcomes of Homeric battle.

στρατηγοί was elected each year, one from each of the ten new φυλαί ("tribes") created by the reforms of 508 / 07. Subject to public censure and annual evaluation by the prytany, the στρατηγοί reflected changing concepts of good generalship and frequently emerged as the de facto political leaders of the *polis*.

The City Dionysia formally recognized this military-based privilege during the pre-performance ceremony, where the ten generals entered the orchestra and poured libations to the gods. The fact these libations were not offered by the priest of Dionysus, or by the annually appointed archon *eponymous* who oversaw the festival, indicates high public regard for the στρατηγοί. Because the festival took place shortly before the annual election of the generals, the appearance of "incumbents" in the orchestra might have helped their chances. For example, Pericles held power in Athens as the result of his annual election to the board of generals from 443 to 429, meaning that he appeared before the crowds at the City Dionysia every spring for 15 years running.[10]

We find direct reference to the importance of electing the right στρατηγός in Euripides' *Suppliant Women*, when the Messenger praises Theseus for keeping to the limited purpose of his campaign against Thebes, namely to recover the Argive dead for burial:

> . . . παρὸν δὲ τειχέων ἔσω μολεῖν
> Θησεὺς ἐπέσχεν· οὐ γὰρ ὥς πέρσων πόλιν
> μολεῖν ἔφασκεν ἀλλ' ἀπαιτήσων νεκρούς.
> τοιόνδε τοι στρατηγὸν αἱρεῖσθαι χρεών,
> ὃς ἔν τε τοῖς δεινοῖσίν ἐστιν ἄλκιμος
> μισεῖ θ' ὑβριστὴν λαόν, ὃς πράσσων καλῶς
> ἐς ἄκρα βῆναι κλιμάκων ἐνήλατα
> ζητῶν ἀπώλεσ' ὄλβον ὧι χρῆσθαι παρῆν.
>
> The Athenians could have swept in through the gates,
> but Theseus checked them: "We didn't come to destroy
> the city," he cried, "but to rescue the dead."
> That's the kind of general we should elect,
> a tower of strength in the midst of terrors
> who hates the arrogant mob which, when it prospers,
> tries to climb the ladder's highest rung,
> only to wreck the good fortune that lay in its grasp.
>
> (Eur. *Supp*. 723–730)

[10] Plut. *Per*. 16.3, Ober (1989: 86–93), and Develin, 1989: 49.

The Messenger defines military valor in a way that joins courage with wisdom and restraint, the kind of general the citizens should privilege in its annual voting.

Tragedy also acknowledges that war, regardless of the qualities of those who fight, leaves desolation in its wake, as the Chorus in *Agamemnon* insist:

τὸ πᾶν δ᾽ ἀφ᾽ Ἕλλανος αἴας συνορμένοισι πέν-
θεια τλησικάρδιος
δόμωι ᾽ν ἑκάστου πρέπει.
πολλὰ γοῦν θιγγάνει πρὸς ἧπαρ·
οὓς μὲν γάρ ⟨τις⟩ ἔπεμψεν
οἶδεν, ἀντὶ δὲ φωτῶν
τεύχη καὶ σποδὸς εἰς ἑκά-
στου δόμους ἀφικνεῖται.
. . .
εὖ λέγοντες ἄν-
δρα τὸν μὲν ὡς μάχης ἴδρις,
τὸν δ᾽ ἐν φοναῖς καλῶς πεσόντ᾽,
ἀλλοτρίας διαὶ γυναι-
κός·

And everywhere, for those who sped
to war from the land of Greece,
a woman sits lost in grief—
home after home—
cut deep to the heart.
They know the ones they sent,
but take back—home after home—
an urn of ashes instead of a man.
. . .
"He was brave in battle . . ."
"He fell among the first . . ."
". . . for another man's wife . . ." (Aesch. *Ag.* 429–436, 446–449)

This sentiment generalizes in the great song against war in Sophocles' *Ajax*, sung by the sailors from Salamis who accompanied the protagonist to Troy:

τίς ἄρα νέατος, ἐς πότε λή-
ξει πολυπλάγκτων ἐτέων ἀριθμός,
τὰν ἄπαυστον αἰὲν ἐμοὶ δορυσσοή-
των μόχθων ἄταν ἐπάγων
ἀν τὰν εὐρώδη Τροΐαν,
δύστανον ὄνειδος Ἑλλάνων;

ὄφελε πρότερον αἰθέρα δῦ-
ναι μέγαν ἢ τὸν πολύκοινον Ἅιδαν
κεῖνος ἁνήρ, ὃς στυγερῶν ἔδειξεν ὅ-
πλων Ἕλλασιν κοινὸν Ἄρη.
ὦ πόνοι πρόγονοι πόνων·
κεῖνος γὰρ ἔπερσεν ἀνθρώπους.
. . .
τίς μοι, τίς ἔτ' οὖν τέρψις ἐπέσται;
γενοίμαν ἵν' ὑλᾶεν ἔπεστι πόντῳ
πρόβλημ' ἁλίκλυστον, ἄκραν
ὑπὸ πλάκα Σουνίου,
τὰς ἱερὰς ὅπως
προσείποιμεν Ἀθάνας.

How long? When will it end,
the final count of wandering years?
They bring on us a ceaseless blizzard
of spears and suffering
spread over the fields of Troy,
mournful shame to all the Greeks.

That man who invented war,
why didn't the sky open, or Hades
sink him in its common grave?
He showed Greeks how to fight, using common
weapons of hate, with war spawning war.
That man murdered humanity.
. . .
What joy, delight remains for us now?
If only we were at the forest headland,
approaching the sea-washed crag
of Sounion! There
we could greet again
holy Athens. (Soph. *Aj.* 1185–1198,1215–1222)

The Chorus' longing for home echoes an apparently universal desire of soldiers fighting on foreign soil. But the fact that their home is *Athens* had special relevance for the original audience, reflecting their own empire maintained by the Athenian navy. Assaulting the idea of war, the sailors in *Ajax* point to Athens in more ways than one.

As these passages suggest, military valor and conquest cut no straight path to privilege in tragedy. Consider the Chorus in *Agamemnon* (following the passage quoted above), who portray the reaction of those left alone at home:

… φθονερὸν δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἄλγος ἕρ-
πει προδίκοις Ἀτρείδαις.
οἱ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ περὶ τεῖχος
θήκας Ἰλιάδος γᾶς
εὔμορφοι κατέχουσιν, ἐχ-
θρὰ δ᾽ ἔχοντας ἔκρυψεν.

βαρεῖα δ᾽ ἀστῶν φάτις σὺν κότωι,
δημοκράντου δ᾽ ἀρᾶς τίνει χρέος·
…
τῶν πολυκτόνων γὰρ οὐκ
ἄσκοποι θεοί, κελαι-
ναὶ δ᾽ Ἐρινύες χρόνωι
τυχηρὸν ὄντ᾽ ἄνευ δίκας
παλιντυχεῖ τριβᾶι βίου
τιθεῖσ᾽ ἀμαυρόν …
… βάλλεται γὰρ ὄσσ-
οις Διόθεν κεραυνός.

Grief spreads its anger at the sons
of Atreus, those "champions of justice."
The walls of Troy like gravestones,
lovely bodies in hated soil
forever hold the land they won.
Etched with wrath, the people's voice
utters a curse that must be paid.
…
The gods are not blind
to the killers of many.
In time the Furies grind them down,
those who prosper unjustly.
…
The lightning-bolt of Zeus
strikes the tall mountains. (Aesch. *Ag.* 450–470)

The privilege formerly granted the Atreidi as war leaders has turned into the "people's" curse, supported by the gods and nature, which guarantee that the curse is fulfilled.

Let us look at the second source of privilege in Homer—lineage, status, wealth, aristocratic power—and see how it fares in tragedy. Ober (1989) develops the thesis that in democratic Athens the masses (benighted but powerful) and the elites (privileged but potentially alienated from and inimical to democracy) forged a constructive coexistence. While allowing certain privileges to continue, the δῆμος "restrained the tendency of

the educated elite to evolve into a ruling oligarchy."[11] We can see the process at work at the City Dionysia with the system of λειτουργία ("liturgies"), literally "work for the people". The city drafted wealthy citizens to serve each year as χορηγοί, paying the choruses and the production expenses (props, music, extras, scenic elements, and so on) other than the principal actors and playwrights, who were supported by the city. Some 1,165 citizens served annually in choral contests at the City Dionysia, meaning that "a substantial percentage of the citizen body was … effectively *under the pay of private individuals* … for several months every year," making liturgies attractive to wealthy citizens interested in public office.[12] The χορηγία (and other liturgies) allowed for the "filtered" display of elite privilege, in a competition directed towards the delight and instruction of those at the festival.[13]

The plays occasionally acknowledge the benefits of elite competition. Athena in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* praises her city's competitive ideology, where "the rivalry for good / is the victor for all time" [νικᾶι δ' ἀγαθῶν / ἔρις ἡμετέρα διὰ παντός (974–975)]. In a similar vein, the Chorus of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* laud the "struggle that is advantageous for the city" [τὸ καλῶς δ' ἔχον / πόλει πάλαισμα μήποτε λῦ- / σαι θεὸν αἰτοῦμαι. (879–880)]. However, tragedy also seems deeply suspicious of privilege tied to money and bloodline. The *Oresteia*, for example, focuses on a great aristocratic family, the Tantalids, only to abandon the house of Atreus at the end, turning to a more pressing subject, the future of democratic Athens. Indeed, the trilogy reveals "an inherent antagonism between the behavior of the aristocratic *oikos* and the interests of the polis and demos."[14] We catch this anti-aristocratic sentiment near the end of *Libation Bearers*, when the Chorus link the destruction of Priam's line with that of the house of Agamemnon:

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[11] Ober (1989: 191); for the two major exceptions, the oligarchic coup in 411 and the brief reign of the "thirty tyrants" in 404, see Ober (1989: 93–95), with sources.

[12] Wilson (2000: 128), who discusses how wealthy citizens drawn to public careers generally wanted to serve as *chorêgoi*, viewing this form of *noblesse oblige* as a way of garnering glory and popular acclaim. A frequent fourth-century liturgist, Demosthenes (20.108) contrasts an oligarchy, which strives for equality among the few who control the state, with "the freedom of democracy [that] is guarded by the rivalry with which good citizens compete for the rewards offered by the people." As Griffith (2000: 25) observes, "*arête* means being 'better' than others, and *philotimia* ('desire for honor') lies at the heart of almost every social interaction."

[13] We might construe these state-mandated liturgies as the "democratization of the donation system" (Ober 1989: 241–242), requiring what might once have been a gift.

[14] Rose (1992: 204); cf. Griffith (1995) on the trilogy's "aristocratic bias."

ἔμολε μὲν Δίκα Πριαμίδαις χρόνωι,
βαρύδικος ποινά·
ἔμολε δ᾽ ἐς δόμον τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος
διπλοῦς λέων, διπλοῦς Ἄρης·

On the one hand, justice came in time to the sons of Priam,
a heavy retribution; on the other hand,
there came to the house of Agamemnon
a double lion, a double god of war. (Aesch. *Cho.* 935–938)[15]

In *Agamemnon*, Aeschylus "associates virtually all the major characters with the corruption of wealth and luxury" (Rose 1992, 206). The Chorus challenges the privilege arising from such wealth:

Δίκα δὲ λάμπει μὲν ἐν
δυσκάπνοις δώμασιν,
τὸν δ᾽ ἐναίσιμον τίει·
τὰ χρυσόπαστα δ᾽ ἔδεθλα σὺν
πίνωι χερῶν παλιντρόποις
ὄμμασι λιποῦσ᾽ ὅσια †προσέβα
τοῦ†, δύναμιν οὐ σέβουσα πλού-
του παράσημον αἴνωι·

Justice shines
beneath smoky rafters
and honors the righteous life;
but the gold-bespangled halls
where there are hands unclean
she quits with eyes averted
and goes to what is holy, having no respect for
the power of wealth made counterfeit with praise.
(Aesch. *Ag.* 772–780)[16]

The trilogy tracks the trajectory of aristocratic immoderation: Paris' theft of Helen and violation of *xenia*; the sacrifice of Iphigenia; the Agamemnon-led sack of Troy; Clytemnestra's adultery with Aegisthus and murder of Agamemnon and Cassandra; earlier familial seductions and bloodletting, including the feast of Thyestes. The curse on the house of Atreus (some 17 references to Atreidai, Tantalidai, Pleisthenidae, and

[15] Aeschylus links these two great houses by the beacon fires that bind Troy to Argos; by the red tapestries spread before Agamemnon, tying the bloodshed of Troy to the bloodshed—past, imminent, and future—within the house of Atreus; and by the linguistic and thematic parallels in the perverted sacrifices of Iphigenia and Cassandra (Rehm 2002, 79–83).

[16] Tr. Lloyd-Jones, 1979. We hear similar sentiments from the Chorus at *Ag.* 367–384 and 1001–1016. As for their counter-claim (*Ag.* 750–762) that criminality, not wealth, dooms good families, see Rose (1992: 209).

Pelopidai in *Agamemnon*) continues with Orestes' matricide in *Choephori*, spurred on by his aristocratic guest-friend Pylades.[17] After celebrating the verdict of his trial in *Eumenides* (754–761), however, Orestes shifts persona, assuming the role of guarantor of an Argive-Athenian alliance (762–777). Only three years before the *Oresteia*'s premiere in 458, Athens and Argos had agreed just such a compact, apparently linked to the radical democratic reforms of 462 / 461.[18] But the most remarkable transformation in the trilogy from aristocratic excess to public interest involves the conversion of the Furies "from spirits of inherited evil, thus from a specifically aristocratic revenge ethic, into democratic inherited fear that internalizes government by law" (Rose 1992: 260).

Let us turn to our third category, those privileged for persuasive, wise, and/or inspired speech. With its polyphony of voices, Greek tragedy spends much of its time on eloquent, argumentative, impassioned, deceptive speaking. Perhaps due to its multiplicity of moods and voices, tragedy frequently suspects the motives and wisdom of its speakers, including the counselors, elders, and prophets traditionally esteemed for speaking well. As a system dependent on persuasion and propaganda, democracy is particularly prone to deceitful or misleading speakers, a flaw mercilessly exposed by the Theban Herald in Euripides' *Suppliant Women*:

> . . . πόλις γὰρ ἧς ἐγὼ πάρειμ' ἄπο
> ἑνὸς πρὸς ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ὄχλωι κρατύνεται·
> οὐδ' ἔστιν αὐτὴν ὅστις ἐκχαυνῶν λόγοις
> πρὸς κέρδος ἴδιον ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοσε στρέφει,
> τὸ δ' αὐτίχ' ἡδὺς καὶ διδοὺς πολλὴν χάριν
> ἐσαῦθις ἔβλαψ', εἶτα διαβολαῖς νέαις
> κλέψας τὰ πρόσθε σφάλματ' ἐξέδυ δίκης.
> ἄλλως τε πῶς ἂν μὴ διορθεύων λόγους
> ὀρθῶς δύναιτ' ἂν δῆμος εὐθύνειν πόλιν;
> ὁ γὰρ χρόνος μάθησιν ἀντὶ τοῦ τάχους
> κρείσσω δίδωσι. γαπόνος δ' ἀνὴρ πένης,
> εἰ καὶ γένοιτο μὴ ἀμαθής, ἔργων ὕπο
> οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο πρὸς τὰ κοίν' ἀποβλέπειν.
> ἦ δὴ νοσῶδες τοῦτο τοῖς ἀμείνοσιν,
> ὅταν πονηρὸς ἀξίωμ' ἀνὴρ ἔχηι
> γλώσσηι κατασχὼν δῆμον, οὐδὲν ὢν τὸ πρίν.

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[17] As Rose (1992: 219) concludes, "One may even sum up Aeschylus' treatment of the whole issue by saying that the family curse *is* the inherited privileged status of these wealthy, powerful aristocrats."

[18] Associated with Ephialtes, the reforms democratized the Areopagos court and severed the traditional conservative and aristocratic-friendly policy of close cooperation with Sparta, a policy linked to Kimon, whom the Athenians ostracized in 461.

> Our city is ruled by one man, not a mob.
> No one there buffets the city this way and that
> with windy boasts, all for private profit,
> quick with the soft touch and backroom favors,
> then milking the city dry, concealing old graft
> with new, ducking all prosecution. And, besides,
> if the people can't distinguish true from false,
> how can they keep the city safe on course?
> Knowledge comes with experience, not in a flash.
> Even if a peasant were not an ignorant clod,
> with all his labors, he would not have time
> to look to the common good. Indeed,
> for the upper class, it's a disease, when, fresh
> from his ditch, some dirt farmer bridles the mob
> and drives it with the witchery of his tongue. (Eur. *Supp.* 410–425)

Although an unsympathetic source, the Herald anticipates contemporary realities regarding the manipulation of the voting public. Lacking any credible evidence linking Saddam Hussein to the events of September 11, 2001, for example, the Bush administration launched a massive campaign of disinformation, which convinced over 60% of the American population to believe that Hussein was directly linked to the crime.[19] If the *dêmos* can be swayed by lies and deception, then those who control the debate have enormous power and concomitant privilege, both political and monetary.

As well as on the upstart rabble-rouser, tragedy casts doubt on those *traditionally* privileged for their speech: orators and politicians, teachers and elders, prophets and seers. We meet the cruel, heartless, but persuasive demagogue Odysseus in Euripides' *Hecuba*, *Trojan Women*, and Sophocles' *Philoctetes*. We see the crass manipulation of *logos* by Jason in *Medea*, and the casuistry of both Creon and Polyneices in *Oedipus at Colonus*. We hear versions, straight and twisted, of law court arguments, funeral orations, encomia, and political speechifying. Respected elders give counsel that is anything but wise: the self-serving, cowardly, but logical Pheres in *Alcestis*; the aged Shepherd/Tutor in Euripides' *Electra*, who cannot contain his glee when Electra unveils her ruse to lure her mother to her murder (εἰ γὰρ θάνοιμι τοῦτ' ἰδὼν ἐγώ ποτε. ["I would die happy if I could witness this!"] *El.* 663); the bloody-minded old Paidagogus in *Ion*, who persuades Creusa to poison the altar boy who is actually her son.

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[19] Chomsky 2003, 18–21; *Washington Post* Sept. 6, 2003, A1. Admittedly the Herald disparages an upstart "dirt farmer," and George W. Bush is hardly that. However, he does try to establish his ties to the soil with cowboy boots, hat, and Texas "ranch."

Those who speak for the gods also get mixed reviews in tragedy: "Keep away prophets," the Chorus say in *Agamemnon*, "they bring only fear" (ἀπὸ δὲ θεσφάτων τίς ἀγαθὰ φάτις / βροτοῖς στέλλεται; κακῶν γὰρ διαὶ / πολυεπεῖς τέχναι θεσπιωιδῶν / φόβον φέρουσιν μαθεῖν Aesch. *Ag*. 1132–135). When Teiresias refuses to answer his questions about how to save the city, Oedipus falls on his knees in supplication (πάντες σε προσκυνοῦμεν οἵδ' ἱκτήριοι. *OT* 326–327), begging the prophet to help. Prophets may tell the truth in tragedy, but time and again characters suspect them of selling their services, or of twisting their message for political ends, a view that extends to Apollo's Delphic oracle, a frequent subject of suspicion in tragedy and in Athens.[20]

Tragedy's challenge to those formerly prized for their speech reflects (in part) the important role that elites had come to play in making public arguments. Educated in rhetoric and dialectic, these "new politicians" could sway civic policy to secure their own position and power (Connor 1971). Over the course of the fifth century, tragedy increasingly suggests the dangerous effects of such rhetoric on the polis, as public speaking becomes professionalized by the law courts, by sophistic training, and by the demagogues so deftly portrayed by Thucydides, Plato, Aristophanes, and the tragedians themselves. With such energy focused on deceitful speech and its consequences, tragedy may challenge more than support what Ober (1989: 386) takes to be the basic democratic compromise:

> By granting the elite conditional privileges based on their rhetorical display, rather than inalienable legal/constitutional rights, the demos … achieved social stability and political leadership in times of crisis without losing its control of political affairs or seriously compromising its egalitarian principles.

Let us move to the fourth group, the "everyone else" of Homeric epic. As one might expect from a genre that developed with Athenian democracy, tragedy frequently esteems non-heroes. In the *Oresteia*, we note popular political resistance—via the unlikely Chorus of Argive elders—against the tyranny of Aegisthus; the institution of a court that gives citizens democratic power in the most serious legal cases; the important roles

[20] For Oedipus' later suspicion of a cabal involving Delphi, Teiresias, and Creon and the contemporary Athenian concerns it reflects, see Rehm (2002: 218 and 377–378 n. 11). The elevation of Polymnestor (blinded by Hecuba for slaying her son Polydorus in Euripides' *Hecuba*) and Eurystheus (the comparable thug in Euripides' *Heracleidai*) to the ranks of inspired speakers undercuts any sense of privilege associated with prophets, other than that of being right about an aspect of the future.

played by marginal characters (Watchman, Cassandra, the slave Chorus of *Choephori*, the Nurse); and so on. Indeed, tragedy frequently gives a sympathetic voice to a wide range of formerly ignored or marginal groups: women, slaves, foreigners, shepherds, farmers, captives, children, ghosts, nurses, soldiers, sailors, as well as prophets, heroes, kings, and nobles. In Euripides' *Medea*, for example, the protagonist describes to the Chorus of Corinthian women how unfair and difficult their situation is in a male-dominated world:

> λέγουσι δ' ἡμᾶς ὡς ἀκίνδυνον βίον
> ζῶμεν κατ' οἴκους, οἱ δὲ μάρνανται δορί,
> κακῶς φρονοῦντες· ὡς τρὶς ἂν παρ' ἀσπίδα
> στῆναι θέλοιμ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ τεκεῖν ἅπαξ.
>
> They say that we live a comfortable life at home,
> far from danger, while men go off to fight with the spear.
> Think again, fools! I would three-times rather stand
> shield-brave in battle than go through childbirth once.
> (Eur. *Med.* 248–251)

Calling attention to the real dangers of childbirth, Medea champions a new kind of hero, the woman who endures it. Her valor deserves special privilege, surpassing that due the courageous hoplite warrior.

We find similar revaluations of the poor and even of slaves in tragedy, suggested in this exchange between the Queen Deianeira and her Nurse, a domestic slave, in Sophocles' *Women of Trachis*:

> Τρ.: δέσποινα Δηάνειρα πολλὰ μέν σ' ἐγὼ
> κατεῖδον ἤδη πανδάκρυτ' ὀδύρματα
> τὴν Ἡράκλειον ἔξοδον γοωμένην·
> νῦν δ', εἰ δίκαιον τοὺς ἐλευθέρους φρενοῦν
> γνώμαισι δούλαις, κἀμὲ χρὴ φράσαι τὸ σόν·
> . . .
> Δη.: ὦ τέκνον, ὦ παῖ, κἀξ ἀγεννήτων ἄρα
> μῦθοι καλῶς πίπτουσιν· ἥδε γὰρ γυνὴ
> δούλη μέν, εἴρηκεν δ' ἐλεύθερον λόγον.
>
> N: My mistress, Deianeira, how often before
> have I seen you bewail Heracles' absence,
> weeping your heart out in grief.
> But now, if a slave may give advice
> to those who are free, then I must speak.
> . . .
> D: [to Hyllus] My son, my child, words even from the low-born
> can hit the mark. This woman here is a slave,
> but all she says is spoken by a free mind. (Soph. *Trach.* 49–53, 61–63)

Deianeira recognizes that wise counsel depends on the quality of what is said, not on the class or status of the speaker. Aristophanes makes much of Euripides' "democratizing" tragedy (Ar. *Ran.* 939–979), but the general tendency seems basic to the genre.[21]

What about the ultimate privilege in Homer, being remembered in song for τὰ κλέα, "famous deeds"? Heroes in tragedy are indeed remembered, but finding one's way into a tragedy doesn't secure the same privilege as becoming the subject of song in epic. Two examples suffice. On her way to her murder inside the palace, Aeschylus' Cassandra predicts the prospects for humans:

> ἰὼ βρότεια πράγματ'· εὐτυχοῦντα μὲν
> σκιᾶι τις ἂν πρέψειεν, εἰ δὲ δυστυχῆι,
> βολαῖς ὑγρώσσων σπόγγος ὤλεσεν γραφήν.
>
> Sad mortals. When their lives go well,
> they are no more than a shadow. But when luck runs against them,
> one stroke of a wet sponge, and the picture is gone.
> (Aesch. *Ag.* 1327–1329)

For a character with Cassandra's insight, personal glory or fame is vanity. Perhaps the trilogy in the end privileges an ideal Athens as a subject worthy of praise, making tragedy the celebration of a collective idea rather than the deeds of mythic characters competing against one another.

More intractable is the desire for fame expressed by the young Antigone in Sophocles' play of that name. Initially Antigone sees her burial of Polyneices as noble and honorable (71–77), a source of renown (86–87, 96–97). Under arrest, she defiantly challenges Creon:

> καίτοι πόθεν κλέος γ' ἂν εὐκλεέστερον
> κατέσχον ἢ τὸν αὐτάδελφον ἐν τάφῳ
> τιθεῖσα;
>
> How could I gain glory greater than the glory
> I have gained by undertaking funeral rites for my brother?
> (Soph. *Ant.* 502–504)

But in the face of imminent death, Antigone changes:

> οὐκέτι μοι τόδε λαμπάδος ἱερὸν
> ὄμμα θέμις ὁρᾶν ταλαίνᾳ·
> τὸν δ' ἐμὸν πότμον ἀδάκρυτον
> οὐδεὶς φίλων στενάζει.

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[21] Rehm (2003: esp. 87–118) develops this idea; Griffith (2000) offers a different view.

No more will I ever look on the sacred eye
of the sun. Wretch that I am,
my fate goes unwept,
and no loved one laments. (Soph. *Ant.* 879–882)[22]

Antigone dies alone, abandoned, as far as she can see, by the gods (*Ant.* 921–928), like Cassandra's picture wiped out by a wet sponge. In a play so focused on the burial of bodies, it is significant that Antigone's corpse is not even returned to the stage. Of course *we* remember Antigone, and her example has proved an inspiration to political resistance in a variety of forms (Rehm 2006). But such *kleos* is a far cry from that promised by Homer.

What about Antigone's enemy, Creon? He is the personification of privilege in the Latin sense of *privilegium*, "private law," to which I referred at the start. As his son Haimon realizes, Creon treats the city as his private property:

Κϱ. ἄλλῳ γὰϱ ἢ 'μοὶ χϱή με τῆσδ' ἄϱχειν χϑονός;
Αι. πόλις γὰϱ οὐκ ἔσϑ' ἥτις ἀνδϱός ἐσϑ' ἑνός.
Κϱ. οὐ τοῦ κϱατοῦντος ἡ πόλις νομίζεται;
Αι. καλῶς ἐϱήμης γ' ἂν σὺ γῆς ἄϱχοις μόνος.

Kr: I have to rule this land for another and not myself?
H: There is no city that belongs to a single man!
Kr: Isn't it agreed that the city belongs to its ruler?
H: You would be a good ruler over a desert. (Soph. *Ant.* 736–739)

Haimon proves prophetic, for by the play's end, Kreon is indeed desolated, bereft of his son and wife and effective rule.[23]

We've seen a marked change from Homer in whom Greek tragedy privileges, and why. Military valor, aristocratic wealth and power, persuasive and inspired speech no longer earn the esteem they once did, or if they do, the criteria that define them have altered. The tragic re-evaluation of privilege allows new voices and experiences to make their claims for honor and public reward. And the tragic poet, although clearly working in a competitive environment, offers fame beyond that of epic memory, fame that serves the ongoing struggle that was democratic Athens.

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[22] Johnston (in Patterson 2006: 179–186) reads her suicide as a strong act of defiance, but the play offers no evidence for this.

[23] Griffith (2000: 73–74) emphasizes the restoration of Creon's rule at the end of the play; cf. Rehm (2006: 189–190, 194–202, 205).

To return to our starting point, those of us privileged to study the classics (a privilege with a strong economic component, as indicated by the figures of income disparity) would do well to reflect on Greek tragedy's treatment of wealth and status. For all the ostensible democratic controls, privilege in the modern world—military, economic, aristocratic, corporate—runs amok. There may be some among us who, like the Persian Queen, pray that

> μήτε χρημάτων ἀνάνδρων πλῆθος ἐν τιμῆι σέβειν
> μήτ' ἀχρημάτοισι λάμπειν φῶς ὅσον σθένος πάρα·
>
> the light never shines on those without wealth
> with a brightness proportionate to their strength.
>
> (Aesch. *Pers.* 166–167).

But in *Persians*, as elsewhere in Greek tragedy, we learn that the light does not always privilege those who think they can control where and how it shines.

COINS AND CHARACTER IN EURIPIDES*

Mary Stieber

In Dante's *Inferno* the two prime examples of fraud are the Trojan horse and the counterfeit coin (Canto 26. 58–60, Canto 30; Durling and Martinez 576). While they occupy opposite ends of the spectrum in regards to scale, the two objects share an unfortunate trait—a troubling disparity between exterior appearance and inner reality—that justifiably earns the perpetrator of each a prominent place in hell.[1] Fraudulent representation of any sort has always been unsettling. In this spirit, counterfeit or base coinage serves as one of Euripides' favorite metaphors,[2] no doubt motivated, at least in part, by real-life monetary anxieties in Athens in the long years of the Peloponnesian war (cf. Ar. *Ran*. 718–726), during which the playwright produced the majority of his preserved works.[3] In most versions of the image, an individual expresses regret at the inability to read men's or women's characters from their outward physical appearances and the appurtenances of wealth, just as it is impossible to gauge the value of a coin by its χαρακτήρ ("stamp"), alone: The coin may in fact

* I remain grateful to Martin Cropp for warm encouragement and wise advice in the earliest stages of my ongoing investigation of Euripides and Greek art when we met at the still memorable Banff Euripides conference of 1999, organized by himself and the late Kevin Lee. As a long-time admirer and consulter of his Euripidean work, I feel honored to be included in the present project. I must also thank W.A.P. Childs, who first drew my attention to Euripides' coin metaphors many years ago. I use Diggle's OCT text of Euripides, and, for the fragments, Kannicht's *TrGF* 5; all other tragic fragments are cited from their respective *TrGF* volumes.

[1] Cf. Durling and Martinez 576–577: "Both are understood in terms of a disparity between container—external appearance or wrapping (integument, *involucrum*: the face)—and inner contents (the belly), which do not 'respond' to it (cf. 30. 54), as in a true votive offering or a genuine coin they do."

[2] On occasion, Eur. mentions or alludes to coins without metaphorical force, as at, e.g., fr. 675 (*Skirôn*) (cf. Miller 371).

[3] The official issuing of a base (bronze) token coinage by Athens in 406/05 BCE and documented at Ar. *Ran*. 718–726 (prod. 405) was admittedly too late to have been witnessed by Eur. and, furthermore, represents an exceptional occurrence; however, it must be regarded as an extreme solution to the constant threat posed by currency shortages incurred throughout the war and to conditions which had been in effect since the Spartan occupation of Decelea in 413, which cut off access to the Laureion silver mines; see Kroll 1976; Kurke 306–308, 326–327, with further references.

be fraudulent.[4] By comparison, the sign or symbol left behind by a signet ring, when intact, though of the same "class" as the device on a coin (Pl. *Plt.* 289b), is a far more secure visual guarantee of the authenticity of the marked contents, and Euripides is careful to acknowledge the differences (*IA* 155–156, *Or.* 1108, and fr. 781. 223 [*Phaethon*]).[5]

The suspicion that surface-level evidence of character and intentions, whether visual or verbal, does not necessarily always coincide with the deeper truth goes back to Homer (e.g., *Il.* 9. 312–313), and is likely to be timeless. Both with and without the actual practice of coinage as a referent (the institution of coinage in Greek lands is thought to date from the sixth century), the general sentiment is found among the lyric poets (e.g., *PMG* 889; Euenus 3 *IE*[2]); the fullest elaboration of the false coin metaphor occurs in the Theognidea (117–128 *IE*[2]).[6] Songs extolling the virtues of wine and drinking, which can render a man more honest than he might otherwise be, may also be included in this category (e.g., Alcaeus, frgs 333, 366 Lobel and Page). Similar notions based upon testing the value of metal, although not expressly coins, are voiced, for example, at Pl. *Grg.* 486d. Even among fifth-century dramatists Euripides is not alone in turning to coin imagery when there is a need for a pithy, gnomic observation about the multiple problems inherent in the subject of the "visibility" of human nature. Aeschylus employs it, with brevity, at *Ag.* 780, as a signal of counterfeit, and at *Supp.* 277–283, where "character" is reliable.[7] As well, the famous "bad bronze" simile

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[4] Körte 1929 is the most thorough semantic study of χαρακτήρ. As with other Greek nouns ending in -τήρ, the primary sense is that of a *nomen agentis* (Körte 69–74). However, the term is more commonly used both for the die or mold that is used to strike the coin and for the impression or stamp it leaves behind, although the latter sense, according to Will 234, is found "in Euripides, and seldom before him." Burkert 37–38 points to possible Near Eastern origins of the verb, χαράσσω ("to sharpen, whet, scratch, etc."), with which the noun is affiliated; noticing that "scratching" applies more properly to the activity performed on the die rather than on the coin itself, he suggests that the adoption of the term may refer back to a practice that precedes striking, presumably, of directly incising coins.

[5] Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 614–615. While the parallels between coins and seals as identifying surface markers have been emphasized (e.g., Seaford 1994: 224–225, esp. n. 139; Steiner 1994: 159–163; Kurke 116, with n. 38), the differences have not.

[6] While it has been suggested that coinage is not the referent for κίβδηλος, Kurke 54–55, with references, definitively argues otherwise.

[7] For discussion of Aesch. *Supp.* 277–283, see Kurke 320–322, who observes that the passage represents "perhaps the earliest metaphorical occurrence" of the technical term χαρακτήρ for this purpose (320); cf. Körte 74, with n. 1, who draws attention to the rarity of this usage before Aristotle, counting only fifteen occurrences.

at *Ag.* 390–393 has been taken by some to refer to base coin.[8] A more congenial home for this imagery is comedy. Two well-known examples are Aristophanes' *Ran.* 718–737, where the (mis)handling of good and bad coin is compared to the (mis)handling of good and bad citizens, and *Ach.* 517–518, where some troublesome citizens of questionable "character" come under fire for recent decision-making. While further examples from ancient literature of various periods could be cited to demonstrate the universality of the ideology,[9] it is fair to say that no other poet or playwright comes back to the coin image as frequently as Euripides, nor is any as consistently mistrusting of the stamp on a coin as he.

Euripides' fondness for the coin metaphor has not gone unobserved. In a recent book on the ideology of coinage in Archaic Greece, Leslie Kurke, reviewing literary appropriations of the coin trope, understandably limits her discussion of Euripides to a footnote (324, n. 54): "I will not consider here Euripides' uses of the image of coin, because the complexity and elaboration of this issue would require a separate chapter." Kurke (324, n. 54) also observes in passing that Euripides uses the image of the χαρακτήρ "more than any other fifth-century author." Ruth Padel (1990: 337; cf. 1992: 14), while she does not mention coins, alludes to the trope nonetheless when she remarks that, in Euripides, "no external mark can tell us what people are inside." More expansive is Shirley Barlow (1986: 83–85, with n. 25), who argues that the Euripidean preference for mistrusting χαρακτήρ represents evidence of a reversal of the values espoused in the Homeric epics, where ugliness is reliably equated with bad character, as in the case of Thersites in the *Iliad*, and youthful beauty, equally reliably, coincides with greatness (although not necessarily impeccable character), as in Achilles—an idea which survives encapsulated in the expression καλοκἀγαθός. In Euripides, on the other hand, good looks can be a deceptive index to character and can often function as a camouflage for an unattractive and untrustworthy personality. Though less often noted, the opposite may pertain, as well, as Barlow is careful to point out. Because Euripides chose to separate

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[8] Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 67–68; Thgn. 415–418, 447–452 *IE*². For discussion and references, see Fraenkel, 1950a II: 204, who, however, prefers to see the image as an allusion to bronze utensils rather than coin. The sentiments expressed at *Ag.* 838–840 which incorporate the wonderful phrase εἴδωλον σκιᾶς to characterize a false friend may also be mentioned; although the precise meaning of the lines is not certain, the intent is clear; see Denniston and Page 142–143.

[9] Kurke, passim, esp. 41–64; Steiner 1994: 55, with n. 156, 105–109.

appearances from character, in Barlow's account (1986: 85), the playwright shows himself, not implausibly, as a kind of progressive liberal who "also overturns the old idea that murderers and madmen should be publicly shunned" (as expressed at Eur. *Or*. 512–515) when, for example, he has the old man mistakenly question the character of a disfigured Orestes (Eur. *Or*. 34–37; 478–480). Simply put, in the Euripidean world view, ugly people are not necessarily bad, nor handsome people, good, and those individuals earnestly seeking to distinguish would do well to proceed forewarned.

In the most systematic analysis of the topic of coins and character in Euripides to date, Frederic Will collects and analyses the six occurrences of the term χαρακτήρ in the corpus (cf. *TLG*, s.v.), under the premise that the tragedian appears to have dealt with the concept of χαρακτήρ "more probingly" than did either of his compatriots, Aeschylus and Sophocles (238).[10] Will attempts to show how, in the hands of Euripides, the term's meaning runs the gamut from the "material" or concrete through varying degrees of metaphor or "dematerialization." In other words, in Euripides' plays, the character of χαρακτήρ vacillates between "exterior" (its etymological home) and "interior" in the matter of its locative status, presaging the term's ultimate adoption as a name for a psychological condition. While Will stops short of explicitly suggesting that the playwright is responsible for this historically consequential linguistic and semantic development, he hints that this might be the case when he points out that "the 'psychology' of the individual is frequently said to have made its way into Greek thought" by way of Euripides' plays (234). While I follow Will's reasoning for the most part, I shall part ways with him somewhat in maintaining that, in his use of χαρακτήρ, as is the case with much of his language that has a craft base,[11] Euripides never fully abandons the term's technical roots, and the fundamental principle of surface or exterior stamp must always be respected in interpreting the passages in which it or the ideas behind it appear.[12] Moreover, since Will restricts himself to occurrences of the term χαρακτήρ in what is intended as a study of the semantics of that word, he makes no attempt to assess the coin image in Euripides as a phenomenon in itself.

[10] The term appears at Aesch. *Supp*. 282 and Soph. fr. 176, where it refers to a speech pattern; cf. Körte 76 and *TLG*, s.v.

[11] As I argue at length in a manuscript in progress, *Euripides and the Language of Craft*.

[12] Körte 77 observes the fading of the "bildliche Kraft" of the term in favor of abstractions by the time of Plato.

In its most straightforward guise, the coin metaphor appears at *Med.* 516–519. It occurs at the end of Medea's bitter, angry speech to the philandering husband she confronts for the first time in the play. Jason is the target of the comparison:

> ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ χρυσοῦ μὲν ὃς κίβδηλος ᾖι
> τεκμήρι' ἀνθρώποισιν ὤπασας σαφῆ,
> ἀνδρῶν δ' ὅτωι χρὴ τὸν κακὸν διειδέναι
> οὐδεὶς χαρακτὴρ ἐμπέφυκε σώματι;
>
> O Zeus, why ever, while you provided for humans
> clear proofs of gold [coinage], on the one hand,
> which is base or fraudulent, but of men,
> on the other hand, is there no inborn stamp on the body
> by which one may distinguish the base? (Eur. *Med.* 516–519)

The practical measures which are designed to lead to "clear proofs" of a metal's purity in the fifth century, as D.M. Mastronarde points out (2002a: 257), include melting, heating, weighing, "ringing," and the use of a touchstone. If, in the best of worlds, "character," emanating naturally from within, gravitated to the surface to reveal itself as opposed to being imposed artificially by external forces from without, it could be trusted, whether it appears on a coin or a human body. Earlier in the play Medea had warned against the "injustice of the eyes" on the question of judgment of character from the opposite direction, namely, prejudging people negatively just because they look foreign (this is clear from ξένον in 222), even though they have done one no harm:

> δίκη γὰρ οὐκ ἔνεστ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς βροτῶν,
> ὅστις πρὶν ἀνδρὸς σπλάγχνον ἐκμαθεῖν σαφῶς
> στυγεῖ δεδορκώς, οὐδὲν ἠδικημένος.
>
> For there is no justice in the eyes of mortals,
> when someone, before he learns clearly
> the true character of a man, hates on sight,
> though he has not been harmed. (Eur. *Med.* 219–221)

In this case there is no image, no deployment of the term χαρακτήρ, but στυγεῖ δεδορκώς suggests all the same that a potentially untrustworthy surface configuration, which may change according to the exigencies of circumstance, has inspired the hatred. Here the word for "character"—in the modern sense of spiritual or psychological qualities, usually good—is σπλάγχνον ("gut"), to make clear that the true worth of a man lies in his deepest recesses, those parts which are invisible to the eye and unable to be "represented," that is, those parts which do not lend themselves easily to falsification. As we learn later from the chorus, an hon-

est mind must be locked and bolted (*Med.* 659–661), accessible only to the worthy.

Responding to Medea's taunts, Jason does not address the accusation of baseness; rather, as D.L. Page (111) notices, he is more concerned that he *speak* well than that he show himself to be a good man (δεῖ μ', ὡς ἔοικε, μὴ κακὸν φῦναι λέγειν, 522). But Medea undermines her husband on this matter as well: at 580–585 she asserts that she is in possession of an outlook that separates her from many mortals in recognizing that a person who speaks as a σοφός is not necessarily σοφός, in other words, that a skillful speaker may say scurrilous or specious things, and is to be trusted least of all. Such is Jason. The audience will be sympathetic, as they are reminded of Thersites, who speaks well in spite of his ugliness and bad character. There is no guarantee, however, that the words of this type of person will be heeded. For above all forms of communication, the spoken word can, and frequently does in Greek tragedy, fall victim to adjustment or embellishment, which, intended or otherwise, can lead to a disastrous misrepresentation of reality. Consequently, the truth-seeker must weigh words against other signs, including the visual, in order to ascertain the full truth of any affair.

Euripides has his players muse on a number of occasions about the signs and symptoms of good character, how it may be predicted and on what it may be predicated, ways in which, in the best of worlds, it might be ascertained merely upon sight, questions which surely must have preoccupied the playwright himself, just as in similar fashion his coeval Socrates concerned himself with whether virtue can be taught. At these moments in the plays the coin metaphor often comes into play. Here the use of the metaphor may reflect a more broad-based analogy between coinage and the community of citizens that pervaded democratic Athens. As convincingly articulated by Kurke (299–331, esp. 309–313), the ideology of Athenian citizenship was in many ways linked either overtly or discreetly with the material realities of contemporary coin production, circulation, and maintenance. In both cases, the "minting of citizens" and the minting of coins, quality control is at stake. Kurke (309–313) garners strength for her argument when, citing the relevant ancient sources, she draws an explicit connection between the customs and regulating mechanisms associated with coinage and the practice of *dokimasia*, a legal "proofing" mechanism whereby citizens were asked a series of questions designed to ascertain whether their birth, background, character, and habits rendered them suitable for public office. Even the language of the two regulatory practices was shared; both the noun δοκιμασία and

the verb from which it is derived, δοκιμάζω, as Kurke (310) points out, "were also technical terms for examining and approving coinage as legal tender (*dokimos*)."

Many of the characters put on stage by Euripides, however, would fall outside of the reach of the *dokimasia* even if democratic Athens were the setting of the plays. There is no test; quality becomes a matter of personal judgment rendered solely on the "visual" appraisal of an individual's character. Reflections on the reliability of outward signs of nobility, which on the surface may appear to be conflicting, are found in *Hecuba* and *Electra*. In the first example the coin image is invoked directly; in the second it may be inferred. Astonished at the bravery and stoic acceptance with which the youthful Polyxena faces immanent death, the chorus at *Hec.* 379–380 exclaim: δεινὸς χαρακτὴρ κἀπίσημος ἐν βροτοῖς ἐσθλῶν γενέσθαι ("Awesome is the distinguishing stamp of noble character among mortals"). The sentiments of fr. 329 (*Danaë*) may be compared:

> Φεῦ, τοῖσι γενναίοισιν ὡς ἁπανταχοῦ
> πρέπει χαρακτὴρ χρηστὸς εἰς εὐψυχίαν.
>
> Amazing, how among the well-born the surest evidence
> for bravery is conspicuous everywhere.[13] (Eur. fr. 329)

In the *Hecuba* passage the use of two technical terms associated with the stamped devices on coins, χαρακτήρ and ἐπίσημος (LSJ, s.v. ii, 1), confirms the allusion to coinage. The passage also serves as a reminder that, as Euripides himself also understood, not every χαρακτήρ on coins is misleading; most surely were not. In this case, at any rate, it is not physical appearances but demeanor, behavior, and most of all, the girl's mature-sounding words, all inner-motivated qualities, which render Polyxena's noble birth and rearing "visible" to the eye.[14] That such is the case is clear

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[13] Since we do not have the play, it would be fruitless to speculate about the sincerity of this claim or its demonstrability in the present circumstances; the φεῦ is somewhat curious (but cf. *Heracl.* 535).

[14] I would have to disagree slightly with Collard 150 (also reflected in his translation), referring to Will 1960: 235, that χαρακτήρ here "represents metaphorically the internal condition producing a standard of worth discernable externally." I do not think the distinction is that clear. Granted, in this passage (and possibly the one following [fr. 329]), in part owing to the fact that the tone of the remarks is positive, the idea of "character" as a literal "stamp" and "character" as the sum of the qualities within are conflated somewhat, but this may be helped by κἀπίσημος, which I have translated "distinguishing." It is well to remember that, as often as not, the χαρακτήρ on a coin *can* be trusted. Furthermore, that not one but two technical terms are deployed strongly suggests that Eur. intended

also in *Electra*, where Orestes, impressed upon meeting his sister's elderly husband, who, as a simple farmer is far inferior to his wife in birth and manner of life, deliberates at length on how nobility cannot be judged from surface appearances or external circumstances alone, beginning: οὐκ ἔστ' ἀκριβὲς οὐδὲν εἰς εὐανδρίαν (loosely, "Manliness leaves no clear traces," 367). The usual means of ascertaining whether virtue is or is not present in a male—noble birth, wealth, humble birth, poverty, valor in battle—fail when a poor old man shows signs of nobility. Judge a man good instead, Orestes admonishes, by the way he keeps company and his manners (τῆι δ' ὁμιλίαι βροτῶν κρινεῖτε καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν τοὺς εὐγενεῖς; *El.* 384–385; cf. Cropp 125). Again, it is his demeanor and behavior that render apparent the manly spirit.

The old man who reared Agamemnon, ever loyal to the Atreid clan, is not as reflective; he is immediately suspicious of the visibly εὐγενεῖς gentlemen, Orestes and Pylades, who emerge from the house that Electra shares with her husband. The use of, now, a third technical term, κίβδηλος ("adulterated, base, or spurious," esp. of coin; LSJ, s.v.),[15] verifies that the coin metaphor is being put to use:

> ἀλλ' εὐγενεῖς μέν, ἐν δὲ κιβδήλωι τόδε·
> πολλοὶ γὰρ ὄντες εὐγενεῖς εἰσιν κακοί.
>
> Indeed, they are well-born, but this is a
> potentially misleading thing; for many men,
> though well-born, are base, (Eur. *El.* 550–551).

The old man's intuitions are temporarily confirmed when the younger man makes a cheap joke about his advanced age (553–554).[16] The coin is reintroduced yet again as a metaphor for character-reading at Eur. *El.* 558–559. Apparently, in the process of inspecting Orestes' person for truer signs of his character, the old man has recognized him as his protégé's son. As for Orestes, he is discomfited by the unwonted scrutiny on the part of this meddlesome character who, as far as he knows, is a complete stranger. Orestes retorts:

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for us to retain the *image* of the coin in our interpretation. The doubling of coinage terms might also, in a perverse way, serve to underscore the *accuracy*, in this instance, of the "visible" evidence of character on Polyxena which, I maintain, is primarily her behavior, her "traits."

[15] The term is used literally of base coinage at Ar. *Ran.* 721. On actual counterfeiting techniques, see Kurke 54, n. 27, and 190, with further references, and Kroll 335.

[16] But see Cropp 141, who cautions that "the phrasing is not necessarily dismissive."

> τί μ' ἐσδέδορκεν ὥσπερ ἀργύρου σκοπῶν
> λαμπρὸν χαρακτῆρ';
>
> Why has he been scrutinizing me as if he is
> examining the bright device on a silver coin? (Eur. *El.* 558–559).

The use of λαμπρόν, as commentators explain, reveals that the coin being metaphorically examined is meant to be new; then, as now, uncirculated coins are the most likely to be suspected as counterfeit (Cropp 141, acknowledging Paley). Orestes, like Medea, realizes that, while outwardly evident signs are not necessarily reliable indicators of inner worth, humans are unable to resist the habit of prejudging on the basis of first impressions; this explains his annoyance. That the old man has indeed been studying Orestes' face for trustworthy marks is clear when one such mark—a scar near the eyebrow—is named by him, in response to Electra's query: ποῖον χαρακτῆρ' εἰσιδών, ὧι πείσομαι; ("What sort of mark have you seen that I will trust?," Eur. *El.* 572), which reintroduces the coin image. This boldly expressed skepticism suggests that Electra believes that most χαρακτῆρες may *not* be trusted. What began as legitimate scrutinizing for inner character soon developed, unexpectedly, into a means by which Orestes has been allowed to be identified, identification constituting a category of meaning in which outward marks, such as scars, are more normally trustworthy (cf. Hom. *Od.* 19. 390–391; Arist. *Poet.* 16).

Of all Euripides' plays *Hippolytus* is arguably the most saturated dramatically with the notion of the potential disparity between appearances and reality that is captured in the counterfeit coin image. While this is not the occasion to do full justice to the topic, several key passages relating to the motif may be pointed out. The motif appears in several guises, one of which has already been noted. Most conspicuous is the κίβδηλον used of womankind at the beginning of Hippolytus' infamous tirade against women (v. 616 ff.), language which hints immediately at the intentionally unseemly objectification of the female sex that recurs throughout the speech.[17] The term already implies falsification, but Hippolytus adds κακόν to bring home the severity of the affliction against mankind that, in this celibate young man's estimation, womankind represents. As the rant continues, at vv. 630–633, a wife is labeled an *agalma*, a statue-like object, that is, a superficial source of delight to her unfortunate husband

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[17] For an analysis of the reverberation of the motif throughout the speech and the play, from a feminist perspective, see Rabinowitz 156–159, 167, 183.

as he fits her out, like an Archaic kore, with fine clothes and expensive jewelry, draining the resources of his household in a hopeless effort to improve her. (The objectification of women is iterated again at v. 639, when, in the luckiest of households, in Hippolytus' view, a harmlessly stupid, if useless wife is "set up like a statue" [ἵδρυται, LSJ, s.v. ii] in the husband's *oikos*; cf. Barrett 280; Halleran 204.) However, the man's monetary investment is inevitably to no avail. For decking out a woman in finery is, just as the κόσμος ("adornment") of a statue, equivalent to adding καλόν to a κακίστωι. It is of the surface only and, like the device on a coin, can be a potentially misleading indicator of what lies beneath. A bad coin is a bad coin, no matter how it is marked. Equally, surface decoration will not improve any woman's character or neutralize her negative effect on the house. In her heart she remains, according to Hippolytus, a worthless and untrustworthy creature, a counterfeit human being, a corollary to the false coin mentioned at the outset of the speech. The coinage theme resurfaces in the language used by the chorus as they pray to own a flexible mind at *Hipp*. 1115: δόξα δὲ μήτ' ἀτρεκὴς μήτ' αὖ παράσημος ἐνείη ("let [my] convictions be neither rigid nor in turn counterfeit"). Although the passage does not lend itself to easy interpretation, the general sense seems clear. The chorus seem to be saying that it is better to maintain an outlook that adapts itself according to life's turn of events (μεταβαλλομένα, 1118) as opposed to one that is either unswerving, like that of Hippolytus, or insincere and fickle, like a falsely labeled coin (παράσημος, a rare word in tragedy).[18] Comparable sentiments are expressed by the nurse at *Hipp*. 261–266, though without the language of coinage. In light of the repeated use of coin imagery to express the pratfalls of a counterfeit façade in the play, Hippolytus' most infamous line, ἡ γλῶσσ' ὀμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος. ("My tongue swore, but my mind did not," *Hipp*. 612), finds its natural place. We are back to Medea's reservations about verbal language, long the medium of choice for the glibbest and most determined of falsifiers.

Two fragments of Euripides reflect the ugly-on-the-outside, beautiful-on-the-inside, trope that is embodied in the person of Socrates and figures prominently in the erotic philosophy, such as it is, of *Symposium*: The first is from *Chrysippos*:

> †γνώμη σοφός μοι† καὶ χέρ' ἀνδρείαν ἔχων
> δύσμορφος εἴην μᾶλλον ἢ καλὸς κακός.

[18] Cf. Barrett 371–372; on the rarity of the term, see Halleran 246, who cites Aesch. *Ag*. 780 as the only other instance in tragedy (cf. *TLG*. s.v.).

> Let me be misshapen but have good judgment and
> a courageous hand rather than handsome, with bad judgment
> (Eur. fr. 842)

and from the reverse perspective, in the *Oidipous*:

> νοῦν χρὴ θεᾶσθαι, νοῦν· τί τῆς εὐμορφίας
> ὄφελος, ὅταν τις μὴ φρένας καλὰς ἔχηι

> One must study the mind, the mind;
> what good is physical beauty whenever
> someone lacks a beautiful mind? (Eur. fr. 548)

These were radical ideas by the end of the fifth century. For the paradox of beauty's being only skin deep goes against one of the most basic tenets of Greek thought, as reflected in literature and in the ideally beautiful sculpted (mostly nude) men and (always dressed) women who populated sanctuaries and public places, observable by all, advertising both their moral rectitude and their accomplishments through their perfect physiques throughout the period. A beautiful woman, it must be said, presented less of a moral conundrum than a beautiful man, since all women were expected to be attractive and at any rate were second-class human beings and, moreover, bad from the start, if anything in Hippolytus' rant may be regarded as typical of his time period. A beautiful man, on the other hand, represented the best that nature had to offer. The phenomenon of Socrates, who was malformed but inexplicably in possession of a colossal intellect and exquisite inner qualities, was enough of a puzzle to classical Greeks, with their long history of beauty-worship. However, this set of incongruities would surely pale alongside the opposite combination, the beautiful, brilliant man who demonstrates bad character traits. We can only imagine how such a configuration would have distressed and perhaps even offended fifth-century Athenians, dislodging their expectations to the core. Given this likelihood, another real-life model of contradictory looks and character, even more powerful than that of Socrates, will immediately come to mind: the most confounding personality of the second half of the fifth century, Alcibiades, himself. The jarring disparities between the outward physical beauty and the questionable character and behavior of this talented but misguided man, generally regarded as the most brilliant politician of the era, in itself might have motivated his contemporaries, including Euripides, to reconsider some long-held beliefs about the correlation between what is visible on the surface and the underlying reality.

It is possible that the issue of representing character in contemporary

art (e.g. Arist. *Poet.* 1450a, *Pol.* 1340a; Xen. *Mem.* 3.10) is relatable to, and even directly inspired by, the intricate assemblage of practical and ethical conundrums associated with χαρακτήρ on coins, literally and metaphorically, which seem first to have been exploited by the fifth-century tragedians, most of all, Euripides (Körte 74; Kurke 320). Coins after all are images too, images that unfortunately lend themselves particularly well to manipulation for illegal and immoral ends by the ill-intentioned for the purposes of misleading the unwitting. However, it is logical that painting and sculpture, visual arts which are less immediately connected to commerce and, in theory at least, less subject to intentional, potentially lucrative falsification, in other words, those representational arts for which there is little or no incentive to literal counterfeit, may in fact have been tapped for an antidote.[19] Why not look to the fine artists to find ways to represent character properly, if coiners and nature itself fail to do so? Art had long been in the business of making up for nature's shortcomings. Could the artists redress what the divine "creator" did not, by finding quantifiable ways to represent character honestly and accurately *on the outside* for the benefit of mankind? In the late fifth century, when the long quest for perfect naturalism was over, such goals were viewed as well within the technical and conceptual range of the best painters and sculptors. I would like now to introduce a couple of instances in Euripides' plays where interest in the representation of character in art may be detected, and then try to argue a connection with the coin image.

The first example is from *Bacchae*, whose portrayal of the ambivalent and ambiguous nature of Dionysos is unsurpassed in surviving literature. In an examination of the unusually prominent role of spectacle (Aristotle's *opsis*) in this play, Helene Foley draws attention to the likelihood that the actor playing Dionysos wears a smiling mask, which would be rare, if not unprecedented in Greek tragedy (Foley 2003b 362; cf. Seaford 1997: 86; Dodds 131). She points specifically to the language of two lines, *Bacch.* 439 and 1021, though she does not discuss them further. They are worth a closer look. At *Bacch.* 1021 Dionysos is armed with a "smirking face" (προσώπωι γελῶντι) as he is instructed by the chorus of maenads to exact the proper punishment of Pentheus. Earlier, as the unresisting deity was "caught" by Pentheus' men to be brought before the young king, his facial character had been characterized at some length; then, too, he had laughed:

[19] Roman Republican portraiture might be cited as a particularly acute example of how character might be imposed on the face from without.

οὐκ ὠχρός, οὐδ' ἤλλαξεν οἰνωπὸν γένυν,
γελῶν δὲ καὶ δεῖν κἀπάγειν ἐφίετο

Nor did he go pale, nor even did he change [the color of] his wine-colored cheeks,
but laughing, he bid us to bind him and to lead him away . . . ,
(Eur. *Bacch.* 438–439).[20]

As I see it the multiple ironies of the Dionysian laugh are played out in full between these two descriptions.[21] While the earlier expression was intended to disarm and deflect suspicion, the later one is the smug response of a successful avenger, tinged with the mystery of evil, and better rendered "smirk."

It would be tempting to look to vases for the source of this Euripidean image, since Archaic and Classical vase painting constitutes the best source of *comparanda* for Dionysiac imagery, but vase paintings do not show a laughing or smiling Dionysos.[22] Yet in evaluating this evidence one must bear in mind that the range of expressions is much more limited in the medium of vases than in free painting, where a variety of expressions were attainable and valued. Philostratus (*Imag.* 1. 25) associates Dionysos with the personification of Laughter in an ancient painting (Seaford 1997: 186). A plastic mask-like face of Dionysos with a broad smile appears attached to the sides of a red-figure kantharos from the second quarter of the fifth century, attributed to the Foundry Painter, the model being Archaic examples of disembodied faces or masks of Dionysos used for votive or cult purposes.[23] However, it would be risky to try to distinguish this particular smile from the standard Archaic expression and attribute significance to it. It is perhaps safest to associate the vivid facial imagery of Eur. *Bacch.* 438–439 and 1021, not with images of Dionysos on vases, nor even in wall painting, since our evidence is meager, but rather with the general interest in the representation of character in contemporary painting by Polygnotus and others. It is clear that Dionysos' laughing face as portrayed in *Bacchae* is a nuanced, enigmatic, and multivalent creation that accurately reflects the disquieting charac-

[20] Seaford 1997: 186 suggests "laughing" rather than "smiling" for γελῶν. For a smiling (μειδιάων) Dionysos, commentators compare *Hymn. Hom. Bacch.* 14.

[21] Cf. Dodds 131: "It is an ambiguous smile—here [v. 439] the smile of the martyr, afterwards the smile of the destroyer (1021)."

[22] Carpenter 1997 does not discuss these passages in Eur. *Bacch.*, nor does he mention the smile or laugh as part of the god's iconography.

[23] J. Paul Getty Museum 88. AE. 150 (Carpenter, pl. 39b); on the disembodied face, Carpenter 97.

ter and behavioral patterns of this mystifying god. It is as if Euripides were searching for a way to represent visually an unusual character true to form and found it through a combination of a rare mask type and language that draws attention to it. In matching the χαρακτήρ (= the smiling mask) to the character, Euripides tries his best to make external appearances conform to internal realities, however convincing and unsettling the result.

The portrayal of character by contemporary painters may also be on the mind of Euripides in a remark he gives to Antigone at *Phoen.* 127–130. In an extended exchange in *Phoenician Women* (103–201) that takes place on the rooftop of the Theban palace, the pedagogue points out to an inquisitive Antigone each of the seven captains of the advancing Argive army. When the impressive figure of Hippomedon is identified for her, Antigone is alternately repulsed and fascinated by his demeanor (ὡς γαῦρος, ὡς φοβερὸς εἰσιδεῖν ["How haughty, how fearsome to look upon"], 127). She observes that he seems not of the human race of her own day, but instead "like to an earth-born giant" (γίγαντι γηγενέται προσόμοιος, 128). As with Ion (*Ion* 271), Hecuba (*Tro.* 687), and Hippolytus (*Hipp.* 1004–1005), we discover that Antigone owes to paintings the knowledge, in this case, of the physical appearance of the members of an antique race, when she adds, almost parenthetically, that Hippomedon is ἀστερωπὸς ⟨ὥσπερ⟩ ἐν γραφαῖσιν, ("star-bright, just as in the paintings," 129–130). The textual issues raised by the harsh hyperbaton of ἐν γραφαῖσιν, which we should expect to be in attributive position with γίγαντι, if we are reading this simile correctly, are numerous; Diggle's ὥσπερ is intended to alleviate the problem (Pearson 1909: 85).[24] Alternatively we might have expected ἀστερωπός to be in the dative, modifying γίγαντι, if that particular epithet is the point of comparison which fuels the simile. But perhaps it is easier to take all three nominative epithets, γαῦρος, φοβερός, ἀστερωπός, as indicative of what makes Hippomedon look, to Antigone's eyes, like a giant in paintings. The allusion, as commentators have agreed, is to representations of the Gigantomachy, which can be found in all media in Greek art of all periods (Pearson 1909: 85; Mastronarde 1994: 189).[25] However, the use of ἀστερωπός (literally, "star-faced") of a depicted giant

[24] A clearer, fuller discussion of this "very difficult" passage can now be found in Mastronarde 1994: 187–189. I agree with Mastronarde (op. cit. 187, n. 1) that Craik's (178) "in outline" is not justified; perhaps she is thinking of *Phoen.* 161–162.

[25] The simile at *Il.* 22. 26, where a charging Achilles is likened to a rising star, has also been associated with the image (Pearson, loc. cit.).

has puzzled some. Mastronarde (1994: 189) is on the right track when he interprets the epithet as "with dazzling visage," noting correctly that while "there is nothing particularly star-like" about giants in Greek art, "in a painting the facial expression is an obvious tool for conveying savagery, and brightness of glance is associated with the ability to inspire terror in γοργός, γοργωπός, μαρμαρωπός, etc." The last two are appropriately used of Heracles' children's faces, compared with their father's, at *HF* 131 (γοργῶπες) and of Heracles himself at *HF* 883 (μαρμαρωπός). Antigone must be able to see Hippomedon's face quite well, since she comments on its haughtiness and its *terribilità* (γαῦρος, φοβερός) in addition to its "star-like" quality (cf. Mastronarde 1994: 189.).[26]

We must also give due regard to the fact that χαρακτήρ ("character") and ἦθος ("character") in Euripides are two very different things. The deficiency which Medea regrets at *Med.* 519, that "character" is not "inborn" in the body (οὐδεὶς χαρακτὴρ ἐμπέφυκε σώματι;), may help to delineate the distinctions. Will sees significance in the use of ἐμφύω here as a signal of increasing "interiority" in the Euripidean understanding of the concept of χαρακτήρ, since the term, by way of its affiliation with the verb χαράσσω, "is originally something imposed from without."[27] But Medea is *wishing* that this were the case, not acknowledging that it is. Euripides appears to concede, through Medea's words, that "character" is not innate, that it is a superficially imposed sign and therefore meaningless as a gauge of true worth. If "character" (χαρακτήρ) were generated from within, it would be a reliable indicator of character (ἦθος). However, as things stand, it is not. As a general way to refer to traits which might add up to the modern sense of "character," ἦθος does appear on a number of occasions in Euripides. We have already encountered Eur. *El.* 385, where τοῖς ἤθεσιν ("habits of character") are one of two categories by which nobility in humans should be judged. At *Ion* 735–736 Creusa's ἤθη, evidently rendered "visible" through her words and behavior, are deemed "worthy of her worthy ancestors" by her elderly servant. At *Med.* 103–104 the nurse warns the children of Medea's ἄγριον ἦθος στυγεράν τε φύσιν / φρενὸς αὐθαδοῦς ("savage character and the hateful nature of her self-willed mindset"). At Eur. *El.* 362–363 the farmer, soon to be iden-

[26] Paley III: 125 associates the epithet ἀστρωπός (Dindorf's correction of ἀστερωπός) with Hippomedon's shield device; however, Pearson 1909: 85 rightly considers such an interpretation "untenable."

[27] Will 235, who, while acknowledging that the verb could mean either "to grow into from without" or "to grow within," prefers the latter.

tified by Orestes as a person of some quality despite his poverty and lowly status (367, discussed above), boasts of his *êthos*. On all of these occasions, where *êthos* is the issue, there is no concern expressed for validity or its lack, for representation or misrepresentation, for authenticity or counterfeit. One's *êthos*, for better or worse, is equivalent to one's character, in the modern sense of the term, and simply to have *êthos* is to have character, again, in the modern sense.

For further clarification we may return to a choral passage in *Hippolytus* introduced above. Only to be expected in a play in which the counterfeit coin image functions extensively, the distinction between χαρακτήρ and ἦθος emerges clearly when the two concepts are juxtaposed at 1115–1119:

> δόξα δὲ μήτ' ἀτρεκὴς μήτ' αὖ παράσημος
> ἐνείη,
> ῥάιδια δ' ἤθεα τὸν αὔριον μεταβαλλομένα χρόνον αἰεὶ
> βίον συνευτυχοίην.
>
> [loosely]: let the appearances[28] of [our] inner convictions be neither strictly accurate nor in turn counterfeit, but adapting readily [our] ways always for the morrow might we share lifelong good fortune.
>
> (Eur. *Hipp*. 1115–1119)

While the word χαρακτήρ does not appear, a marked substitute, παράσημος, points directly to coinage and the problems inherent in the practice of stamping, while making clear that the stamp invoked in the present context is fake as opposed to honest or accurate (ἀτρεκής), which is also regarded as not necessarily a good thing (compare the same adjective used of behavior by the nurse at *Hipp*. 262, where its pitfalls are similarly articulated). It should be noted that both ἀτρεκής and παράσημος are very rare in tragedy.[29]

An image from Pindar can help us to visualize a δόξα ἀτρεκής by putting a "face" on it, as it were. For ἀτρεκής happens to be the word used by Pindar at *Nem*. V. 18 to describe the "exact face" (πρόσωπον ... ἀτρεκές [Snell and Maehler 1987]) of every truth, in other words, the one that reflects accurately the truth of every truth, which in Pindar's view, is better for not always being displayed. I suggest that the addition

[28] Since the verses are choral, I adopt the plural in place of the grammatically correct singular throughout in order to capture the sense of συνευτυχοίην at the end of the passage. For an alternate interpretation of the verb, see Barrett 372.

[29] Halleran 246, who lists the occurrences (cf. *TLG*, s.vv.) ἀτρεκής occurs only in Eur.; to Halleran's list might be added Eur. fr. 91 (ἀτρέκεια) and fr. 315 (ἀτρεκήσασα).

of πρόσωπον in Pindar's ode may offer a way to picture what the chorus of *Hippolytus* might mean by a truthful representation of a person's ἤθεα (= ἤθη), understanding that they too are thinking of concrete external appearances rather than something abstract.[30] Pindar does not extend his image by pairing the accurate "face" with its opposite (he prefers instead to pursue his point to its logical conclusion without an image, with τὸ σιγᾶν πολλάκις, but if he had chosen to do so, he might well have opted for Euripides' word choice for "counterfeit," παράσημος. It is interesting that, in the only other occurrence of ἀτρεκής in tragedy outside of the two in *Hipp*., also in Euripides, the adjective is used in a concrete sense; at fr. 472. 8 (*Cretans*), it modifies "joints," that is, of the wooden roof beams of a temple.[31] This I think lends some support to my contention that, in pairing it with a certainly concrete term, παράσημος, Euripides aims for a visual image for ἀτρεκής as well. Thus it may be deduced that in the *Hippolytus* passage both ἀτρεκής and παράσημος are meant to imply surface treatments of character, in other words, χαρακτῆρες. The ἤθη, on the other hand, continue to reside invisibly in the depths and, while they may ebb and flow according to circumstances, in essence they remain inseparable from an individual's psyche. Thus, the chorus' sentiment is something of a *non sequitur*, in that it speaks of two, albeit inter-related aspects of human character, that is, the external, potentially fallible, visual "evidence" of it and the maintenance thereof, and the infallible, internal reality, and its maintenance.

It should now be clear that, in Euripides, χαρακτήρ is always the outward mark or sign, ἦθος, the inner quality. One is visible, the other invisible. One is subject to tampering, the other immutable. Since ἦθος is invisible, we need a reliable χαρακτήρ on the outside of each individual to alert us to the true nature of the contents. This nature did not do. The artist, on the other hand, with a wide variety of representational skills at his disposal, has the discrepancy to accomplish this task.

Nevertheless, it may well be the case that the concern for depicting character in the fine arts could be owed to the classical theater, where tragic masks came in a variety of stock expressions and colors (Pickard-Cambridge 191–196). Euripides' interest in the problem, if I am correct in adducing it, might then be attributed to a source closer to home. If this is the case then one could legitimately argue that the range of

[30] It is also possible that in itself δόξα derived from δοκέω, allows for the additional nuance of interpretation, "appearances."

[31] See the detailed commentary of Collard in Collard, Cropp, and Lee 1995: 68–69.

physiognomic traits observed by Antigone in *Phoenician Women* and the nuanced expressions of Dionysos in *Bacchae*, the two examples presented here, are merely self-referential. This conclusion, however, while perhaps the more obvious, is problematic in that it depends directly on the controversial question of whether in practice masks could be changed during the course of a play to reflect emotional responses to events.[32] Moreover, Euripides' insertion of an unmistakable clue, ἐν γραφαῖσιν, in Antigone's lines to indicate that he has paintings in mind argues against the possibility of a metadramatic allusion to theatrical masks, in the one instance, at least.

In the end it matters not whether contemporary painting or theater props were the inspiration for the passages from *Bacchae* and *Phoenician Women*, as well as the others presented above, if my argument is correct. Masks, of course, are but the canniest of falsifiers. What matters is that, one way or another, Euripides was looking to contemporary visual arts and crafts for imagery that speaks most powerfully on behalf of his pragmatic views of what constitutes an ideal world—in particular, for solutions to the conundrum of "representing" character in real life—as opposed to the verbal arts, whose solutions the playwright might have deemed too familiar, facile, and, finally, inadequate to the task. The fallibility of coinage, like the fallibility of physical appearances in the reckoning of quality in human beings, both facts of life in Classical Athens and beyond, are inescapable. Ultimately the antidote offered by the painters, developing means to depict character through calculated manipulation of facial and bodily configurations, remains a peculiarity of the still, silent world of the visual arts and cannot be co-opted on the tragic stage, where the merest of movements is recorded and "read" by the eye of the attentive audience. Thus even the best of painters would be helpless to prevent or to correct the disasters based upon misjudgment of χαρακτήρ that fuel Greek tragedy, a concession which suggests that, among the mimetic arts that flourished in ancient Greece, tragic drama was the one that drew nearest to real life.

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[32] On the unlikelihood of mask changes, Pickard-Cambridge 173–174. Barlow 1986: 95 is insightful regarding the connections between late fifth-century art, character portrayal, and the theater.

RHESUS: MYTH AND ICONOGRAPHY*

Vayos Liapis

The Trojan cycle includes a small number of exceptionally valiant warriors, notably Penthesileia, Memnon, and Eurypylus, who exemplify a distinct narrative pattern: they join the war at a late stage, they perform ἀριστεῖα, and they invariably die in action. Rhesus complies with the pattern *qua* latecomer and, reputedly, a formidable warrior; but he is otherwise a special case in that he gets killed in his sleep without ever having an opportunity to show his prowess on the battlefield.[1] This, at least, is the case in what are for us the two major configurations of the Rhesus myth, namely *Iliad* 10 (the *Doloneia*) and the tragedy of *Rhesus*, traditionally attributed to Euripides. However, late sources (mainly Homeric scholia) afford us glimpses into alternative versions of the myth, in which Rhesus seems to have fully conformed to the pattern in that he managed to inflict heavy casualties on the enemy (or came very close to doing so) before meeting his death. Before proceeding to an examination of the myth's variants, I shall give a summary of both the *Doloneia* and the *Rhesus*, with a view to bringing out similarities and differences both between them and with respect to the mythical pattern identified above.

The Doloneia

The *Doloneia*, which like *Rhesus* unfolds entirely in night-time, begins with a worried, sleepless Agamemnon summoning some of the most prominent Greek leaders to a nocturnal council (*Iliad* 10.1–193): the Trojans have advanced up to the Greek defensive moat, and are likely to attempt an attack; the Greeks must urgently take measures. On Nestor's

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* This paper is offered to Martin Cropp as a token of my gratitude and appreciation for his numerous and distinguished contributions to the study of Greek tragedy. I hope that my exploration of, *inter alia*, possible echoes of *Rhesus* in fourth-century vase-painting will be of special interest to him.

[1] See further Fenik 1964: 8–16.

proposal, Diomedes and Odysseus offer to reconnoitre into the Trojan camp in order to establish whether the enemy is minded to stay or to fall back into the city of Troy.[2] The two spies set out, and Athena indicates her favour by sending them a heron as omen (10.194–298). At the same time, Hector holds council with the Trojan leaders, and offers the best Greek chariot and pair of horses as a reward to the man who will have the courage to infiltrate the Greek camp and find out whether the Greeks are preparing to leave Troy. Dolon takes up the challenge, asking as a prize nothing less than the chariot and horses of Achilles; to which Hector readily assents (10.299–331). Dolon is intercepted by Odysseus and Diomedes, and is made to disclose not only his mission but also the location of Hector's own bivouac as well as of that of the allied troops, including Rhesus' Thracian units (designated as "newcomers," νεήλυδες [10.434], although the exact time of their arrival is never specified).[3] Having pried out of Dolon the information they sought, the Greeks behead and despoil him (10.332–464). They then proceed to slaughter Rhesus and twelve of his companions, and to steal his famous horses. Apollo, who had been watching, wakes up Rhesus' cousin Hippocoon who, apprized of the carnage, raises a clamour in the Trojan camp. Odysseus and Diomedes, now back to their own encampment, receive Nestor's praise for their feat (10.465–579).[4]

The Rhesus

The *Rhesus*, which has come down to us as part of the Euripidean *corpus* but whose paternity is notoriously a matter of dispute,[5] is modelled to

[2] In epic tradition, Odysseus and Diomedes often undertake joint action: Fenik 1964: 12–13; Hopkinson on Ov. *Met.* 13.238–254; they even undergo joint punishment in Hell in Dante, *Inf.* 26.52–63. In the *Doloneia*, however, the motivation behind this particular mission of theirs is presented in a confused and disorderly manner: see Fenik 1964: 40–41.

[3] In the Catalogue of Ships (Hom. *Il.* 2.844–845), a Thracian unit, led by Akamas and Peiroos, is mentioned among the Trojan allies; there is, of course, no mention of Rhesus yet.

[4] The *Doloneia* version is essentially rehashed in Ov. *Met.* 13.243–252, except that Ulysses there claims (evidently as a means of lending rhetorical *élan* to his speech) that it was himself who slew both Dolon and Rhesus.

[5] The most thorough attempt to defend Euripidean authorship is Ritchie 1964; important counter-arguments are offered by Fraenkel 1965. For a good overview of the controversy see Burlando 1997: 105–127. For a survey of 4th-century traits, see Kuch

a large extent on the *Doloneia*, although it also incorporates important elements from different versions of the myth (more below). The play is set on the battlefield before the Trojan citadel and takes place almost entirely at night. The Trojan army and the allied contingents have bivouacked in the open, with the Greeks encamped nearby (*Rhes*. 20–22). The previous day had ended with Hector's ἀριστεῖα and near-defeat of the Greeks, which however was prevented by nightfall (56–67); this harks back to *Iliad* 8.497–501. The play begins with an agitated chorus of Trojan guards entering to advise Hector that the Greeks have been sighted lighting fires (*Rhes*. 41–43): this may indicate that they are about to flee (cf. 53–55, 68–69).[6] This detail is a creative *remaniement* of *Iliad* 8.508–511, where, however, it is the *Trojans* who light fires throughout the plain, so that they may notice the easier any suspicious activity on the Greek side (cf. also Hom. *Iliad* 10.11 f.). All aflutter, the chorus incite Hector to sound a general alarm (*Rhes*. 23–33). The commander is all too happy to oblige (*Rhes*. 70–84) since he can hardly wait to finish off the business of crushing the Greeks which he was forced to interrupt the previous day. Presently, however, the chorus, in a clumsy *volte-face*, think better of it and urge Hector to show restraint, since it is not entirely clear that the Greeks are indeed about to escape (76–83). Hector balks at the chorus' hesitation, but is eventually forced to yield to reason when Aeneas, who comes to enquire about the turmoil obtaining in the army, points out that a night attack would be reckless (105–122). A more cautious measure, Aeneas submits, would be to send someone to spy on the Greek camp and establish what the enemy are up to (123–130). This is obviously a dangerous mission, and so Hector prudently asks for volunteers rather than issuing a direct order (*Rhes*. 149–153; cf. Hom. *Iliad* 10.302–312). The only one who is brave enough to take up the challenge is Dolon (*Rhes*. 154–155): Hector's repeated questions in 150–153—"who among those present here wants to go to the Argive ships to spy? Who wants to be this land's benefactor? Who says 'Aye'?"—imply that no other Trojan

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1993: 548–550 although it is doubtful that Rhesus is to be cast as a *miles gloriosus*. For arguments in favour of a fourth-century date, and of a production in Macedon rather than in Athens, see Liapis 2004. For arguments from the study of religion in favour of a Macedonian context see Liapis, 2007.

[6] Fleeing armies would sometimes kindle watchfires to beguile the enemy into believing that they were still in their positions. See Hdt. 4.135; Thuc. 7.80; Frontin. *Str*. 3.11.5; cf. Fantuzzi 2005: 269 n. 3; for the lighting of fires by night as a stratagem of war cf. also Polyaenus, *Strat*. 1.8; 3.9.50; Frontin. *Str*. 1.5.24, 2.12.4.

had the courage to volunteer.[7] There follows an overblown bargaining-scene in which Hector repeatedly offers potential rewards which Dolon rejects, finally to settle for nothing less than Achilles' divine horses; Hector assents, albeit confessing to having himself set his sights on the splendid animals (184–190). Before departing on his spying mission, Dolon explains that he will make a detour to his house in order to don a wolf-skin which will help him escape the enemies' notice (201–215). Both in their replies to him and in the ensuing stasimon (224–263), the chorus extol Dolon as uniquely courageous (242–252) and a paragon of military resourcefulness (206). This represents a striking departure from the Iliadic account, where Dolon is a despicable coward (Hom. *Iliad* 10.374–381, 390; cf. Hainsworth 1993 on *Il.* 10.316).

After Dolon's departure, a shepherd enters with news of a recent arrival: a stupendous Thracian contingent has just crossed Mt Ida and is approaching Troy; their leader is Rhesus, a god-like warrior attired in the most splendid armour (*Rhes.* 264–316). Although Hector is at first unimpressed by this suspiciously tardy arrival (he thinks that Rhesus had been biding his time until he was assured that the Trojans would carry the day), he is eventually persuaded to receive Rhesus (319–341). After a buoyant greeting song by the chorus, Rhesus enters only to face Hector's criticism for his delay. Rhesus explains himself, apparently to Hector's satisfaction, who then urges the newcomers to follow him to their sleeping place (388–526). Left alone in the orchestra, the chorus realize that it is time for the next shift to take up guard duty, and go away in order to wake them up.

The orchestra is left momentarily empty. Then, Odysseus and Diomedes enter (565 ff.). It transpires that they have captured and slain Dolon from whom they have also elicited the night's password; they are set on slaying Hector, and disappointed when they find his quarters empty. They decide to admit defeat and go back to their camp empty-handed (582–594), but the potential impasse is forestalled by Athena, who intervenes (595) and offers badly-needed assistance. The Greeks' plan to kill Hector

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[7] Likewise in Hom. *Il.* 10.313 no Trojan dares respond to Hector's proclamation: "thus he spoke, and all of them became hushed in silence." But if that is a sign of reluctance, it is a very indirect one; and even though in the *Doloneia* Dolon is the only one to take up the challenge, this scarcely brings out his valiance. On the contrary, later in the same book Dolon will turn out to be a base poltroon who attempts to flee and, that failing, turns green with terror and, all atremble, implores his captors to spare his life (10.354–359, 374–381, 390, 442–445). The attempt to rehabilitate Dolon as a respectable warrior is typical of the *Rhesus* author: see below in the text.

is ill-conceived, she points out; they should rather turn their murderous attentions to Rhesus. For if Rhesus survives this one night, it will be impossible to prevent him from crushing the Greeks to utter defeat (600–605). The Greeks accept the advice; they have to make haste, however, for the additional reason that at this point Alexander (Paris) is seen approaching (642 ff.). He has heard rumours to the effect that the Trojan camp has been infiltrated by Greek spies; Athena, who has taken care to appear to Alexander in Aphrodite's guise, assures him that nothing is amiss, and so Alexander goes back to his contingent. The Alexander scene is surely one of the most remarkable in Greek drama. Its dramatic superfluity is recognized even by proponents of the play's authenticity;[8] it contains an oddity impossible to parallel in classical tragedy, namely Athena's on-stage transformation into Aphrodite; and it requires in all likelihood the use of a fourth actor for Alexander's part, which would be equally unparalleled in extant tragedy.[9]

[8] Cf. e.g., Ritchie 1964: 125: "It is certainly unlike the customary technique of Euripides to introduce a character, especially so celebrated a figure of mythology as Paris, for so brief an appearance and in a part which, it must be admitted, is of no real consequence to the plot." Ritchie then tries to explain this difficulty away by arguing that Alexander "is brought in principally as a means of filling the interval required for the murder of Rhesus off stage." The idea had already been put forth by Pohlenz 1954: 471, followed (with misgivings) by Fenik 1964: 19 n. 1; it is repeated by Pöhlmann 1989: 54, and fully endorsed by Giuliani 1996: 83. But this will not do. Dramatic action does not necessarily unfold in "real time," and so the actual time required for Rhesus' murder could have been compressed into a few minutes of stage-time during which, for instance, the Chorus would have re-entered and expressed their anxiety over the suspected infiltration of their camp (cf. 675 ff.). One is tempted to speculate, after Wilamowitz (1962: 414), that the Alexander scene is there merely as a pretext for the cheap thrill of Athena's on-stage metamorphosis into Aphrodite and of the trick played on Alexander.

[9] Not everyone is happy with the idea of a fourth actor (for doxography see Ritchie 1964: 127 n. 1; Battezzato 2000: 367 n. 1), and some have argued that the scene could be performed with only three actors if the actor playing Odysseus reappeared as Alexander in a maximum of sixteen lines (626–641) only to slip back into Odysseus' costume in barely eleven lines (664–674). This "lightning-change" is unlikely in the extreme: as Battezzato (2000: 369) argues, the actor playing Alexander/Odysseus not only has to change costume and mask, he must also run from one *eisodos* to the other, since Alexander exits through *eisodos A* whereas Odysseus enters through *eisodos B*. Even if this were humanly possible, it would surely require a tremendous amount of precise coordination and sheer physical effort. I cannot see why on earth even a minimally skilled dramatist would ever submit his actor to this kind of senseless scuttle, especially since as we saw Alexander's entrance is anything but essential for the plot. Moreover, the pitch-perfect coordination required for the "lightning-change" of "Odysseus" into "Alexander" would leave significant margin for error, which no competent playwright should allow himself. The "lightning-change" idea was first introduced, as far as I can see, by Pickard-

So far the play has been generally following the *Doloneia* (with several exceptions, notably the Alexander scene), but from this point on the two texts part company. A spectacular scene ensues, in which Odysseus bursts into the orchestra with the chorus hard on his heels (675 ff.). A confrontation ensues, which all but deteriorates into a scuffle, but in the end Odysseus manages to sneak away thanks to the password he has prudently elicited from Dolon (688). While the Chorus are wondering about the identity of the obscure intruder that has disturbed the army this night, Rhesus' charioteer enters with news of his master's death. He was having unsettling dreams, he says, in which it appeared to him that wolves attacked Rhesus' horses—whereupon he woke up to realize that Rhesus and a number of his Thracian comrades had been slaughtered by unknown marauders (*Rhes.* 756–803). Hector, who has just been apprized of the dreadful news, enters in a furious mood, threatening to inflict the severest punishment on the chorus for having neglected their guard duty, thus facilitating the unknown spies' infiltrating the Trojan camp (808–819). (One cannot help marvelling at the commander's exceedingly short memory-span: Hector of all people should know that the Chorus could not have been guarding the camp since they were with him all along—indeed, this is, in effect, what the Chorus reply to defend themselves at 820–831. The dramatic mismanagement is all the more staggering insofar as it could have been easily avoided: it would have been enough for the Chorus to consist of soldiers *not* on guard duty—say, of Hector's bodyguards, who would thus have an excellent reason to remain on stage.) The charioteer accuses Hector of masterminding Rhesus' murder in order to get hold of the famous horses (833–855). Hector defends himself by pointing out his immaculate previous record and drawing attention to the fact that Dolon's alarming delay raises the suspicion that the Greeks have been up to some mischief this night: they are surely to be held responsible for Rhesus' murder too (856–865). Hector subsequently offers to have the wounded charioteer looked after in his own house, but his gesture is met with a cold refusal and renewed accusations on the Thracian's part (866–881). Things have reached a stalemate. At this critical juncture Rhesus' mother, an unnamed Muse, appears holding her son's body in her arms (890 ff.). It is Athena, the Muse reveals, who is entirely responsible for Rhesus' death (Hector is thus implicitly absolved

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Cambridge 1968: 148; alleged cases of "lightning-changes" of costume in Euripidean drama adduced by Ritchie (1964: 126–129) are effectively refuted by Battezzato 2000: 370–371.

from the charioteer's accusations). After giving an uncalled-for account of the circumstances of Rhesus' conception,[10] pointing out that she had strongly opposed Rhesus' coming to Troy (she was right, as it turns out), the Muse goes on to make an important aetiological announcement. She has come to an arrangement with Persephone, she informs us, to the effect that her son will be released from the Underworld to inhabit the caves of Mt Pangaeum, where he will act as prophet of Bacchus (972 Βάκχου προφήτης), presumably in the context of mystic cult if σεμνὸς τοῖσιν εἰδόσιν θεός refers, as it seems, to Dionysus and to the potent secret knowledge his mysteries offered their adepts.[11] The play ends on a rather hopeful note: may the coming day bring victory for the Trojans (995–996).

The "Pindar" version

From the outline of the plot of *Rhesus* given above it will be obvious that, as Bernard Fenik pointed out more than forty years ago, the *Doloneia* is only one of the play's sources. Indeed, *Rhesus* partly reflects a different version of the myth, traces of which we find in Pindar.[12] According to it, so vast was the disaster Rhesus wrought among the Greeks on a single day (presumably the day of his arrival), that Hera and Athena decided to have Diomedes and Odysseus murder him.[13] It even appears

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[10] Kitto 1977: 337 wryly criticized the description of the Muse's erotic encounter with the river Strymon which led to Rhesus' birth.

[11] Having σεμνὸς τοῖσιν εἰδόσιν θεός refer to Bacchus is concomitant with reading Βάκχου προφήτης, ὅς γε (Matthiae : ὅς τε or ὥστε mss) Παγγαίου / πέτραν ᾤκησε, in 972–973. See Diggle 1994: 320–326. Matthiae's emendation had already been admitted as a possibility by Perdrizet 1910: 27. Reading ὅς γε allows us to identify the "prophet of Bacchus" in *Rhes.* 972 with Rhesus himself. For an account of earlier disputes as to the identity of the "prophet of Bacchus" (disputes largely generated by the reading ὥστε in 972) see Rempe 1927: 28–32.

[12] Pi. fr. 262 Snell-Maehler, known to us only through a late prose summary transmitted in the ancient scholia to the *Iliad* (ΣbT *Il.* 10.435, III.93 Erbse).

[13] True, ΣbT *Il.* 10.435 (cf. n. 12) speaks only of "Diomedes and his company" (οἱ περὶ Διομήδεα) as Rhesus' killers; but this is a piece of scholiastic jargon that should be taken to mean "Diomedes and Odysseus;" cf. Hypothesis (a) Diggle to *Rhes.*, where the murderous pair are referred to now as "Odysseus and his company", now as "Diomedes and his company." In late Greek, "οἱ περὶ X" means not only "X and his entourage or associates" but may also designate, as it does here, a *pair* whose second member is left unnamed but whose existence can easily be deduced: see Radt 1980: 48–50 = Harder et al. 2002: 237–240. In ΣA *Il.* 10.435 (I.364.3–11 Dindorf), which contains a slightly more

that in the "Pindar" version—which, as has been argued,[14] is in fact likely to be an already epic/cyclic one—Athena herself descended from Olympus in order to make sure that Rhesus would be exterminated.[15] This significant detail, which is absent from the *Doloneia*,[16] makes it likely that a version close to the "Pindar" one was available to the author of *Rhesus*, who introduces an epiphany by Athena (595 ff.) at the moment when Odysseus and Diomedes, having slain Dolon, appear puzzled as to Hector's whereabouts. Another reflection of the "Pindar" version is probably to be found in Rhesus' boast that "a single day" is all that he will need in order to crush the Greeks into utter submission (*Rhes.* 447–450).[17]

The "oracle" version

There is however yet another version of the myth that has found its way, partially again, into *Rhesus*. In this version, also transmitted in the ancient scholia to the *Iliad*,[18] Rhesus arrived in Troy at night (νυκτὸς παραγεγονέναι as in *Rhes.*; this is left unclear in *Iliad* 10) but was killed before he could drink of the country's water, which according to an oracle would render him invincible. Invincibility could also be achieved if Rhesus' horses grazed the Trojan pastures and drank from Scamander (possibly a relic of a version in which Rhesus' horses, like Achilles' own, were magic or immortal).[19] This, in essence, is also the version we find in Vergil (*Aeneid* 1.469–473), where Diomedes is said to have slain Rhesus in order to prevent his horses from drinking and grazing at Troy. True, Vergil does not explicitly mention an oracle as the reason for Diomedes' action, but it is hard to imagine a different motive for it.[20] The core of

elaborate version of essentially the same myth (Fenik 1964: 6 n. 1), it is clear that Pindar had Odysseus also take part in the killing.

[14] See Fenik 1964: 36–37, from whom I am borrowing the term "Pindar version" (Fenik 1964: 6).

[15] Cf. ΣA *Il.* 10.435 (I.364.7–9 Dind.).

[16] As we saw, in *Il.* 10.274 Athena sends an omen to encourage the two Greek scouts as they venture into the Trojan bivouac; but she herself never appears.

[17] Fenik 1964: 26. For the "one day" motif see Mastronarde on Eur. *Phoen.* 1689.

[18] ΣA *Il.* 10.435 (I.364.11–15 Dind.); cf. Eust. *Comm. Iliad.* 817.27–29 (III.107.15–17 van der Valk).

[19] On the folk-tale motif of the magic horse cf. Uther 2004: nos. 302C*, 305, 314, 530, 761 etc.

[20] Cf. also Servius *ad Verg. Aen* 1.469 (vol. II, 218–219 ed. Harv.), with emphasis on the

the "oracle version"[21] is woven by the *Rhesus* author into 598–605, where Athena reveals that, if Rhesus survives this one night, then even the greatest Greek heroes will be unable to stop him from razing their walls to the ground and wreaking havoc in their encampment. We have no means of knowing whether the "oracle" version, like the "Pindar," also involved Athena appearing on the battlefield to aid her protégés; it is conceivable that it did.

It should be stressed that the "Pindar" and the "oracle" versions are not complementary but incompatible with each other as well as with the *Doloneia*. For whereas in the "oracle version" Rhesus is killed before he even has a chance to fight, his outstanding performance in battle is essential to the "Pindar" version. Moreover, as Fenik remarks, none of the essentials of these two versions (Rhesus' participation in combat, an oracle predicting potential invincibility, Athena's direct intervention) is reconcilable with the *Doloneia* version, although they were in all likelihood known to its author. For in the *Doloneia*, Rhesus is anything but the primary target of the Greek scouts: Odysseus and Diomedes are not even aware of his arrival, let alone of his martial prowess or of an oracle proclaiming him a potentially invulnerable opponent. As for Dolon, he is mentioned neither in the "Pindar" nor in the "oracle" version: this is hardly surprising, for Dolon's function in the narrative is to give away Rhesus' position to Odysseus and Diomedes (Hom. *Il.* 10.426–445), an unnecessary piece of information in any version in which Athena herself guided the two Greeks to Rhesus' quarters. The author of *Rhesus* has tried clumsily to combine elements both from the *Doloneia* and from the "oracle" / "Pindar" versions.[22] In the play, Odysseus and Diomedes capture and interrogate Dolon as they do in the *Doloneia*; they are, however, apprized of Rhesus' arrival not from their captive, as happens in the *Doloneia*, but from Athena herself (*Rhes.* 595 ff.); after all, Dolon had left the stage before Rhesus' arrival, and could not have been aware of it. The Dolon episode is thus rendered dramatically superfluous, and must surely be put down to slavish imitation of the *Iliad*.[23] It is irreconcilable with Athena's crucial role in the play, a role which undoubtedly reflects

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horses' grazing or drinking as a precondition for Troy's (rather than Rhesus') invincibility: . . . *abductique sunt equi quibus pendebant fata Troiana, ut, si pabulo Troiano usi essent vel de Xantho Troiae fluvio bibissent, Troia perire non posset*.

[21] Conveniently so dubbed by Fenik (1964) 6, cf. above, n. 14.

[22] Cf. Fenik 1964: 6–7, 8–17 with further considerations.

[23] Cf. Fenik 1964: 17–19, 27 with n. 1, 57.

cyclic, non-Iliadic tradition (a variant of the "Pindar" or "oracle" versions), in which Dolon was absent and thus the goddess was instrumental in guiding the Greek scouts against Rhesus.[24]

The Aethiopis

Less obvious, although still important sources for the configuration of the Rhesus myth in the *Rhesus* were, it seems, the cyclic *Aethiopis* and the *Iliad* outside the *Doloneia*—especially those sections that are likely, as neoanalysts have argued, to be modelled on the *Aethiopis*, or rather on its latter part, which is sometimes called for convenience "*Memnonis*."[25] The indebtedness of *Rhes.* to the epic cycle is particularly discernible in the similarities the play implicitly draws between Rhesus and Achilles. Both of them are offspring of divine mothers, owners of splendid horses, and unsurpassable fighters;[26] indeed, when the Messenger in *Rhes.* points out that Rhesus is certain to '"strike terror in the enemy merely by being seen" (*Rhes.* 335: φόβος γένοιτ' ἂν πολεμίοις ὀφθεὶς μόνον), he does so in a manner alluding specifically to *Il.* 18.198–199, where a similar effect is ascribed to Achilles (the Trojans will be too terrified to fight if Achilles as much as shows himself).[27] Moreover, both Rhesus and Achilles are committed to heroic ethics: Rhesus declares his unwavering commitment to heroic forthrightness (422–423, 510–511) much as Achilles famously does in *Il.* 9.309–314. Both Achilles and Rhesus die young in battle, and

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[24] Thus Fenik 1964: 18–26 (esp. 23–26).

[25] For an overview of neoanalytic arguments (and counter-arguments, for the thesis is controversial) regarding the so-called *Memnonishypothese* see Kullmann 1960: 30–47; Schadewaldt 1965: 155–202; Seaford 1994: 154–159. Most recently, it has been argued that the poet of the *Iliad* was *not* familiar with the Memnon episode that preceded the death of Achilles in the *Aethiopis*: see West 2003: 1–14, esp. 7 (with a helpful overview of the *Memnonishypothese* in its principal variants). A less radical version of this view had been put forward by Burgess 1997 who argued that, although the poet of the *Iliad* did know of the Achilles-Memnon duel in the *Aethiopis*, he did not find in it the vengeance theme that is so central in the *Iliad* (i.e., Achilles' killing of Hector to avenge Patroclus in the *Iliad* is not modelled on Achilles' killing of Memnon supposedly to avenge Antilochus in the *Aethiopis*).

[26] Horses of Achilles: Hom. *Il.* 10.320–323; 16.145–154; *Rhes.* 182–192. Horses of Rhesus: Hom. *Il.* 10.435–441; *Rhes.* 300–304. On Achilles as the best Greek warrior (a motif running through the *Iliad*), see e.g., Hom. *Il.* 9.109–118; on Rhesus' exceptional prowess cf. the "Pindar version" above, p. 279–280; also, *Rhes.* 932–933; Fenik 1964: 30.

[27] The similarity of language with the Iliadic passage is unmistakable: Τρώεσσι (corresponding to πολεμίοις here) φάνηθι (cf. ὀφθείς here), αἴ κέ σ' ὑποδδείσαντες (cf. φόβος here) ἀπόσχωνται πολέμοιο.

are lamented in similar dirges by their respective mothers—Rhesus by a Muse (*Rhes.* 890 ff.), Achilles by a Nereid (e.g., Hom. *Il.* 1.357 ff.; 18.50–77)[28] but also by the Muses in the version of his death recounted in the *Aethiopis* (see below n. 40). Both are granted special dispensations after death. In the *Aethiopis*, Achilles' body was snatched from the funeral pyre by his mother, and was conveyed to the isle of Leuke, or "White Island,"[29] where he was presumably to lead a posthumous existence and become, historically, the recipient of near-divine worship.[30] Likewise, thanks to his mother's intervention Rhesus escapes Hades to become a "man" (ἀνθρωποδαίμων), his posthumous dwelling being located on Mt Pangaeum (*Rhes.* 962–973). Moreover, in *Rhes.* 934–937 Rhesus' mother reveals that she had foreknowledge of her son's fated death at Troy, and that she had tried to prevent him from joining the war;[31] Thetis also forewarns Achilles of his imminent death (*Iliad* 1.414–418; 18.54–60, 88–96). Of course, Achilles has no direct involvement in the Rhesus story, and it has even been suggested that originally Rhesus' arrival in Troy came only after Achilles' death.[32] Despite his absence, however, Achilles looms large in *Rhesus*: there are no less than eight references or allusions to him throughout the play (e.g., 119–122, 182, 371, 461, 491, 601, 607, 974–979). It is surely against Achilles that we are encouraged to measure Rhesus; indeed, it would appear that in many respects Rhesus is cast as a serious rival to Achilles—a "new Achilles" or an "anti-Achilles."[33]

By way of postscript, be it noted that the details of Rhesus' immortalization as a prophetic ἀνθρωποδαίμων on Mt Pangaeum do not merely replicate those of Achilles' posthumous existence on Leuke. This part of the play seems to be informed by matrices of cult which flourished outside Athens and included figures (such as Orpheus, Trophonius, Amphiaraus, Zamolxis, and Aristaeus) who like Rhesus were thought to enjoy a continued existence beyond the grave, to inhabit subterranean chambers, and to deliver prophecies. The analogies between Rhesus and

[28] On the parallelisms between the two laments see Fenik 1964: 29–34.

[29] Proclus, *Chrestomathia* 199–200 Severyns = *Poetae Epici Graeci* I p. 69.21–22 Bernabé.

[30] For a recent overview of the evidence for the worship of Achilles in the Euxine, especially at Olbia and on Leuke (50 km SE of the Istros delta) see Hedreen 1991: 319–322. Still valuable is Hirst 1903: 45–48.

[31] This may or may not be an innovation by the *Rhes.* poet: see Fenik 1964: 34 with n. 4.

[32] Fenik 1964: 10, 29.

[33] On the parallelisms between Achilles and Rhesus see also Fenik 1964: 34, on whose remarks I have partly drawn; cf. more recently Michelakis 2002: 168–172.

those figures would take us beyond the scope of this paper. They are, however, set out in detail in a recent article of mine.[34]

Aeschylus' Memnon-trilogy

In all likelihood, the *Aethiopis* provided inspiration for at least three plays by Aeschylus, namely *Carians* or *Europa*, *Memnon*, and *Psychostasia* (the last two regarded by the majority of scholars as belonging to the same trilogy).[35] Accordingly, it was postulated by Rachel Aélion[36] that cyclic influence in *Rhes*. may be only indirect, i.e., through Aeschylus' Memnon-plays. This is certainly a possibility, but the relevant evidence is exceedingly slim, and Aélion had to argue her thesis almost entirely by speculation; after all, with both the *Aethiopis* and Aeschylus' Memnon-plays being as lamentably fragmentary as they are, there is no telling which one exerted a stronger influence on the author of *Rhes*. One can be reasonably certain that *Carians* or *Europa* featured Sarpedon's death, if his mother's anxious presages in fr. 99 Radt are anything to go by.[37] It is also conceivable that that play ended with a dirge over the fallen warrior and with his burial, an episode evidently modelled on Sarpedon's death and burial in *Il.* 16.419–683,[38] but conceivably also incorporating elements from the dirge for Achilles in the *Aethiopis*[39] and/or that for Patroclus in *Iliad* 18.35 ff. Regardless of the epic precedents Aeschylus may have drawn on for Europa's lament for Sarpedon in the *Carians*

[34] Liapis, 2007.

[35] See Radt, *TrGF* III, p. 114 VI.1, 2, 4, 5. That *Carians* / *Europa* also belonged to the "Memnon-trilogy" has been argued by Schmid and Stählin 1934: 189; so also Mette 1959: 259 (IV 9); Mette 1963: 108–112; points out the analogy between Europa mourning for Sarpedon in *Carians* and Eos mourning for Memnon in *Psychostasia contra* Gantz 1979: 303 n. 82; elsewhere, Gantz (1980: 220–222) speculates that the last play of the *Memnon–Psychostasia* trilogy was the *Phrygioi* (to be distinguished from Φρύγες ἢ Ἕκτορος λύτρα which is generally thought to form a trilogy with the *Myrmidones* and the *Nereides*). On the other hand, Hermann (1828: 317) posited a trilogy consisting of *Memnon*, *Nereides*, and *Psychostasia*.

[36] Aélion 1983: 44–45.

[37] The fr. is transmitted without indication of authorship in *PDidot* 7172. It has been attributed to Aeschylus' *Carians* by Blass, Bergk, and Weil (for references see Radt, *TrGF* III, p. 218); "probabilissime," according to Radt, *op. cit*., p. 217. So also, more recently, West 2000: 347–350, who attributes, however, *Europa* to Aeschylus' son Euphorion (cf. n. 43 below).

[38] Cf. Blass 1880: 86: "Der Inhalt des Stückes war der Tod und die Bestattung des Sarpedon, nach Ilias XVI."

[39] Procl. *Chrest*. 198–199 Severyns = *PEG* I 69.20–21 Bernabé.

or for Eos' dirge for Memnon in the *Psychostasia* (see below), we know that in the *Aethiopis* Thetis was joined in her lament for Achilles by *the Muses* as well as her own sisters the Nereids;[40] the detail is also preserved in *Odyssey* 24.60–62 and in Pindar's *Eighth Isthmian* 57–60. This must surely have been an obvious model for the Muse's lament of her own dead son in *Rhesus* 890 ff., regardless of the extent to which the *Rhes.* author was influenced by Aeschylus' Memnon-trilogy.

With Aeschylus' *Memnon* we find ourselves on only slightly firmer ground. In that play Memnon appeared with all the luxurious trappings habitually associated with barbarian kings in tragedy,[41] including bells on his horses' cheek-pieces (cf. Aristophanes, *Frogs* 963 Μέμνονας κωδωνοφαλαροπώλους). This *may* have influenced, as Aélion hypothesized, the description of Rhesus in *Rhes.*, in which clanging bells feature prominently among the Thracian king's accoutrements (*Rhes.* 308, 383). Moreover, Pollux informs us that the γέρανος was used for a tragic scene in which winged Eos came to snatch Memnon's body.[42] Now Pollux does not identify the play featuring the scene in question, but he may have had in mind late productions of Aeschylus' *Memnon* or more probably of his *Psychostasia* which he mentions only a couple of lines before; it is, however, almost certain that Aeschylus himself never used such machinery.[43] If a scene in which Memnon's body was removed from the pyre by his mother was included in one of Aeschylus' Memnon-plays, it is possible that Aeschylus modelled it on the *Aethiopis*,[44] where (as we saw) it was Thetis who snatched the body of Achilles from the funeral pyre, having assured for her son immortality on the island of Leuke. Aeschylus' adaptation of the *Aethiopis* scene was doubtless facilitated by the fact that, in the epic, Memnon was, like Achilles, granted immortality through his

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[40] Procl. (n. 39): καὶ Θέτις ἀφικομένη σὺν Μούσαις καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς θρηνεῖ τὸν παῖδα.

[41] Cf. Hall 1989: 80–83, 126–129, 209–210.

[42] Poll. 4.130 (*Lex. Gr.* IX.1, p. 240.14–16 Bethe).

[43] See Taplin 1977: 432–433, cf. 446 n. 2. That the hoisting up of Memnon's body by Eos occurred in the *Psychostasia*, rather than in *Memnon*, has been most recently argued by West 2000: 345–346 with n. 42, after Hermann 1839: 354. West dwells on the fact that Pollux "cites as an example of the use of the θεολογεῖον the appearance of Zeus and other gods in the *Psychostasia*, and straight afterwards, for the use of the crane, he cites Eos' raising of Memnon's body." For West, this is evidence that Pollux "associates the two scenes." (quotations from p. 346). In the same article West argues that the *Psychostasia* is really the work of Aeschylus' son Euphorion (cf. n. 37 above).

[44] Proclus, *Chrestomathia* 199–200 Severyns = *PEG* I p. 69.21–22 Bernabé. On Aeschylus' Memnon-trilogy as a dramatization of the *Aethiopis* cf. Gantz 1980: 220–222; cf. Taplin 1977: 431 (on the *Psychostasia*).

mother's pleading with Zeus,[45] and for all we know may also have been removed from the funeral pyre by his mother just as Achilles was. Moreover, if as Gantz speculates[46] Aeschylus' *Phrygioi* dramatized the death of Achilles in the wake of Memnon's demise earlier in the same trilogy (in the *Psychostasia*), then Thetis' lament for her dead son in the later play (a lament perhaps preserved partially in the rebuke against Apollo in the famous but unplaced Aeschylus fr. 350 Radt = Plato, *Republic* 383a–b)[47] would not only balance Eos' dirge for Memnon in the earlier drama, but also provide an excellent precedent for *Rhesus*, in which the Muse, in the context of her dirge for her dead son (soon to be granted immortal status), relishes in the idea that it will not be long before Thetis laments her own son too (*Rhes*. 974–979). Alluring as they may be, however, those parallelisms must remain purely conjectural. Aeschylus' influence on *Rhesus*, such as postulated by Aélion, may perhaps be there, but it cannot be documented except to an excessively limited extent. It seems much more prudent to posit the *Aethiopis* as a model both for Aeschylus' Memnon-plays and for the author of *Rhesus*.

The Rhesus myth in art

Albeit not extensive, the pictorial record is of the greatest interest to anyone exploring the reception both of the epic and of the dramatic versions of the Rhesus myth. The earliest surviving depiction is on a Chalcidian black-figure neck-amphora (550–540 BCE),[48] which shows the murder of Rhesus and of his Thracian companions by Odysseus and Diomedes. Epic influence is evident here: the total number of Thracian corpses is twelve, with Rhesus (the last one to die) as the thirteenth, just as in *Iliad* 10.495.[49] On the other hand, three mid-fourth century vases (360–340 BCE) *may* reflect, partly at least, our *Rhesus* or a play closely resembling it

[45] Procl. *Chrest*. 189–190 Severyns = *PEG* I 68–69.14–15 Bernabé.

[46] Gantz 1980: 221.

[47] See esp. Gantz 1981: 21–22.

[48] Getty Mus. 96.AE.1 = *LIMC* VIII.1, 1045 no. 1; see esp. True 1995.

[49] Cf. True 1995: 416. As True further points out (1995: 419; cf. M. True in *LIMC* VIII.1, 1046), the artist deviates from the Homeric version only in one detail, namely in having Odysseus participate in the slaughter of the Thracians: in the *Iliad*, Odysseus' role is limited to dragging aside the bodies of those killed by Diomedes, lest they frighten Rhesus' horses at the moment of their abduction (Hom. *Il*. 10.488–493). This deviation, as True suggests, may go back to a version of the myth preserved in ΣA *Il*. 10.435 (see above, n. 13), in which both Diomedes and Odysseus participated in the killing.

in its depiction of Rhesus' murder.[50] This is not to say, of course, that these vase-paintings were conceived as faithful pictorial renderings, or "illustrations," of the text or of any given performance of *Rhesus* be it Euripides' genuine play or the one we have. All I am suggesting is that our *Rhesus*, or a play that described Rhesus' death in a closely similar manner, seems to have been, directly or indirectly, a major influence on these paintings. In all three of them, the upper register is strewn with figures of Thracian soldiers, asleep or murdered; on two vases, namely the volute craters by the Darius and the Rhesus painters (see n. 50), Rhesus is either explicitly identified or otherwise singled out by means of distinctive accoutrements such as his tiara and beard. Only on the Darius crater does the upper register include Diomedes who, sword in hand, is getting ready to smite Rhesus. As for the vases' lower register, it consistently depicts Odysseus leading off two horses, but is otherwise pictorially varied: in the situla by the Lycurgus painter (see n. 50) Odysseus is accompanied by an armed Diomedes; in the crater by the Darius painter, Odysseus is alone since Diomedes, as we saw, is in the upper register; finally, in the Rhesus painter crater Odysseus is flanked by *two* unidentifiable armed men, one of whom is escaping while the other is moving toward the upper register to attack a sleeping Rhesus. Although at first sight this second figure does look as if he is a second accomplice to Odysseus, this is unlikely to reflect an otherwise unknown variant of the myth in which the murderers would be three instead of two. As Giuliani demonstrates,[51] this is probably due to the painter's awkward combination of two distinct iconographic motifs occurring independently in the other two vases, namely Diomedes attacking and Diomedes escaping. Interestingly, the Rhesus painter is the only one to include a significant detail otherwise found only in *Rhesus*, namely a single Thracian fleeing the massacre scene in

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[50] Apulian red-figure volute crater by the Rhesus painter, Staatl. Mus. Berlin V.I. 3157 = *LIMC* VIII.1, 1045 no. 3 (*c.* 350 BCE); Apulian red-figure situla by the Lycurgus painter, Mus. Naz. Naples 81863 = *LIMC* VIII.1, 1046 no. 6 (*c.* 360–350 BCE); Apulian red-figure volute crater by the Darius painter, Staatl. Mus. Berlin 1984.39 = *LIMC* VIII.1, 1045–1046 no. 4 (*c.* 340 BCE). On possible theatrical influence on these vases see Webster 1967: 167; Trendall and Webster 1971: 112–113. On the first and second vases cited above see also Trendall and Cambitoglou 1978: 441 no. 102a, 417–418 no. 18; on the third see Trendall and Cambitoglou 1991: 146 no. 17a. The most up-to-date, detailed, and judicious discussion of all three vases is Giuliani 1996: esp. 76–85 with pl. 16–20. Giuliani insists on vase-paintings not as illustrations of dramatic performances (or of epic narrative, for that matter), but as representations of mythic matrices as configured (under the influence of epic, drama, or other vehicles of myth) in a specific society at a specific point in time.

[51] Giuliani 1996: 78–79.

alarm: this corresponds to Rhesus' charioteer who, in *Rhes.* 728 ff., survives (albeit wounded, unlike his iconographic counterpart) to tell the tale of his master's murder.[52] This is not to say, however, that our *Rhesus* must have been necessarily the text the Rhesus painter had in mind; for all we know he may have been echoing the genuine, Euripidean *Rhesus* (assuming of course that he *was* illustrating one particular text rather than a generalised mythic narrative). Indeed, there is no reason why the fleeing Thracian was not already part of the genuine play: the eyewitness who survives to tell the tale of a murder is a well-known motif (especially familiar from Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*); moreover, if the eyewitness had a particular connection with the person murdered—if, for instance, he was one of Rhesus' soldiers, or even his charioteer, as in the surviving *Rhesus*—, then his desire to make the sad news as widely known as possible, even perhaps to the point of denouncing Hector as the ultimate culprit, would have had a great degree of psychological plausibility.

Echoes of our *Rhesus*—or, equally possibly, of a closely similar play, perhaps even the genuine Euripidean tragedy of the same name—are particularly discernible in the Darius painter volute crater (see again n. 50), partly described in the previous paragraph. Here, the upper register shows Rhesus (explicitly identified by the inscription ΡΗΣΟΣ) sleeping on his pallet, while Diomedes approaches him, sword in hand, under Athena's guidance; this no doubt echoes *Rhes.* 624–637, where Diomedes undertakes to kill Rhesus and his soldiers, while Athena admonishes him. To the left of the composition, a seated figure, surely the Muse, Rhesus' mother, looks on dejectedly; this is a telescoping of a later scene (*Rhes.* 890 ff.), in which the Muse laments her dead son.[53] In the lower register of the same vase, just below the seated Muse, one sees a horned, beardless young male holding a river's typical iconographic attributes, namely a shell and a reed: this is doubtless Rhesus' father, the river Strymon, referred to no less than seven times in *Rhesus*.[54] Given that, among extant sources, *Rhesus* (279, 351, 394) is the first to identify Strymon as Rhesus'

[52] The point is missed by Giuliani (1996: 79), who oddly asserts that "a decisive feature of the legend consisted precisely in the fact that none of the Thracians wakes up, none flees..." This is true neither of the *Doloneia*, where as we saw (p. 274 above) Hippocoon is woken up by Apollo, nor of the *Rhesus*.

[53] On the seated figure's identification with the Muse see Giuliani 1996: 81. On telescoping, in theatre-inspired vase-paintings, of scenes belonging to different parts of a play cf. Taplin 1997: 88.

[54] *Rhes.* 279, 351, 386, 394, 652, 920, 929. See Giuliani 1996: 81; cf. C. Weiss, *LIMC* VII.1 (1994) 815 no. 2.

father,[55] it is tempting to see here yet another echo from our play. In the same register, to Strymon's left, Odysseus is shown leading Rhesus' horses away (as in *Rhes.* 624); significantly, he seems to be wearing *kothornos*-boots, a tell-tale sign of theatrical influence.[56] Finally, in all three vases, Rhesus and his Thracian companions are dressed in elaborate Oriental garb; this is of course an iconographic *topos* (Thracian warriors are typically depicted wearing lush dress),[57] but also consistent with the Messenger's admiring report on Rhesus' sumptuous attire in *Rhes.* 301–308.

The Dolon myth in art

In his treatment of the Dolon myth, the author of *Rhesus* follows the Homeric version quite closely, although as we saw (p. 276) he attempts to rehabilitate the Iliadic poltroon as a valiant warrior. The *Rhesus* author deviates from the account of the myth in the *Doloneia* in yet another significant detail: his Dolon is fully disguised as a wolf, and even crawls on all fours (*Rhes.* 201–215), whereas in *Iliad* 10.334 he merely puts on a wolf skin as camouflage, not as a disguise.[58] But the *Rhesus* author is not innovating here: there is pictorial evidence from the early fifth century confirming that the disguise motif is traditional. An Attic cylix fragment attributed to Onesimos (*c.* 500–490 BCE) shows Dolon in tight-fitting wolf-skin as he is being arrested by Diomedes and Odysseus.[59] In a roughly contemporary red-figure Attic cup attributed to the Dokimasia painter (*c.* 490–480 BCE) Dolon, bow and arrows in hand (as in Hom.

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[55] On Strymon as Rhesus' father cf. also Apollod. 1.3.1; Heraclid. Pont. fr. 159 Wehrli; [Plut.] *De fluv.* 11.1 (VII.302 Bernardakis); Eust. *Il.* 817.26 (III.107.14 van der Valk). On Hebrus as Rhesus' father, see Servius *ad* Verg. *Aen.* I 469 (II, 218 ed. Harv.). Cf. Leaf 1915: 1; Rempe 1927: 16. In Homer Rhesus' father is Eïoneus: *Il.* 10.435. In Conon's conflated account (fable 4, p. 75 Brown: καὶ Στρυμόνος τοῦ Θρᾳκῶν βασιλεύσαντος … οὗ καὶ ὁ πάλαι / Ἠιονεὺς ποταμὸς ἐπώνυμος), the river Strymon is said to have been originally called Eïoneus.

[56] See especially on this point Taplin 1997: 74, 76, 80; cf. however the strong *caveat* offered by Pickard-Cambridge 1968: 208: "[the κόθορνος] clearly cannot have been the laced ornamental boot worn by the hero Herakles on the Pronomos vase, and there is no evidence that the word was specifically applied to the stage in the Classical period."

[57] Cf. e.g. Tsiafakis 2000: 367–369.

[58] Cf. Hainsworth 1993: on *Il.* 10.333–337. On Dolon's camouflage in the *Iliad* see also Steadman 1945: 6.

[59] The cylix is now in Paris (Cabinet des Médailles, L41): *ARV* 319.5; *LIMC* III.1, 662 no. 11; Beazley archive database no. 203220; See *imprimis* Lissarrague (1980) 8 (fig. 5), 18, 20–21; Thomson 1911; Porter 1929: xi; Ritchie 1964: 68; Fenik 1964: 59–60.

Il. 10.333), appears dressed in a wolf-skin, with the wolf's head, mouth agape, fitted around his own head, Heracles-like, exactly as described in *Rhes.* 209; he is being attacked by two men with spear and sword, presumably Odysseus and Diomedes.[60] Thirdly, an Attic black-figure oenochoe attributed to the Athena painter (*c.* 500–490 BCE) shows Odysseus and Diomedes as they capture Dolon, clad in wolf-skin, the animal's mouth agape and fitted again around his head.[61] Most impressively, an Attic red-figure lekythos of about 480–470 BCE depicts Dolon not only clad in wolf-skin but also crawling on all fours, as he does in our play.[62]

All in all then, the story of the Trojan scout who ventures into the Greek camp to spy is demonstrably older than the Persian Wars, and possibly of even greater antiquity. This important consideration is not taken into account by those critics who treat Dolon's wolf-disguise in *Rhesus* as a grotesque exaggeration meant to make Dolon appear ridiculous or undignified.[63] After all, crawling up on one's enemy on all fours under the cover of animal-skins is certain to have been actually practised by both warriors and hunters in various cultures. Musgrave drew attention to a passage in Josephus (*Jewish War* 3.192), in which messengers crawl by the enemy sentinels covered in animal skins, "so that they might be taken for dogs."[64] Similar practices are attested for native American tribes,[65] and a painting by George Catlin (1796–1872)[66] depicts precisely this method

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60 St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, ST879; *ARV* 413.23; *LIMC* III.1, 662 no. 13; Beazley archive database no. 204505. See *imprimis* Lissarrague (1980) 9–11 (figs. 6–8), 18–19, 20, 22, 24–25; cf. Brommer (1983) 30 with fig. 6. As Lissarrague points out (*art. cit.*, 20), the wolf's paws are tied around Dolon's neck, but at the same time they cover his arms: apparently, the artist intended to adapt here the iconographic type of Heracles wearing the lionskin.

61 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G251; *ABV* 527.25; Beazley archive database no. 330814; *LIMC* III.1, 662 no. 12. See Lissarrague (1980) 7 (with fig. 4), 18, 19–20, 22, 24; cf. Brommer (1983) 30 with fig. 5.

62 Louvre CA 1802. See *LIMC* III.1, 661 no. 2. The vase was first published by Lissarrague (1980) 11 (with fig. 9), 18, 20–22. Dolon is also depicted wearing animal skin over his head and back and carrying a bow on a third-century BCE (?) terracotta plaque: *LIMC* III.1, 662 no. 3. There are other depictions of Dolon clad in animal skin which are not mentioned here by reason of their relative lateness (fourth-century BCE and later).

63 Thus, already, the ancient scholiast on *Rhes.* 210 (II 331.8–9 Schwartz); cf. also Valckenaer 1767: 101–102; Beck 1780: 7–8; Hermann 1828: 285; Dindorf 1840: 576; Fenik 1964: 60 n. 3; Burnett 1985: 22; Hainsworth 1993: on *Il.* 10.334–335.

64 Musgrave as reported by Dindorf 1849: 595; cf. also Porter 1929: on *Rhes.* 210ff.; Lloyd-Jones and Lefkowitz 1987: 9–10 = Lloyd-Jones 1990a: 53–54.

65 See e.g. the report by a F.W. Newman quoted by Porter (n. 64).

66 Now at the Smithsonian American Art Museum (no. 1985.66.590); cf. F.E. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals* (London 1963) 60.

of hunting: the painter himself and his Plains Indian guide steal up on a herd of buffalos, bow in hand, covered with white wolf-skins.

As the previous paragraph indicates, misunderstandings are likely to occur so long as one fails to place *Rhesus*, or any other Greek play for that matter, in its proper context—literary, artistic, anthropological, or otherwise. Text-centered interpretations involve a high risk of impressionism, and generally do not take us very far. The task of exploring and illuminating the configurations of the Rhesus (and Dolon) myth in literature and art, a task which I have set myself in this paper, is merely one step in a long and arduous contextualization process.

BIGAMY AND BASTARDY, WIVES AND CONCUBINES: CIVIC IDENTITY IN *ANDROMACHE*[1]

Christina Vester

When the plays of Euripides were first produced, the foremost purpose of marriage was the production of children.[2] A wife in the fullest sense was a γυνὴ γαμετή, a duly married citizen who had borne a child to her husband. *Andromache* portrays two women, each partially entitled to recognition as Neoptolemus' wife: a mother, the Trojan spear-won concubine, and the legally married but childless Greek spouse. The Spartan Hermione has the authority of marriage but has yet to transition from νύμφη to γυνὴ through childbirth.[3] Although a mother, Andromache cannot legally become a γυνὴ because she is a foreign slave concubine.

The presence of the son is all important in this setting. Fantham (1986: 268) observes that "only Euripides gave Andromache a son by Neoptolemus at the time of his marriage to Hermione, thus creating the sexual triangle which leaves barren bride and fertile concubine confronting each other in his absence."[4] This dramatic situation evokes the historical issue of bigamy, formally acknowledged in the 413 BCE relaxation of Pericles' citizenship law that allowed Athenian men to beget legitimate children from two citizen women.[5] Only one of these could be a

[1] The Greek text is Diggle's.

[2] Hence the agricultural metaphor in the formula uttered by a *kurios* betrothing bride to bridegroom, "I give her to you for the cultivation of legitimate children." Cf. Oakley and Sinos 1993: 9–10.

[3] King 1983: 111–112, describes the cultural conception of the *gyne*: "In a society in which women are valued above all for their reproductive capacities, it is expected that a biological event or series of events will be used to form the entry to the category 'mature woman'. … The temporal gap between *parthenos* and *gyne* would be short; the Greek process of becoming married, extending from betrothal to the birth of the first child, would govern it and the term *nymphe* would be applied to those in the 'latent period.'" Cf. also Oakley and Sinos 1993: 10.

[4] For a survey of the mythological sources used and adapted, cf. the complete treatment of Allan 2000: 4–39, or Sorum 1995: 375–387. For a more compressed summary, Lloyd 1994: 1–3 or Stevens 1971: 1–5.

[5] For the dating, cf. Ogden 1996: 72–75. Cf. also Harrison 1968: 16–17, 68; Patterson 1981: 142–143 and Lacey 1968: 113.

wife.[6] While *Andromache* was likely written and performed before 413,[7] this does not preclude the possibility that its representation of a bigamous household anticipated the legal response to the disastrous Sicilian expedition. After all, the plague of 430/29 cut a broad swath through the male citizen body and may have suggested the inevitability—if not the practice—of acquiring legitimate offspring from two women.

Andromache, however, is not "about" bigamy.[8] Its portrayal of a troubled bigamous household directs attention to the matter of civic identity. In the contest between the Greek spouse and foreign slave concubine mother, the latter emerges victorious; Andromache makes the transition to full wife. Her son is not only accepted into a Greek *oikos* but also divinely decreed to eponymously found the line of royal Greek Molossians, despite his weak claim to inherit fully from his father.[9] In *Andromache*, enslaved foreigners become and beget Greeks and this begs the question as to how civic identity is being depicted. That a foreign queen is constructed as deserving of Greek marriage, motherhood, and perpetuating the line of the royal Aeacids will be used to argue that *Andro-*

[6] Ogden 1996: 73 asserts that this was "full bigamy." Ancient sources concur. Diogenes Laertius 2.26, states that Socrates married two women and Aulus Gellius *NA* 15.20, that Euripides had two wives. Both authors claim the Athenians held this as lawful. Neither uses a word that reflects our conception of bigamy proper, for no such ancient term exists.

[7] Ancient records do not provide production date or place. Didascalic records are incomplete. Both *hypotheses* lack this information. A scholiast on 445, our only ancient source, supplies the following: the date of *Andromache* cannot be fixed for it was not produced in Athens, Callimachus ascribes it to Democrates, and it appears to have been written at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. Internal evidence is inconclusive. Stevens 1971: 15–17, summarizes the dating discussions and concludes, "evidence of this kind is compatible with any date between 430 and 421." For a very full recent discussion of the above, cf. Allan 2000: 149–160. Cropp and Fick, 1985: 23 locate *Andromache* between 424.8 and 421.3.

[8] What *Andromache* is "about" has engendered wide-ranging responses. For an overview of the drama's design, cf. Allan 2000: 40–48. Stevens 1971: 13 concludes that "the real theme of the play is the disastrous war, its trivial origin, and its tragic aftermath." Kitto 1961: 230 suggests that *Andromache* is "not incidentally, but fundamentally, a violent attack on the Spartan mind." Conacher 1967: 175 argues for a theme of "separation, through a series of struggles, of good and evil elements." Other critics have sought to locate the play's meaning in a single character. For instance, Erbse 1967: 297 decisively concludes, "Der wirkliche Heros unseres Dramas ist eine Frau, obendrein Barbarin und rechtlose Sklavin: Könige, Königinnen und Prinzen messen sich mit ihr und unterliegen ihrer inneren Grösse, nicht nur dort, wo sie handelt, sondern auch da, wo sie schweigt oder bloss durch ihr Vorbild wirkt."

[9] In accordance with Pericles' citizenship law, he is a *nothos* who cannot claim the full rights and responsibilities of citizenship. For strictures relating to *nothoi*, cf. Lacey 1968: 111–112 and Patterson 1998: 108–114. For the terminology, cf. Ogden 1996: 14–21.

mache portrays citizen status as non-exclusive, insecure, and subject to the demands of practicality.

We begin with the prologue, a highly instructive scene[10] controlled by Andromache. Like an Athenian making a forensic speech,[11] the Trojan queen leads the audience to read her and her experiences in a particular light, thereby establishing what issues are important and why. She draws attention to the issue of identity by telling her personal story and using very specific vocabulary. First, Andromache emphasizes place and time. Troy is explicitly mentioned six times in the prologue (3, 11, 15, 58, 103, 105), Phthian place names five times (16–12, 19, 20, 22), and Delphi (51, 76) and Sparta (29, 41) twice each. Inescapably connected to Troy, Phthia, and Sparta are Menelaus, Helen, Achilles, Peleus, Hector and Priam, all of which situate the play in an epic world replete with Hellene and Trojan heroes. Second, a dichotomy between past and present exists. Andromache recalls her previous life five times (1–5, 8–11, 13–15, 96–99, 105–108) using only past tenses and flavouring her account with adverbs underscoring that life in Troy has ended (ποθ', πρίν, ἐπεὶ, πρόσθεν, ἁνίκα). When speaking of her situation in Phthia, she relies largely upon the present tense and the adverb νῦν (deployed five times) to shape a vivid contrast. Third, she draws an opposition between enslaved and free, bringing up the former state on six occasions (12, 25, 30, 61, 64, 99, 110, 114) and the latter on four (3, 12, 56, 65).

Andromache also places great emphasis upon marital relationships, the *oikos*, and children. The word πόσις (husband) appears frequently (8, 10, 33, 59, 107), as do marriage words (2, 4, 15, 18, 20, 29, 46, 103), and terms or phrases designating the bed shared by a couple (30, 35, 37, 104, 109, 112). She recalls her first marriage, and the marriages of Peleus and Thetis, Hermione and Neoptolemus, and Helen and Paris. That the household is deemed important is established by her many references to the hearth, *oikos*, or *domos* (3, 12–13, 21, 24, 34, 41, 48, 57, 73, 84).[12] Specific terminology supports the notion that childbearing is of consequence. Words connected to begetting are present (παιδοποιός, ἐντίκτω, ἄπαιδα, φυτεύσας). Different terms for "child" appear at least ten times (9, 24, 27, 47, 49, 50, 63, 68, 70, 74) and more frequently if

[10] This does not mean that it lacks emotional power, *contra* Michelini 1987: 104 n. 45.
[11] For example, cf. Lys. 1, 12, and Aeschin. *In. Tim. passim.*
[12] Storey 1989: 17, writes that "key words to watch for in *Andromache* are *domos, oikos, gamos, lechos, posis*, and the rare, but significant, *nympheumata*" in making the argument that *Andromache* has a " 'subtext' to the main action … the theme of 'domestic disharmony.' "

one counts pronouns or oblique references. Patronymics are employed five times, with Neoptolemus called "the son of Achilles" (8, 21, 25), "son of Thetis" (108), and Hermione the "daughter of Menelaus" (40).[13] The emphasis upon children is also present in the impetus of the plot, namely the plan of Menelaus and his daughter Hermione to destroy the last scion of the house of Troy and Aeacus along with his mother (39, 68, 74).

Andromache's account of her status past and present leads to the matter of civic identity. As she recalls, she was richly dowered, married in order to bear children, and entered her husband's *oikos* (2–4), much like an Athenian bride.[14] In Troy, she had standing and status, a sharp contrast to her present situation. Likely dressed in servile clothing, she huddles for safety at the altar of Thetis, alone and powerless. She tells the audience that she was enslaved (12), brought to Greece as allotted Trojan war booty (13–15), and became a mother after bearing a child to her master (24–25). Her experience in Phthia painfully, perversely, mirrors that in Troy for in both she entered a new *oikos*, was joined to a royal prince, and bore a child. Implicit in her usage of the opposites free/servile, past/present and Trojan/Greek, is the idea that non-Greeks may also have status, however impermanent it is. Troy was the grand site of kings, families, children, and legitimacy, no less than Phthia is presently. Given that all can be lost in war, that one person might fully enjoy *and* lose all rights, it must be acknowledged that status is constructed, grantable and prey to outside forces. The prologue's reliance upon household vocabulary underscores this, as does the struggle between Hermione and Andromache. If the latter becomes a γυνὴ γαμετή she will have effaced the boundaries between foreign and Greek, servile and free, and concubine and wife.

[13] Cf. Phillippo 1995: 356–357, for the frequency and relevance of patronymics: "Overall for these four characters, [Andromache, Hermione, Neoptolemus, Orestes], patronymics outnumber names by almost two-to-one (27 compared to 15)."

[14] Vocabulary of the first four lines clearly invokes Athenian marriage procedure. Andromache was dowered (ἕδνων, 2), and given as wife for the sake of producing children (δάμαρ δοθεῖσα παιδοποιὸς Ἕκτορι, 4). Providing a dowry was an accepted norm that implied the bride was of citizen status. Cf. Foxhall 1989: 33–34 for the necessity perceived by *kurioi* to dower, as well as the potential consequence of not dowering at all. For dowries in general, cf. Lacey 1968: 109–110. Δάμαρ δοθεῖσα means no less than wedded wife. The verb δίδωμι was used in the pledging formula uttered by a *kurios*. Cf. n. 2., and Stevens 1971: 87–88 n. 4 for understanding δάμαρ as "'wife,' but generally with some stress on the dignity of a lawful spouse and mistress of the house." Lastly, παιδοποιός assimilates Andromache's wedding to an Athenian one for this word παιδοποιέω means 'to make legitimate children'. Cf. [Dem.] 59.17 and 122, Diogenes Laertius 2.26, where it means "to beget legitimate children." Cf. also Ogden 1996: 70–80.

The text provides two lines of argument that characterize Andromache's status: nature or character (*physis*) and convention or law (*nomos*). The *nomos-physis* debate was extremely lively during Euripides' creative lifetime, with many questions about human nature and the bearing of convention raised.[15] Although the play does not explicitly mention this antithesis, Lee (1975: 9) rightly states that the playwright "moves the focus of the discussion away from the theoretical and treats the problem in an existential way by bringing it before his audience in the judgments and behaviour of the people he puts on stage." Slave and free, barbarian and Greek, rich and poor, all disclose their *physis* through action, often while citing the authority of *nomos*.[16]

Nomos dictates that a foreign slave concubine should not be accepted as Neoptolemus' Greek γυνὴ γαμετή. The Chorus, Menelaus, and Hermione consistently make this judgement. In their eyes, she should accept that she is a spear prize (155), Trojan (867), barbarian (173, 261, 665), alien slave bereft of friends (137–138), and in a place where there is no Hector, Priam, or gold (169). The chorus denies her any standing but that of a foreigner by naming her "child of Asia" (119), "maiden of Ilium" (128), and "Woman of Troy" (141). Menelaus goes one step further than demarcating her a slave by characterizing her as an enemy, stating that it is foolish to ignore, and best to kill one's enemies' children and so lift fear from one's house (521–522). Menelaus accounts for his persecution and condemnation of a slave by stating that Andromache is from Asia, the land that claimed countless Greek lives. She was Hector's wife, Paris' kinswoman, and as such had a share in Achilles' death (652–654). Menelaus presents his plan as a reasonable exercise of foresight and protection of his family, not as the murder of one who has a legitimate claim to protection from Neoptolemus and his household.

Andromache also encourages the audience/reader to read her as a foreigner and thus disqualified from becoming a Greek wife and mother. Repeatedly recalling places familiar to her, she underscores her connections to Asia. She mentions Thebe (1), Troy (11, 15, 97, 103, 105, 112, 325, 341, 400), Phrygia (194, 204, 363, 455) and her homeland (395). The Trojan also dwells on her marriage to Hector. After describing her

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[15] For a survey of the *nomos-physis* debate, cf. Heinemann 1945: 132ff., Rutherford 1995: 161–163, and Dover 1994 [1974]: 74–116, who provides a plethora of ancient sources engaging in this debate. For a succinct summary, cf. Donlan 1980: 130–131. Lee 1975: 9, states, "I believe that the behaviour of the characters … can be seen as an investigation in dramatic terms … of the *nomos-physis* antithesis."

[16] Lee 1975: 10.

first wedding (1–4), she mentions her husband at least fifteen times (4, 8, 9, 97, 107, 112, 203, 222, 227, 399, 403, 456, 523). Faced with death, she calls not upon Neoptolemus but her long-deceased husband:

> ὦ πόσις πόσις, εἴθε σὰν
> χεῖρα καὶ δόρυ σύμμαχον
> κτησαίμαν, Πριάμου παῖ.
>
> O husband, husband, if only I could have your hand
> and spear as ally, O son of Priam. (Eur. *Andr*. 523–525)

Andromache also frequently concedes her status as a δούλη ("slave," 14, 25, 30, 65, 99, 110, 200, 328, 401). Stressed is the fact that she and her son lack familial ties and safeguards, for her city, home, husband, family, and former status have vanished. In addition to garnering pity and support, her insistent evocation of her Eastern homeland and first husband leads to an important supposition. Recollections of her former status in Troy can be read as acknowledgement of Greek conventions barring her from recognition as mother to the heir of the Aeacid house.

Until the end of *Andromache*, all the characters except one treat the former Trojan queen as without Greek status. Until Thetis proclaims that Andromache will marry Helenus and her son will become the first of a long line of Molossian kings, contemporary Athenian conventions of marriage, inheritance, and status seem adhered to. This is, however, too easy. Andromache's actions disclose a *physis* at odds with her self-representation as powerless. Her behavior and manner contradict her avowed understanding of status as defined by *nomos*. She is unsuccessful at enacting the role of slave-concubine, and this too should disqualify her from becoming a fully realized Greek wife.

Andromache's treatment of her fellow-slave illustrates the disjuncture between *nomos* and *physis*. When addressed as δέσποινα ("Mistress," 56) she responds ὦ φιλτάτη σύνδουλε ("My dearest fellow slave," 64), suggesting that their status is understood as relatively equal. When informed that Hermione and Menelaus plan on killing her son, she immediately asks her fellow-slave if she will carry a message to Peleus (83). When she replies that she might be asked to account for her absence and that Hermione is an exacting guard, Andromache charges her with failing a friend in times of misfortune (87). The fellow-slave sets off, declaring her loyalty (88–90):

> μηδὲν τοῦτ᾽ ὀνειδίσῃς ἐμοί.
> ἀλλ᾽ εἶμ᾽, ἐπεί τοι κοὐ περίβλεπτος βίος
> δούλης γυναικός, ἤν τι καὶ πάθω κακόν.

> Do not ever reproach me with this!
> I shall go, since the life of a slave-woman is
> not much to consider, even if I suffer some misfortune.
> (Eur. *Andr*. 88–90)

Andromache makes no reply, implying that this risk is acceptable and the assessment of self-worth reached by the woman is correct. Apparently still a subject she is, as such, expendable.

The *agônes* with Hermione and Menelaus further develop the assertion that Andromache's *physis* disregards the demands of *nomos*. Her first agon begins with Hermione, the Greek spouse, making several assertions: Andromache used poison to make her husband dislike and avoid her, caused her sterility, seeks to supplant her as wife, and must surrender her pride and acknowledge her position in Greece (155–169). The response is striking. Andromache first laments youth and injustice as terrible for humanity (181–182), thereby making an unanswerable general statement that labels Hermione rash and unjust. Next she mentions her fear that her slave status might bar her from speaking and she might suffer more by emerging as victor. After all, she explains, the elite take it hard if beaten by the better arguments of their inferiors (186–190).[17] Then Andromache takes the offensive, answering the Spartan's charges in a series of rhetorical questions, and replying to unasked questions. Andromache's points become increasingly irrelevant as to why she is usurping Hermione's position but carry a sting of truth disallowing easy dismissal. She suggests that the Phthians might embrace her children if Hermione failed to bear any, and the Greeks love her on account of Hector. Then she asks if she is herself so obscure and not royal (201–204). These questions and statements, asked rhetorically or posed mockingly, demonstrate an unerring rhetorical ability not usually held or shown by foreign slave-concubines.

Further negating her status as a foreign slave subservient to her mistress, Andromache lists Hermione's faults: she is unpleasant to live with (206), privileges beauty over virtue (207–208), continues to set her father

[17] Universalizing and citing disadvantages of status are common rhetorical strategies, especially of the earlier Attic orators. Cf. Usher 1999: 6–53. For the formal rhetorical devices used by Andromache in responding to Hermione, cf. Allan 2000: 132–136. McClure 1999: 176–183, in reading the use of gossip and invective in *Andromache*, writes, "Her rhetorical proficiency and 'almost sophistic skill' resemble those of contemporary Athenian demagogues and politicians, although in contrast to her opponent, she marshals this expertise in the service of justice." Cf. also Conacher 1967: 177–178.

and his wealth above her husband's *oikos* (209–212),[18] is prideful (214–215), exceedingly jealous and even insatiable (218). In the stichomythic exchange she fixates on Hermione's incapacity to be moderate or chaste (235–236),[19] her shameful concerns about sex (238), and her mother's part in the ten-year war (248). When Hermione asks if desire is not the prime interest for women everywhere (241), Andromache replies "only for bad women" (242). Hermione is reduced to threats of fire, terrible wounds, and death. Thus are Andromache's talents as an orator showcased. She is a formidable opponent who knows how to build an argument by appealing to Greek norms such as accepting and supporting one's husband, being moderate, chaste, and virtuous.

Menelaus encounters an even fiercer adversary. After entering with her son and offering the choice to save him or herself, Andromache launches into a personal attack, an unexpected response given her servile status and desire to safeguard her son (324–329). Her assessment of his nature as wretched (323), incapable of resisting his rash daughter's words (326–327), and unworthy of his military accomplishments (328–329), is extremely unwise given her status. So is the pointed statement that he is challenging a woman, an ill-starred slave woman (γυναικὶ δυστυχεῖ / δούληι 327–328). Again Andromache disavows the conventions of *nomos*. When Menelaus pursues his plan to kill her, he is left looking weak and unjust, not much of a man or general.

Andromache fails to persuade Menelaus that she is no threat—because she is. She demonstrates skill in mustering arguments and has the courage to express her judgments. Coupled with her ability to appeal to Greek morals and norms is the sense that she cannot help herself, that her *physis* commands her to assess actions and character. Thus she accurately foretells what will happen if Menelaus and his daughter execute their plan: Hermione will incur pollution for murder (335), Neoptolemus will expel Hermione from his household (344), and Menelaus will have it hard in finding another husband for his daughter (344–345). This accurate

[18] Cf. Phillippo 1995: 360–362, for the role that kinship structures play in the difficulties within Neoptolemus and Hermione's marriage. As Phillippo explains, "The contracting of ties with Hermione, and thus with the house of Menelaos (and Helen), is a cause of conflict on several levels. In the first place, the marriage itself has complicated Neoptolemos' position with respect to his ties to his own family. . . . Even from the outset, blood-ties and marriage ties were in conflict."

[19] For the deployment of *sophia* and *sophrosune* by Andromache in the *agôn*, cf. Boulter 1966: 54.

reading of the plan's outcome belies her foreigner status. Andromache then moves on to questioning Menelaus' reasoning, asking if he cannot see the evils that will pour down upon him (349). In stating that there is no necessity to bring about great harm for small reasons (352), she marks out his incapacity to punish justly. By describing him as having destroyed the poor city of the Trojans on account of strife over a woman (362–363), she denounces his weakness regarding women as well as his ability to adjudge fair and worthy reparation.

When rescued, Andromache again discloses her commanding nature, undermining her avowed understanding of her status as a foreign slave-concubine and spear-won possession. Her second sentence to Peleus contains a rebuke of his tardy arrival. She did, as she recalls, summon him μυρίων ὕπ' ἀγγέλων ("through countless messengers," 562). Acquiescence to her requests is skillfully orchestrated. Andromache first makes a neat case against Menelaus, relating that she was dragged from the altar of Thetis (564), given no trial (567–568), and that no attempt was made to wait for the absent Neoptolemus (568–569). In two short sentences, she implicates the Spartan king with impiety as he has stripped a suppliant from a place of refuge, and injustice and tyranny because he has withheld due process and employed himself as prosecutor and jury. Furthermore, she suggests that Menelaus appropriated Neoptolemus' role as *kurios* by acting without permission from the true head of the household. She then calls attention to her helplessness, recalling that the Spartans made their move to kill her and her innocent son only when she was without protection (569–571). Last, Andromache falls to her knees before the aged man and begs (572–575):

> ἀλλ' ἀντιάζω σ', ὦ γέρον, τῶν σῶν πάρος
> πίτνουσα γονάτων—χειρὶ δ' οὐκ ἔξεστί μοι
> τῆς σῆς λαβέσθαι φιλτάτης γενειάδος—
> ῥῦσαί με πρὸς θεῶν· εἰ δὲ μή, θανούμεθα
> αἰσχρῶς μὲν ὑμῖν, δυστυχῶς δ' ἐμοί, γέρον.
>
> But I beg of you, old sir, having fallen down before
> your knees—for I am not able to reach for your
> most dear beard with my hand—rescue me,
> by the gods. And if you do not, old sir, we shall die,
> shamefully for you, and unfortunately for me. (Eur. *Andr.* 572–575)

A choice to act in accordance with the laws of gods and men—or not—has been laid before Peleus. Having just described the impious behaviour of Menelaus at Thetis' altar, she bows before Peleus as suppliant. Her recent mistreatment is recalled by the position of her son. He is likely

still clinging to Menelaus' knees when Peleus arrives for only sixteen lines have been spoken between the time the boy begged for his life (530) and Peleus' first question (547). Inaction will ally Peleus with Menelaus' injustice and provide tacit approval of the decisions the Spartan is making in lieu of Neoptolemus. Andromache makes the contrast between good and bad explicit, stating that inaction will result in shame for him (αἰσχρῶς, 576). This scene is a master stroke of orchestration as handled by a clever, commanding, and desperate woman.

On two grounds, Andromache should not be recognized as the mother of a Greek boy. Greek convention defines her as a foreign slave-concubine, and indisputably disqualifies her. On the count of *physis*, Andromache should also be denied the status of Greek mother. She is unable to reconcile her regal foreign nature to Greek conventions governing the behaviour and manner expected in a slave-concubine. Her unyielding nature has caused much of the friction in Neoptolemus' *oikos*. Advice from the Chorus to reconcile herself to her position (126–134), make peace with Hermione (232–233), and recall her modesty when addressing Menalaus (363–364), all pleas made to comply with the expectations of *nomos*, are ignored. She recalls the enviable life she had in Troy and continues to command, dismiss, judge, and be heard, all of which affirm a regal nature. By not describing Neoptolemus' bigamous household negatively,[20] Andromache can be seen as foreign, accepting the bigamy associated with Priam. Likewise can her superior oratorical skill and unsettling confidence in her authority be read, a skill that locates her in a masculine setting and pursuit.

Andromache does, however, recognize ideal Greek behaviour and denounces those who do not, suggesting that she is more Greek than those born as such. Actions taken as a Greek suppliant testify to her piety. Her relationship with Hector is cited to assert her standing as an ideal wife. In order to be supportive and to avoid resentment, she did not deny him affairs and even nursed his bastards (224–225). She invokes Greek notions of restraint and modesty when telling Hermione that sexual matters are best kept quiet (220–221, 238, 240). Like a good Athenian wife, she made the full transition into Hector's household and did not, unlike the Greek spouse, privilege her father's *oikos* over her husband's

[20] The Chorus (119–125, 464–466), Hermione (177–178) and Orestes (909) all describe the bigamous household as negative. In plotting to kill Hermione's rival, Menelaus can be read as disagreeing with bigamy.

(213–214). Lastly, she protects her son, sacrificing herself so that she might be without reproach (409–410). Her actions acknowledge a Greek *nomos* that asserts the primacy of husbands and children and Greek notions of piety, justice, balance and restraint. She appears very Greek, and exemplifies the Greek wife and mother. Identity is a very slippery thing.

In the end, the foreign slave-concubine becomes a γυνὴ γαμετή and Hermione, the Greek spouse, does not. Conventions of citizenship, dowry, marriage, inheritance, legitimacy, and status, repeatedly evoked, are disregarded when Thetis tells Peleus that their line will not be lost (1249–1250). Andromache's son will be sent with her to Helenus and the line of the Aeacids will flourish, ruling over the Molossians with good fortune (1246–1249). Thetis' declaration makes Andromache's son a Greek Aeacid. Practical necessity wins out over the demands of status and matters of identity. In order for the Greek Aeacids to continue their line, there must be a child and he must be a legal Greek. Andromache must therefore be married to a Greek and accepted as the legitimate mother of a Greek son. For the regal kings of Molossia to fulfill their destiny, their founder cannot be a *nothos*.

Throughout, it was Andromache's fertility and not the slave-concubine herself that threatened Hermione in her goal to become the complete wife. Hermione is nowhere portrayed as being jealous of her fellow "wife," but does depict herself as threatened. This can only be by the presence of the child. The fear that she will never bear her husband a child drives her to charge the concubine with using poison to render her hateful, or undesirable (157–158). The threat the child represents leads to impious, cruel, unjust, cowardly, and simply immoral actions, blame for which she shifts to the weight of *nomos*. Hermione explains her behaviour by stating that bad women visited and filled her head with resentful thoughts about sharing the *oikos* with a concubine. She concludes that she acted foolishly and, upon leaving her husband's house, she acknowledges that the child was the issue that could have been overcome had she had children. Hers would have been legitimate, whereas Andromache's would have been bastard half-slaves:

> παῖδας δ' ἐγὼ μὲν γνησίους ἔτικτον ἄν,
> ἣ δ' ἡμιδούλους τοῖς ἐμοῖς νοθαγενεῖς.
>
> I would have borne legitimate children, while she would have borne bastards
> With half-slave parentage to serve my children.
>
> (Eur. *Andr*. 941–942 LCL)

It is likewise the issue of fertility that compels Peleus to defend Andromache and his great-grandson so fiercely despite their foreign slave status. The norm of maintaining marital bonds is forsaken when faced with his biological great-grandson's death. In his *agôn* with Menelaus, he holds his kinsman through marriage and not the foreign Trojans accountable for the death of many Greek youths. With respect to his son Achilles, the Spartan is seen as his murderer (615). When confronted by Menelaus' argument that it is well and good to kill the children of one's enemies (659), Peleus responds furiously (706–714):

δείξω δ' ἐγώ σοι μὴ τὸν Ἰδαῖον Πάριν
μείζω νομίζειν Πηλέως ἐχθρόν ποτε,
εἰ μὴ φθερῆι τῆσδ' ὡς τάχιστ' ἀπὸ στέγης
καὶ παῖς ἄτεκνος, ἣν ὅ γ' ἐξ ἡμῶν γεγὼς
ἐλᾶι δι' οἴκων τῶνδ' ἐπισπάσας κόμης·
ἣ στερρὸς οὖσα μόσχος οὐκ ἀνέξεται
τίκτοντας ἄλλους, οὐκ ἔχουσ' αὐτὴ τέκνα.
ἀλλ', εἰ τὸ κείνης δυστυχεῖ παίδων πέρι,
ἄπαιδας ἡμᾶς δεῖ καταστῆναι τέκνων;

And I will show you never to think
Idaean Paris a greater enemy than Peleus,
if you do not get out of this house with all speed,
you and your barren daughter, whom my grandson
will rush through this house, holding her by the hair,
if she, being a sterile heifer, will not allow
others to have children, not having any herself.
But, if she has bad luck with respect to children,
is it necessary that we be without children? (Eur. *Andr*. 706–714)

This one short passage bluntly imparts how important children are to Peleus. Childlessness, sterility, and begetting, are mentioned nine times in a passage of only seven lines. There is no reference to the legal parameters of citizenship. For Peleus, the simple perpetuation of the house is all-important. Finally, when told that his grandson has been murdered, Peleus responds by lamenting:

ὦ πόλι Θεσσαλίας, διολώλαμεν,
οἰχόμεθ'· οὐκέτι μοι γένος, οὐ τέκνα λείπεται οἴκοις.

O my city of Thessaly, I am destroyed, undone! No longer
in my house do my line, my children, remain. (Eur. *Andr*. 1176–1177)

For him, the loss of the last biological Aeacid spells the end of his line, house, and city. *Andromache* uses the perpetuation of an *oikos* to work with identity, raising the question as to whether one is bound to adhere to one's identity as established by *nomos*. It also questions the place

of *physis* in the construction of status. Greeks behave badly, unjustly, murderously while a foreigner appeals to the ideals of Greek behaviour and extols modesty, obedience, piety and justice. In seeking to maintain a physical connection to the future through offspring, some individuals forsake cultural conventions. Hermione fails to adhere to Greek *nomos* in pursuing a plan of impious murder. Peleus breaks the strictures of *nomos* by extending his authority and protection to Andromache and his great-grandson, and by reviling a fellow Greek who is a kinsman through marriage. Other individuals assume the power to reshape their identities and even their status through the childbearing capability. In her role as mother, Andromache assumes the mantle of the ideal Greek wife. She is a good protective mother, and subservient and loyal to her husband and his house. The dichotomies of status found in the prologue, those of slave/free, Trojan/Greek, past/present, concubine/slave, are realigned in the drama, and the issue permitting this is motherhood.[21]

[21] With many thanks to Professors Ruby Blondell, Susan Lape, and Lawrence Bliquez, for encouragement and advice; with much appreciation to Professor Martin Cropp; and deep gratitude to the editors of this volume.

PART FIVE

AESCHYLUS AND SOPHOCLES

ATREIDS IN FRAGMENTS (AND ELSEWHERE)

Christopher Collard

interpres tu CeCROPii, Martine, cothurni
audis eximius (nomen sic conuenit arti);
ut scite natas Agamemnonis exposuisti,
sic docte redigis disiecti membra poetae.
annis iam decies senis et quinque peractis
rite salutamus semperque ualere iubemus.

ἀρχόμεθ’ οὖν ἐξ ἀνδρός, whom I have fortunately had as my collaborator in four volumes, and as contributor of two individual volumes to the series of Euripidean editions in my general care,[1] ἐν ἀνδρί τε λήγομεν αὔτως, a fine and wise scholar, and a warm friend for many years.

This little piece invites through its title alone recognition of Martin's work in two large fields; and in content it offers a variety of fragments and literary echoes from a myth made lastingly popular by 5th-century Tragedy. I deal almost entirely with the Atreids and their troubled 'House', rather than their clashes with Helen, Paris and Trojans. I do not pursue them into adaptations or original works by Latin dramatists.[2]

I

Since I can seldom resist an *hors d'oeuvre*, here is an agreeable starter which nevertheless mixes the Atreids at Troy with Helen. As their ἀρχὴ

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[1] Cropp 1988, 2007; and 2000; Collard, Cropp, Lee 1995; Collard, Cropp, Gibert 2004. Collard, Cropp 2008.

[2] A glance at *TrGF* and *PCG* reveals the most important and useful work on Greek dramatic Atreids. Almost all that is worth knowing about the Atreid 'in House' legacy to Latin Tragedy can be found, directly or indirectly, from Jocelyn (1967) on *Andromacha, Eumenides, Iphigenia* and *Thyestes*; D'Anna (1967) on *Chryses, Dulorestes*, *Hermiona* and *Orestes*; Dangel (1995), on *Chrysippus*, *Atreus, Pelopidae, Clytaemestra, Aegisthus, Agamemnonidae* and *Erigona*; under these same poets and titles, and Livius Andronicus' *Aegisthus* and Naevius' *Iphigenia*, see Manuwald (2001); further, Tarrant (1976) and (1985). The bibliographies in *LIMC* list very many depictions of all but Atreus himself and Thyestes (and Orestes' friend and accomplice Pylades).

κακῶν δευτέρα, perhaps, she suitably appears in my first fragment, Aristotle, *Homeric Problems* F 144 Rose (Athenaeus 556d). I leave it to speak for itself:

> 'One might wonder,' says Aristotle, 'that Homer nowhere in the *Iliad* had Menelaus sleep with a concubine ... the Spartan seemingly respected his wife Helen, for whose sake he had in fact assembled the expedition. Agamemnon, however, is abused by Thersites as having many women[3] "... exceptional (ones) in his tents, which the Achaeans had given him because of his primacy" (*Iliad* 2.226–228). It is unlikely, however,' says Aristotle, 'that the large number of women were for use; but they were to be a mark of honour, since Agamemnon did not acquire his great quantity of wine either, in order to get drunk.' (Aristotle, *apud* Athenaeus 556d)

II. *Tragedy: Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides*

We have no evidence that any tragedian dramatized the family disasters before Aeschylus in his undated *Iphigenia* (a mere title and a one-line lexicographical fragment, fr. 94) and his *Oresteia* of 458 BC. The myth had occurred in earlier epic and lyric, most importantly (in chronological order): Homer, *Iliad* 2.106–107 Atreus at his death hands the sceptre of power to Thyestes (differently from the usual versions of their quarrel); and *Odyssey* 1.29–43, 3.193–198, 234–310, 4.517–547, 11.422–439 all concerning the plot of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra against Agamemnon (Aegisthus takes the lead: there are echoes of this at Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 1435–1437, 1604–1609), and then Orestes' matricide. Similarly *Nosti* T 2.25–27 *EGF* Davies = *Nosti Argumenta* p. 95 Bernabé and (roughly the story of the *Oresteia*) Hesiod fr. 223a.7–30 M.-W. Asius fr. 5

[3] 'Having many women,' πολυγύναιος: one might wonder if Aristotle was alluding to the description of Helen as 'having many men' (πολυάνωρ Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 62); and alluding with 'for whose sake (Menelaus assembled the expedition)' to *Agamemnon* 448, 1453–1454, cf. Sophocles, *Electra* 541. One might wonder also that Aristotle does not cite here *Iliad* 1.113–115, where Agamemnon says that he values his wife Clytemnestra less than the captive girl Chryseis (on whom see Sophocles' *Chryses* in Section II); for this motif in Homer compare also Laertes' respect for his chattel Eurycleia, and avoidance of his wife's anger, *Odyssey* 1.430–433.

The fragment is one of only 4 of the 38 from Aristotle's *Homeric Problems* gathered by Rose which come from sources other than the Homeric scholia (the others are 162, 165, 179). Aristotle's citation of *Iliad* 2.226–228 is ignored by all modern commentators except Ameis-Hentze-Cauer; but West includes it in the *testimonia* in his edition (Vol. I, 1998). There was understandably not room for Richardson (1992) to quote it in full in his brief general study.

EGF Davies = Bernabé may be the earliest surviving mention of Pylades' genealogy. Stesichorus fr. 210–219 Page *PMG* and Davies *PMFG* also 'the *Oresteia*', with details clearly most influential upon Aeschylus' plot. Pindar, *Pythians* 11.15–37 (474 BC) the story from Iphigenia's death at Aulis to the killing of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra by Orestes (lines 15–16 name Pylades, but only as a land-holder at Thebes and as friend of Orestes).[4] After Aeschylus' *Oresteia* almost all dramatic treatments of the Atreids, and literary allusions to them, reflect it in some way.

Apart from his *Electra*, Sophocles wrote an astonishing number of plays about the Pelopids and Atreids, all of them now undatable. Those in which he put Atreus and Thyestes on stage are elusive. Two fragments are attributed to a *Women of Mycenae* (fr. 140) or to an *Atreus* or a *Women of Mycenae* (fr. 141), and fr. 738 has been suggested for an *Atreus*—but they may belong to one or more plays named *Thyestes*, for there are multiple titles (fr. 247–269): the fullest are *Thyestes of Sicyon* (fr. 248) or *Thyestes at Sicyon* (fr. 249–252); others are a bare *Thyestes* (fr. 255–269) or *Thyestes A* (fr. 247) and *Thyestes B* (fr. 253–254). The name Sicyon indicates that Sophocles at least in one play (and perhaps in only one play) dealt with Thyestes' rape there of his own daughter Pelopia, following an oracle that Atreus' revolting crime against his children could only be avenged by a son got by such incest: this was Aegisthus. Fr. 247 unmistakably relates to this oracle; but not one of the other 23 fragments (including fr. 260a) can be confidently associated with this or any other incident (see the final part of n. 8). As in the *Electra*, Sophocles may have given considerable attention to Clytemnestra's part in the story: a single fragment is attributed in its source to a *Clytemnestra* (F 334) but is generally assigned to the *Iphigenia* or *Erigone* (below). A *Tyndareus* is attested; although its plot is wholly unknown, its two fragments (fr. 646–647) refer to the end of life and to old age, which scholars suggest may be that of Tyndareus himself after seeing his daughter Clytemnestra killed and Orestes escaping punishment.[5] Tyndareus' other daughter Helen is named in no fewer than three Sophoclean play-titles. Two, the *Rape of Helen* (no text-fragments) and *Helen's Wedding* (fr. 181–184) were probably variants of one title; the fragments attributed to the third, the *Demand for Helen's Return* (fr. 176–180a), may belong to the *Sons of Antenor* (fr. 137–139). The plot of the *Erigone* (fr. 235–236) is also unknown: if it did not deal with this

[4] That the disputed dating of 474 is nevertheless correct is argued in Patrick Finglass (2007).

[5] See S.L. Radt in *TrGF* 4.232 and Lloyd-Jones (1996: 100–101).

daughter of Icarius who killed herself over her murdered father's body, it handled the story of the like-named daughter of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus who unsuccessfully accused Orestes of matricide and was saved from his sword by Artemis; this alternative is made a little more likely by mentions of Aegisthus and Orestes in the Roman Accius' *Erigone* (frs. 317–324 Dangel); and the identities of Erigone are confused also in Hyginus, *Fabulae* 122 (= *TrGF* adespota 3e; see the penultimate paragraph of III below). There was the name-play of Agamemnon's other daughter Iphigenia (fr. 305–312), with incidents partly like those of Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis* but with a role for Odysseus, who tricked Clytemnestra into bringing the girl there: F 308 is attributed to him in its source. It is conjectured that Sophocles' *Chryses* may have told how Orestes and Iphigenia (and Pylades?) escaped from the Tauric king Thoas when he was killed by Chryses, the son of Agamemnon and the captive girl Chryseis who begins the *Iliad*.[6] The *Hermione* (fr. 202–203) told the unhappy story of this daughter of Menelaus, married successively to Orestes (by Tyndareus during Menelaus' absence at Troy), then to Neoptolemus who because of their childlessness consulted Apollo at Delphi and was killed there by accident or design, perhaps by Orestes himself, and then again to Orestes—but confusion and overlap with Euripides' *Andromache* is evident in the secondary sources.

The infamous banquet served by Atreus figured in Euripides' *Thyestes* (fr. 391–397b), but it is not quite certain whether as its culmination (as in Seneca's derivative play) or as recollection when Thyestes returned to Mycenae long afterwards, perhaps accompanying Aegisthus in attempted vengeance upon Atreus.[7] Euripides' *Thyestes* is linked with his fragmentary *Cretan Women* in the scholia on Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 433: both plays staged him "in rags." In *Thyestes* he was therefore either a genuine but ragged suppliant at Atreus' hearth (he is described only as a suppliant at Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 1587–1590), and then subjected to the banquet, or, more probably, was in disguise to assist the revenge (above). The

[6] A version of the escape in which Orestes himself killed Thoas, which is reflected at Lucian 57.6, probably predated both Sophocles and Euripides. Martin has dealt with both *Iphigenia* and *Chryses* in Cropp (1988, 2007: 45 and n. 50).

[7] See R. Kannicht in *TrGF* 4.437–438—and Martin himself in Collard, Cropp (2008a; 2008b). Accordingly I say no more about the play here, and only a little about Euripides' shadowy *Pleisthenes* (F 625–633) which Martin will also handle. Pleisthenes may have been cast not as father or ancestor of the Atreids, but as a son of Atreus whom Thyestes brought up in exile and sent to kill Atreus; but Atreus killed Pleisthenes in the mistaken belief that he was Thyestes' only child. This would be a variant upon the Thyestes-Aegisthus revenge supposed for Sophocles' *Thyestes*, and, if so, a typical Euripidean turn.

circumstances of his rags in *Cretan Women* (fr. 460–470a) are even harder to guess; but the play seems to have dramatized events in Crete involving Atreus' Cretan wife Aerope whom Thyestes (in ragged disguise?) had seduced.[8]

Aristotle, *Poetics* 1453a7–22 cites Thyestes together with Orestes (and others like Oedipus; there is a similar short catalogue at Plato, *Laws* 838c) as characters from the best tragedies whose fortune it was either 'to do or to suffer terrible things', and whose disaster was brought on by *hamartia*. Aristotle may have had in mind Thyestes' oracle-directed rape rather than his involuntary cannibal banquet; and it seems probable that he meant the Thyestes who appears in either or both Sophocles and Euripides, rather than the character from 4th-century Tragedy (see III below).

III. Tragici Minores *and* Adespota

Atreids gave their names to plays many times, and it is known or conjectured that they figured in one another's plays (if I may put it like that), and in a wide range of others; but many titles are a complete blank, and for other plays neither fragments nor secondary sources reveal anything

[8] I discuss the problems of this play in Collard (2005): 52–57; see also Collard, Cropp (2008). The word 'source' in my 2005 title prompts me to quantify summarily here the exiguous evidence for all the fragmentary Atreid-plays of Sophocles and Euripides that I have named. I hope it may provide a useful methodological supplement to the comparable table for 17 fragmentary plays of Euripides which I set out there (2005, 50), because, brief as it is, it illustrates well some broad differences in their fragmentary posterity between Sophocles and the much more popular Euripides:

Sophocles, *Atreus* or *Women of Mycenae* 2 (?3) text-frs., 1 of them gnomological (gnom.), and 1 lexicographic (lex.); no secondary sources. *Chryses* 5 frs., of which 3 give no idea of context and 2 are lex.; 2 most insecure sec. sources. *Erigone* 2 frs., both lex.; no sec. sources. *Rape of Helen* or *Helen's Wedding* 4 frs., of which 1 is without context and 3 are lex.; 2 / 3 sec. sources. *Hermione* 2 frs., both lex.; 3 / 4 sec. sources, 2 with explicit details of the plot. *Iphigenia* 8 frs., of which only 1 is suggestive of context, and 2 are gnom., 2 lex.; 2 sec. sources. *Clytemnestra* 1 fr., lex.; no sec. sources. *Thyestes* (with various titles) 24 frs., of which only 1 has a definite context, and 2 are gnom. and 17 lex. (mostly of one or two words); 2 'allusive' sec. sources. *Tyndareus* 2 frs., one of them gnom., the other lex.; no sec sources.

Euripides, *Cretan Women* 12 frs., of which 2 of the 6 gnom. generate as much speculation about context as do the 5 'literary' ones, and the remaining 1 is lex.; 6 sec. sources, including part of an ancient literary commentary, inviting much speculation. *Pleisthenes* 9 frs., 2 of them gnom., and 7 lex. of which 3 nevertheless invite speculation; 1 sec. source. *Thyestes* 9 frs., of which 2 are attributable to a context, 6 are gnom. (1 is identifiable as the play's opening lines), and 1 lex.; 5–6 sec. sources (only 1 of solid use).

substantive of the plot.[9] The greatest part of this fragmentary material dates from the 4th century or afterwards, although the later 5th C. is thinly represented. Ion of Chios, active from about 450 (19 T 1) and second to Euripides at the Great Dionysia of 428, wrote an *Agamemnon* of unknown date (19 fr. 1–5) in which Clytemnestra promised a fine cup to the man first with the news of Agamemnon's return from Troy (fr. 1; cf. the watchman at Homer, *Odyssey* 4.524–525 and Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 8–10); then Aegisthus (unnamed) may have been baited in fr. 2, and this fragment's similarity with Seneca, *Agamemnon* 994–995 may indicate that Electra was the baiter.[10] Only the title and a one-word fragment survive of the *Aerope* of Agathon (39 fr. 1)—the poet whose first victory in 416 features in Plato, *Symposium* 173a; and there is a mysterious fragment which is attributed by Athenaeus to his *Thyestes* (fr. 3) but on the face of it belongs to a play about Lycurgus' marriage of his daughter Amphithea to Adrastus.

Thyestes indeed frequently gave his name to plays;[11] in the 4th Century this probably reflected the popularity of a tragic figure whose extraordinary and frightening fortunes appealed to exaggerated theatrical tastes (see Aristotle, *Poetics* 1453b7–10). In one play—or in an *Atreus*—of authorship disputed between the 3rd century Diogenes of Sinope and the shadowy Philiscus of Aegina (*TrGF* 88 T 1 and 3), anthropophagy was defended, one wonders by whom (88 fr. 1d, cf. fr. 1): a satyr-play rather than a tragedy, it would appear, unlike the nameless play of Theodectes, the hugely successful rhetor and tragedian of the mid-4th century, in which Thyestes is advised to 'bite the bit of his anger' until time blurs everything and makes it tolerable (72 fr. 9). This was surely a reference to his loss of the kingdom to Atreus rather than a black allusion

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9 Lists of play-titles and characters are afforded by R. Kannicht in *TrGF* 2 (1981) 334–344 and (1986) 361; 5.1150–1151.

10 For Ion's *Agamemnon* see Tarrant (1976: 10–11), who notes that apart from this and Aeschylus' tragedy only one other play of this name is recorded from the 5th century, produced by an anonymous poet at the Lenaea of 419 (*TrGF* 1 DID A 2b, 71). Tarrant (1976: 8–14) and (1985: 16–19) offers useful information about Atreid-plays in the Roman theatre. At (1976:14) he speculates which Latin *Agamemnon* may have upset the emperor Tiberius through its 'vilification' of Agamemnon (Tacitus, *Annals* 6.29; Suetonius, *Tiberius* 61.3): compare the emperor Nero's attempt to seal up the Delphic Oracle after it had classed him with Orestes and others whose acts of matricide had given them some fame, in that they had avenged their fathers (Lucian 84.10; Suetonius, *Nero* 39).

11 See Tarrant (1985: 40–43) for a complete listing, and for other bibliography *TrGF* 4.239–240 and 5.438.

to the cannibal banquet. Of the half-dozen or so known Orestes name-plays, two alone are more than titles: one by the rhetorical Theodectes is cited by Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1401a.35 for false divisions in argument, when Orestes (presumably) defends the death of a husband-killer through the act of a mother-killer (72 fr. 5); the other, by the 4th-century Carcinus 'II', had Orestes defending his matricide 'through riddling answers' (70 fr. 1g).

A homecoming to the 'House of Atreus' for vengeance occurred in an anonymous and undatable play (adesp. 682); the now very fragmentary scene may have been modelled on Orestes' arrival in disguise at Aeschylus, *Choephori* 653–718, cf. 560–564; Aegisthus is named (fr.a.17). This aspirant to vengeance in the plays of all three great tragedians is in fact rarely visible elsewhere in fragmentary tragedies. The same is true of both Electra and Chrysothemis. One possible reference to tragedy would offer an Electra as formidable as in Euripides' name-play, and one caught in as dangerous a recognition-scene as that of his *Iphigenia in Tauris*: Hyginus, *Fabulae* 122 records a story in which a messenger falsely informs her of the deaths of Orestes and Pylades by human sacrifice among the Taurians; she goes to Delphi to enquire on the same day that Iphigenia and Orestes arrive there in safety, but are not identifiable to her; the messenger tells her that the woman (Iphigenia) had killed her brother (Orestes); Electra seizes a brand from the altar fire to blind her, when at the last second ...: Hyginus 122 is printed as *TrGF* adesp. 3e (cf. also adesp. 1b, fragments once supposed to come from a play of Sophocles titled *Aletes*, 97–103 Nauck = 101–107 Pearson). Chrysothemis appears memorably in Sophocles' *Electra*, but her only certain depiction in art is on a much earlier Attic red-figure pelike of about 500 BC, where she is named and appears to be fending off Clytemnestra while Orestes kills Aegisthus, Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum 3725.[12] Iphigenia likewise appears definitely among the fragments later than Euripides just once: the badly defective adesp. 663 seems to come from an 'Aulis'; there are 28 line-beginnings in which Clytemnestra (?) discovers from Talthybius (addressed in line 4) whether a wedding is truly the reason why she and Iphigenia have been fetched (lines 17, 21, 23–24).

The Tragic *adespota* present a typical array of frustrations for the Atreids: apart from 3e, 663 and 682 handled above, see e.g. 10c, a possible involvement of the *Iliad*'s Chryseis and her son with Orestes homeward

[12] Prag (1988): 15–16; *LIMC* III.1.293.1.

bound with Iphigenia (cf. Sophocles' *Chryses* in II). 145.2 names Brauron, from probably an *Iphigenia*—but *in Tauris* or *in Aulis*? 328i records that the otherwise unknown (and undated) actor Demetrius performed Agamemnon's death, when, 'according to most accounts', he was struck with an axe (see *TrGF* 2.103). 8bb is the famous early to mid-5th-century Attic red-figure crater Boston 63.1246 which disputably reflects Aeschylus' *Oresteia*.[13]

IV. *Comedy*

The longest continuous fun in comedy at the expense of Tragic Atreids is at Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1124–1174 (based upon Aeschylus, *Choephori* 1–3). There are also many short allusions in Aristophanes' other complete plays which show that the Atreids and their story were always a safe butt, e.g. the kingly Agamemnon *Birds* 510 (*Frogs* 1269 is Homeric, however); the weakling Menelaus *Lysistrata* 155–156 (dropping his sword on seeing Helen's breasts), *Thesmophoriazusae* 867, 910; Orestes when mad committing 'antisocial' violence[14] *Acharnians* 1167, *Birds* 712; Electra finding Orestes' lock of hair *Clouds* 534–536 (cf. *Choephori* 166–211).[15] I have however found few references, even to bare names, in the text-fragments of Comedy as a whole, namely Agamemnon Epicharmus fr. 97.15 *PCG*, Thyestes Menander, *Samia* 496 (adulterer if not also incestuous rapist) and adesp.1105.160, a bare mention; Atreus in Anaxandridas 35.10 (the golden ram); Clytemnestra in Eubulus, *Chrysilla* fr. 117.5 Hunter = 115.10 (a 'bad' woman; cf. Helen the model of an adulteress, Menander, *Samia* 337); Orestes in Sophilos fr. 10 (Orestes gobbling lentil soup after being cured of his madness). Lastly, Alexis fr. 3 parodies Euripides, *Orestes* 255–256 (Orestes terrified by the Furies).

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[13] *LIMC* I.1.271.89*; for the argument see esp. Prag (1985: 23–26); Moreau (1990), at 47 and 49; Sommerstein (1995: 196–197).

[14] One wonders if this comic Orestes anticipates the proverbial Ὀρέστης ἐν ὄρεσι διαιτώμενος "Orestes living on the mountains"—and pretending to be mad and stripping passers-by (*PCG* II.568.4 Leutsch-Schneidewin).

[15] Newiger (1961) argues that the evident topicality in the 420's of this image from Aeschylus' *Choeophori* must depend upon a recent revival for performance. It is however striking that by far the most depictions of Electra in art listed by *LIMC* show the reunion of Orestes and Electra.

Better evidence of Atreid popular persistence comes from the mere titles of comedies. Mythological burlesque was a staple of Old Comedy, and became even more so in Middle Comedy; but in New Comedy the fashion dwindled swiftly.[16] Here are just a few titles, most of which lead nowhere: Hermippus (5th century), *Agamemnon* fr. 1, parodic (see T 7); Diocles (5 / 4 century), *Thyestes* V.20, a title only (see *TrGF* 4.240); Polyzelus (5 / 4 century), *Demotyndareon* fr. 1–5 (the play, of c. 410, 'celebrated' the restoration of democracy at Athens after the Four Hundred, but the fragments reveal nothing of the Atreids). The Orestes-story attracted burlesque less often than one might have expected, given the potential for farce from the madness which marks him in Tragedy and made its way into Aristophanes (above, and n. 13): there are only titles from Dinolochus *PCG* I.180 (5th century) and Sopater I.282 (4 / 3: phlyax-farce), and just one fragment from Rhinton F 8 (3 / 2: also phlyax); and there is a bare title for Alexis *PCG* II.118 (4 / 3). This play may have exploited Euripides' tragedy, less probably that of Theodectes (*TrGF* 72 F 5, cited above). It is surprising that no other Attic comedy which burlesques Orestes' story is definitely known, except the *Orestautocleides* of Timocles (mid-4th Century), of which there are only two fragments (27–28), and in which the hero was apparently a pederast taken among whores.[17] Commentators on the comic Orestes adduce Aristotle's remark that happy endings are appropriate not to tragedy but to comedy, *Poetics* 1353a36–39: "for there are many who are the worst of enemies in the myth, such as Orestes and Aegisthus, and go out at the end after becoming friends, and nobody is killed by anybody;" but no such incident is known from Comedy. If it existed, it may have travestied the hostile scene between Orestes and Aegisthus which ends Sophocles, *Electra*; or, it is suggested, such a play may just have been imagined *exempli gratia* by Aristotle as a sly allusion to a 'tragedy' which did end this way, 'incorrectly.'[18]

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[16] See Hunter (1983: 23) and especially Nesselrath (1990: 188–241), who at 192–204 has a list of known play-titles; Arnott (1996:19–20); Webster (1970b) at 16–19 (Comedy of 400–370 BC), 82–97 (370–321), 115, 127, 154 (New Comedy).

[17] The suggestion dates back to Meineke: see *PCG* VII.774 and F 27; Arnott, *Alexis* p. 116.

[18] See Lucas (1968: 148); Halliwell (1986: 272 n. 28)—or, as Doreen Innes suggests to me, Aristotle is constructing an ἀδύνατον, with no specific allusion.

V. *A few prose authors*

The Atreids turn up here too; I am very selective in my examples. In the historians, their roles at Troy alone figure, but rarely, and they provide precedents or paradigms. Herodotus begins his *History* by linking the abductions of Io, Helen and Medea as traditional explanations of ancient hostility between Greeks and Persians (Hdt. 1.1–4); later, he gives space to the stories of Menelaus, Helen and Proteus (Hdt. 2.112–120). He refers to the Spartans' recovery of Orestes' bones from Tegea after Delphi had advised them that this was necessary to secure their hegemony in the Peloponnese (Hdt. 1.67–68); and he reports that the historical Taurians practised human sacrifice in honour of a divinity named Iphigenia (Hdt. 4.103). Herodotus' most striking reference to the Atreids, however, comes when the Spartan ambassador Syagrus argues at Syracuse that it should support the Greeks against Persia: when its ruler Gelon agrees, provided that he may command both forces, Syagrus says, "Agamemnon the descendant of Pelops would lament if he learned that Spartans had been deprived of their hegemony by Gelon and the Syracusans" (7.159). Thucydides speculates, as part of his account of thalassocracies in early Greece, upon Agamemnon's rise to power and command at Troy, and mentions Atreus' Mycenae (1.9). Xenophon cites Homer's praise of Agamemnon as soldier and commander (Xen. *Mem.* 3.1.4, 2.1–2; *Symp.* 4.6).

In the orators, the incidents of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* in particular provided useful illustrations. The institution of the Court of the Areopagus in *Eumenides* was regularly offered as a proud precedent for Athenian practice (Antiphon 5.80) against a background of its divine approval, as by Demosthenes 23.66 and 74. Dinarchus 1.87, like Aeschines 1.190, emphasizes the punitive role of the Eumenides as Σεμναὶ Θεαί or Ποιναί (a similar contention is found in the earlier logographer Hellanicus 323a F 221 *FGrH* = F 169 Fowler *EGM*). Clytemnestra is a paradigm of a deliberate murderess (Antiphon 1.17, cf. Eubulus, *Chrysilla* fr. 117.5 Hunter = 115.10 *PCG*);[19] and Aegisthus stands as the emblematic son of an unholy union (Andocides 1.129, [4].22). Display-orators used the Atreids, just as Gorgias used mythical figures for his *Helen* and *Palamedes*; for example, the late 5th-century Polycrates composed a stylistic extravaganza in

[19] Gagarin (1997) says that §§ 14–20 of this 'oration', which form its 'narrative', seem intended to recall the *Oresteia*; cf. also §§ 21, 25, 29. At 3.8 Antiphon alludes to δράσαντι παθεῖν from *Choephori* 313.

praise of Agamemnon (Demetrius, *On Style* 120), and a paradoxical one praising Clytemnestra (Quintilian, *Institutio* 2.17.4).

In Plato the Atreids naturally find a place among his very numerous illustrations from Tragedy. Almost all his dozen or so mentions of Agamemnon concern his (Homeric) portrayal at Troy. Thyestes exemplifies incest as an abomination absolutely forbidden and unmentionable, but nevertheless known to and feared by everybody—a view of it "frequent in jokes and even in serious tragedy, for example when people like Thyestes and Oedipus are brought on stage" (*Laws* 838b–c). Orestes' matricide is similarly an example of something so terrible it should not be mentioned, and which Orestes himself would have avoided had he been sane and prudent (*Alcibiades* II, 143c–d).[20] In *Cratylus* 394e–395c Plato plays with Atreid 'etymologies': whether by accident or poetic design, Orestes' name indicates his ferality, savagery, and 'quality of the mountain' (τὸ ὀρεινόν: just possibly another allusion to the proverb "Orestes living in the mountains," n. 14?); Agamemnon's name implies "admiration for (his ability to) stay put" (at Troy), ἄγαστος κατὰ τὴν ἐπιμονήν; as to Atreus, his killing of Chrysippus and cruelty to Thyestes were ruinous (ἀτηρόν) to his virtue, and so his name is 'correct' in hinting indirectly at his stubborness (τὸ ἀτειρές), fearlessness (τὸ ἄτρεστον) and ruinous actions (τὸ ἀτηρόν).

Much later, Lucian draws richly on the myth, with ten or more references, in three of which he is one of many later authors to name Pylades: the extraordinary friendship between him and Orestes in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* (see especially 657–722) had become a *topos* (Lucian 10.23, 49.47, and 57.1–8: I refer again to this last passage in VI below). Two other references only: at 36.41 Thyestes' grim story, like those of Oedipus and Tereus, is sometimes to be found hidden inside a richly decorated 'book', just as proven scoundrels conceal themselves inside speciously fine exteriors; at 38.16 Agamemnon is one of many tragic characters named to illustrate the ordinariness to which actors return when they leave the stage after playing him in splendid costume, and then perhaps changing to the role of a servant: "such is the nature of the human condition."

[20] One may add 'Atreus' eyes' as proverbial of shamelessness, *CPG* I.41.13, II.148.22 Leutsch-Schneidewin.

VI

I began with Aristotle on the Homeric Menelaus' sexual continence, and I end with Aristotle on a remarkable afterdeath of the Atreids, *On Marvellous Things Heard* 804a: "At Taras they say that at certain times sacrifices to the dead are offered to the Atreids … and that they perform sacrifices separately to the Children of Agamemnon on another special day, at which it is the rule for women not to taste the offerings made to these." The influence of 4th-Century revivals of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* may lie behind this cult, or at least its strengthening, and the general portrayal of Clytemnestra in the myth may have caused the interdict on women's participation in the tributes to Orestes and his sisters.[21] Hardly less remarkable is Lucian's presumed invention of a cult of Orestes and Pylades among the Scythians, in honour of their unexampled and wholly admirable friendship (57.1–8).

ohe, iam satis est. ad te, Martine, reuertor;
et nomen cyathis (tot enim decet) octo bibatur.[22*]

[21] For some discussion of women as potentially polluting to ritual see Parker (1983: 100–101).

[22] *Laeuia sex cyathis, septem Iustina bibatur, / quinque Lycas, Lyde quattuor, Ida tribus* Martial 1.71.1–2, cf. 11.36.7–8: *det numerum cyathis Istanti littera Rufi* 8.50.21.

[*] Three friends, Patrick Finglass, Doreen Innes, and James Morwood, generously commented on this paper in draft; James Diggle gave help beyond price with the hexameters.

TRAGIC BYSTANDERS: CHORUSES AND OTHER SURVIVORS IN THE PLAYS OF SOPHOCLES

Sheila Murnaghan

In his extensive work on tragic fragments, Martin Cropp has necessarily been occupied with the accidents of survival. As an editor, translator, and commentator on the fragments of Euripides, he has confronted the combination of purpose and chance that determines what of an ancient author's work happens to survive and has reconstructed both individual plays and a playwright's whole corpus from the haphazard evidence that remains. This editorial labor is itself also an expression of survival. Scholars like Martin devote their professional lives to the survivor's task of remembering, honoring, and striving to make sense of the dead.

Survival is not only the uncertain condition of tragic texts, but also a central theme of tragedy itself. I first began to think about tragedy and survival at the same time that I first met Martin, at the conference on "Euripides and Tragic Theatre in the late 5th Century" that he co-organized in Banff in 1999.[1] In this paper, I return to the topic, picking up some of the threads of that earlier discussion and following them into the works of Sophocles.

Tragedy's particular concern with survival is in part related to the prominence of the bystanders mentioned in my title. The violent deaths and extreme sufferings that are tragedy's main subject are difficult to represent and excruciating to witness, and classical Athenian tragedy is constituted in such a way that those events are made present to the mind but kept largely out of view. The main events of tragic plots are usually not presented directly before the spectators' eyes, but are recounted by witnesses, who are often quite minor characters, like the messengers whose long speeches often convey the most consequential and horrific events of the plots: the activities of reporting, hearing about, and responding to the deaths of others occupy center stage.[2] And tragedy retains from its roots in non-dramatic lyric a prominent chorus, which represents a group of

[1] That paper appears as Murnaghan 2000.
[2] On messengers in tragedy, see Barrett 2002, De Jong 1991.

people whose involvement in the action is intensely felt but also peripheral, a group who are always present from beginning to end, and always destined to survive whatever destruction the plot unleashes. In form, tragedy owes much to the practices of mourning and the poetic genre of lamentation, the conventional means by which people work through the experience of survival.[3]

As figures who are affected by the events of the plot but also live to tell the tale, tragic bystanders mirror the audience at whom the play is directed. Tragedy gives its audience an experience of witnessing the deaths and sufferings of other people and then leaving the theater to continue their lives as survivors. This is a safer, less catastrophic experience than what happens to the protagonists, but far from trivial. It is one of the tasks of all living people to make sense of their relationship to the dead. Being alive while others are dead is a constant fact of life that can seem meaningless or casual, as when people idly read the obituaries of people they never heard of before, or charged with meaning.

In the imagination of the living, survival is implicated in various scenarios of cause and effect: the living may owe their lives to the dead, who have been in some way sacrificed on their behalf; the dead may owe their deaths to the living, who may have willingly or unwillingly brought those deaths about. The living may feel the absence of the dead as a loss, which makes their own lives hardly worth living, or as a liberation, which allows them to live more fully. It often seems that the living live at the expense of the dead, which leads to feelings of unease or "survivor guilt." Knowing that other people have died makes it hard to feel comfortable being alive. Survivors find it helpful to soften or suppress that knowledge, embracing various forms of ignorance. No matter how innocent the survivor, there's always a troubling disparity between the living and the dead. For this reason, mourning, however intense, always has a theatrical dimension. Mourners imitate the dead through their suspension of normal life and their self-destructive gestures, but they also stay alive, and so they share something of the actor's inescapable bad faith.

Survival is itself such a serious, disturbing condition that it is often addressed through the experiences of tragic protagonists themselves as well as the peripheral figures who outlive them. Several of Sophocles'

[3] On tragedy's connections to mourning and lamentation, see Alexiou 2002, Cole 1985, Holst-Warhaft 1992, Foley 2001, Macintosh 1994, Seaford 1994, Segal 1993, Wright 1986.

plots cast their main figures in situations that highlight the issues around survival that I have been sketching. These include two of his most prominent protagonists, Antigone and Oedipus, whose stories of extraordinary suffering are bound up with lasting responsibility to the dead.

The plot of the *Antigone* contrives a situation in which the ordinary, transitory observances with which the living acknowledge the dead before going on with their lives cannot be performed without being pulled into death oneself. Antigone plays out her role in the action as the survivor of her brother Polyneices. Creon's decree prohibiting the burial of Polyneices on pain of death creates a situation in which for Antigone to act on her relationship to her brother, performing the rites that are routinely owed him, means to follow her brother all the way to death itself, to collapse the normal difference between the dead and their survivors. As she is about to be led off to her death, Antigone describes herself as a *metoikos*, a "fellow-dweller" (868), with all the dead members of her family and invokes Polyneices with a stark account of her circumstances: "brother … by your death, you killed me, the still living" (871, trans. Griffith).

In *Oedipus the King*, Sophocles' most famous protagonist acts out a different scenario of survival, but one that also involves a loss of differentiation from the dead. The radical change of fortune that Oedipus undergoes in the course of the play requires a redefinition of his position as a survivor. As the play opens, Oedipus sees himself as the casual survivor and beneficiary of Laius' death, much as we are all the casual survivors of dead people we have never met who once lived in our houses or occupied our jobs. When Laius is first mentioned, he hardly means anything to Oedipus at all. On returning from Delphi, Creon starts his report of the oracle by filling Oedipus in: "My lord, Laius once was the ruler / of this land, before you guided this city," to which Oedipus responds, "I've heard of him. I never saw him" (103–105).[4] Oedipus' subsequent project of saving Thebes by finding and expelling the murderer of Laius forces him to redefine his relationship to the dead man in ever closer terms and his role as Laius' survivor becomes ever more troublesome. Taking on this cause, Oedipus goes from having merely heard of Laius to being his *summachos* (135) and connects his position as Laius' successor to an obligation based on similarity of circumstance that can be compared to the obligation of kinship.

[4] Unless otherwise indicated, translations are my own.

Now since I happen
to have the office that he held before,
and to have his marriage bed, and his wife as mother of my children,
and we would have had children in common,
if his offspring hadn't failed,
and now fortune has led me to his power,
because of all this, as if he were my father,
I fight on his behalf ... (Soph. *OT* 258–265)

It is worth noting the formulations by which Oedipus here maintains a protective distance between himself and the dead man. His own position as Laius' heir is a matter of happenstance. His connection to Laius only resembles that of a son to a father. The unfolding of the plot from this point on exposes these distinctions as fictions. Oedipus' takeover of Laius' roles as king and husband is not a chance event, but the working out of a divine plan; Oedipus is not *like* a son to Laius, he is his son; and he is not only his ally but also his killer. From a state of detached survival, Oedipus is pulled back into closer identification with the dead man, and fuller responsibility for his death, for which he bears, not just the obligation to avenge it, but the guilt of having caused it. In his case the outcome is not actual death, but a self-inflicted blinding that mimics death, or even exceeds it, at least in the eyes of the chorus, who tell him: "You would be better off dead than living and blind" (1368).

These protagonists are placed in extreme circumstances that call into question the normal strategies of survival, the common enterprise of putting death behind us and moving on. For them, that forward motion is made impossible by the multiple links that bind us to the dead: kinship, sympathy, a sense of similarity, the ways we step into the places that the dead vacate or even push them aside to make room for us. As a genre that typically unsettles comforting assumptions, tragedy undoes the vital distinction between living and dead that makes successful mourning, with its eventual conclusion, possible. In the case of Sophocles, that is in part because he juxtaposes the perspectives of his human actors with a disorienting, quasi-divine perspective in which individual human life is a fleeting, insignificant matter, so much so that the distinction between the living and the dead can seem negligible.

We see this perspective reflected in the ways that Antigone characterizes her situation. Faced with death, she laments the life she will not have—especially the experience of marriage, which gives shape and fullness to a woman's life—with a familiar human investment in life's pleasures and opportunities. But, in seizing on rationalizations for her fatal

choice to bury Polyneices, she treats her life as insignificant compared to the long, inescapable time when she too will be dead. She tells Ismene, "Much longer is the time / when I must please those below than those up here. / There I will lie forever" (73–76). Even as she bemoans her death, she describes herself as being led off by Hades "who gives sleep to all" (810–811) and she imagines a warm welcome from her dead parents and her dead brother because of the funeral rites she performed for them, suggesting that the gestures of mourning may be proleptic, an acknowledgement of the shared future of the now living and the already dead. Survival may be a given of the human condition, but it is not a permanent state.

As Sophoclean protagonists, Antigone and Oedipus are extraordinary figures: they are marked out for exceptional destinies, and they have exceptionally passionate characters that drive them to extreme and self-destructive actions, disqualifying them for the survival skills of normal people. So the question may arise of whether their inability to survive really is, as I have been presenting it, something that illuminates the common condition of all of us. Sophocles' heroic protagonists always invite this double perspective, and it is useful to compare them to the more ordinary characters who also populate his plays, who may be better able to keep their distance from the already dead.

Sophocles promotes this comparison by staging dialogues in which whether it is acceptable to embrace survival is actually at issue: he places his death-bound protagonists in confrontation with characters who believe that it is acceptable, so that his protagonists not only illustrate but also articulate the pitfalls of survival. We first encounter Antigone in dialogue with Ismene, who is convinced that she and Antigone are not obliged to invite death by burying Polyneices.[5] The circumstances of the plot allow Ismene to make a compelling plea on the grounds that she and Antigone are not just survivors, but the only survivors of the series of deaths that have devastated their family:

> Now we two alone are left alive, and see
> how horribly we'll die if, breaking the law,
> we transgress the ruler's decree and power. (Soph. *Ant.* 58–60)

But those same circumstances also work against Ismene. When Antigone has been consigned to death, Ismene wants to join her after all, and tries

[5] For an analysis of the different voices of Antigone and Ismene in this dialogue, see Griffith 2001: 127–129.

to share Antigone's responsibility and punishment because, for her, survival is now isolation: "What is the point of life for me, if I'm deprived of you?" (548). Furthermore, Ismene's instinct for survival, however sensible and appealing, is inherently demeaning, for it is tied to protestations of powerlessness:

> You have to bear in mind that we are
> women, and so not meant to fight with men,
> and we are ruled by those who are stronger,
> and must obey in this and even harder things. (Soph. *Ant.* 61–64)

Another Sophoclean character who clashes with others on the merits of survival is the heroine of the *Electra*. There too the extreme circumstances of a tragic plot heighten the dynamics of survival. Electra is wholly devoted to not getting over her father's death, spending all of her time in lamentation, self-laceration, and fantasies of revenge with the return of her brother Orestes; these actions are both an expression of her state of mind and a deliberate affront to her mother, a concerted project of interference with Clytemnestra's own efforts to move on. The singularity of Electra's behavior is pointed out by a sympathetic chorus of young women, who tell her that she can never bring her father back, that all she can accomplish is self-destruction. They add that she is not the only mortal to whom suffering has come, and evoke her sisters, Chrysothemis and Iphianassa, as models of proper survivors, who have not gone to similar extremes (129–136, 153–158).

Soon after, we see Electra face-to-face with one of those sisters, Chrysothemis. Like Ismene, Chrysothemis casts the survivor's dilemma in terms of helplessness. She shares Electra's sickness of heart, but lacks sufficient power to act on her feelings. "If I am going to live in freedom [meaning freedom from punishment by Clytemnestra and Aegisthus], I have to obey the powerful in everything" (339–340). But, given these same circumstances, Electra can recast her sister's choice of a life not given over to grief as betrayal and faithlessness towards the dead, and Chrysothemis becomes in Electra's description another representative of the bad faith built into survival. For Chrysothemis to accept life in the face of their father's death is to ally herself with his killers, whatever she may say: "You tell me you hate them, but you hate only in word. / In deed, you consort with our father's murderers" (357–358). For Electra, Chrysothemis' betrayal is bound up even in the basic, life-sustaining activity of eating, which she herself renounces.

> Let a rich
> table be set out for you and an abundant life.
> For me, let a clear conscience be my only
> nourishment. (Soph. *El.* 361–365)

Electra's refusal to put her father's death behind her allows her to identify with cruel clarity the inherent faithlessness of those who can, including her well-meaning sister as well as her literally faithless mother, who, despite having blood on her hands, prays to Apollo to live out her present prosperous life with those of her children who do not hate her. Yet, touchingly, Electra knows that her loyalty to the dead has distorted her. She tells the chorus she is ashamed to trouble them with her excessive mourning (254–255). And she also tells Clytemnestra that she feels shame at the unseasonable, unbecoming behavior that Clytemnestra's own crimes and mistreatment of her have inspired (616–621). Throughout these multiple situations, there is for the characters in these plays—whatever their temperament, their intentions, or their relationship to justice—no secure, acceptable way to survive the deaths of others.

But what about the choruses of tragedy, those figures who really are just bystanders, who really are supposed to survive the traumas of a tragic plot? Choruses of tragedy contrast with the characters, even the more minor characters, through their more distant relationships to the figures whose deaths, both past and present, shape the tragic plot, and they are thus able to provide a more congenial, acceptable model of survival. Constituted as groups, choruses naturally represent the larger community whose ongoing survival is understood to be a benefit and a source of comfort in the face of individual disasters. In this respect, they resemble the audience, and virtually all discussions of the tragic chorus involve in some way the assumption that the chorus builds the experience of the audience into the play; along these lines, the chorus can be seen as providing a positive model for the audience of tragedy as eventual survivors of what they witness.[6]

This capacity to stand as a positive model of survival is also furthered by the way choruses are incorporated into the dramatic action. They are cast in roles that further a sense of distinction between them and the main characters, those of unimportant, often socially marginal people.[7]

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[6] On Sophocles' choruses as presenting a welcome portrait of survival that resonates for both a larger fictional community and for the audience, see Budelmann 2000: 195–272. On Sophocles' use of the chorus more generally, see Burton 1980, Gardiner 1987.

[7] On the dramatic roles of tragic choruses, see Foley 2003a.

Choruses are outsiders to the action, with the result that their ability to survive it seems unobjectionable. They lack the close kinship with the dead that jeopardizes the survival of Oedipus and Antigone and that makes it possible to characterize the willingness to live on of even more ordinary figures like Ismene and Chrysothemis as betrayal. The social inferiority of the chorus also exempts them from tragic suffering, which is presented as a risk run by the powerful that the powerless rightly escape. Here we can contrast the royal family members Ismene and Chrysothemis, whose professions of powerlessness ring a little hollow compared to the unqualified commitment to the dead voiced by Antigone and Electra.

In addition, choruses still retain within their dramatic roles their more detached identity as choruses; they participate in the action, but they also pause to sing about it in terms that transcend the perspectives of their fictional characters.[8] In this way, they create a bridge between tragedy and the typical contexts of choral song, which are festive, joyful occasions, even if the stories told are dark and disturbing. Portrayals of festive song in Greek poetry sometimes stress this contrast: the performers and audiences of song take pleasure in the sufferings of great figures from the past, exhibiting the callousness that can characterize survivors.[9]

The relationship between choruses and characters in tragedy can be understood as reflecting the both the political dynamics and the religious institutions of tragedy's 5th-century Athenian context. The ordinary citizens who made up the audiences of tragedy could have seen in the choruses images of themselves in relation to their own leaders, who even in the democracy tended to be rich aristocrats with ties to the powerful in other cities, pursuing high stakes, volatile careers marked by intense competition. They may have admired the risky life of the elite and seen it as beneficial to the community, but they were content to observe it from a position of relative obscurity. As one critic puts it, "The great man or woman of tragedy ... makes mistakes, comes (or almost comes) to spectacular and paradigmatic ruin, is loudly and ostentatiously lamented—but is survived by a relieved (even strengthened?) community" (Griffith 1995: 122). This image of ostentatious lamentation recalls again the the-

[8] Henrichs 1994–1995.

[9] Some especially pointed instances are *Odyssey* 8. 90–92, 521 ff., where the subject of song has miraculously survived to hear his own troubles sung about and to contrast with the rest of the audience in his pained response; *Hymn to Apollo* 189–193, where the audience that delights in tales of human suffering consists of the gods, who are permanent survivors.

atricality of grief, here in a context in which it seems well justified. The echoes of hero cult that color tragedy's presentation of the deaths of great figures also reinforce the sense that suffering tragic protagonists are properly to be distinguished from the communities that outlive them. In the context of hero cult, where the dead receive extraordinary honors and confer benefits on the whole community, the grief of survivors is not a half-hearted gesture by the living towards the dead, but an important service that celebrates and sustains a figure whose death does make him different from everyone else.

And so a picture emerges in which tragedy's bringing together of actors and chorus allows it to give a mixed account of the fraught, ambiguous condition of survival. The characters show us the hazards of thinking one can really get clear of the deaths of others; their stories explore the multiple bonds that tie us permanently to the dead and reveal the duplicity and cowardice of our justifications for moving on. The chorus, on the other hand, allows us to draw a sharper line between our lives and the dead, who are marked as truly different, and offers us a model of endurance that we can comfortably adopt and take away from our time in the theater.

This picture is largely true, I think, but also subject to some complication. While choruses are generally cast in roles that create a clear, protective gap between them and the protagonists of tragedy, a closer bond lurks behind those fictional identities, and it is sometimes harder than one might expect for choruses to act as detached commentators on the experiences of protagonists. That closer bond may reflect the origins of tragedy's main characters. The stories enacted by those characters have a long history in poetic legend, and many tragic portrayals clearly owe a debt to the epic tradition, which is reworked for the dramatic stage. But it may be that formally the protagonists emerged from the chorus. This is the implication of Aristotle's cryptic but suggestive claim in the *Poetics* that tragedy came from those who led the dithyramb (4.1449a10–11). What he seems to be saying is that the singers who led the chorus broke off from the group and started acting out the stories they were telling.

Whether or not this comment gives us a true account of the origins of tragedy, it does encourage us to think about the possibility that the disparate fictional roles assigned to choruses and characters may recast what was originally a closer connection. It is possible to find traces of that connection in some of our extant plays, and it tends to interfere with the chorus' role as model survivors. One such trace is the way that choruses sometimes foreground rather than suppress the often difficult

relations between leaders and followers; another is the way in which their involvement with tragic protagonists can make it hard for choruses to perform the choral function that they still retain as they take on their minor parts in the tragic plot, the function of singers who tell the stories of famous men and women.

In another suggestive comment attributed to Aristotle, tragic protagonists are equated with the leaders of armies and choruses with the men who follow them: "[the individual characters] play the heroes: among the ancients [people of the heroic past] the leaders alone were heroes. The army were ordinary men; of them the chorus is made up" (*Problems* IX 48.922b17–19). This relationship is not usually portrayed in tragic scenarios, perhaps because it does not so easily allow for the sense of comfortable distance that is usually promoted by the dramatic identities of choruses. The Homeric epics show the relations of leaders and their men to be troubled and volatile: leaders take their men into dangerous situations in pursuit of their own glory. With their exceptional abilities, they can be saviors for their men, but with their ambitious drive to individual glory, they can also be their men's destroyers.[10]

Among the extant plays of Sophocles, the *Ajax* does, however, include a chorus that plays the role of an army that has to contend with the fate of its leader. For that chorus, both survival itself and the ability to perform as a chorus are placed in jeopardy by their close bond to their leader. Having followed Ajax to Troy and depending on him as they do, they cannot view Ajax' downfall from a safe distance. Their response to the first rumors of his mad attack is one of personal terror:

> When you do well I rejoice,
> but when Zeus' blow or the furious
> evil-speaking word of the Greeks strikes you,
> I shrink back and cower
> like the eye of a fluttering dove. (Soph. *Aj*. 136–140)

They go on to outline the symbiosis of leader and led that implicates them, for all their humility, in Ajax' disaster.

> Envy goes after those who have much.
> But the little men without the great
> Are a shaky prop for a tower.
> Better for the weak to rely on the great
> And the great to be shored up by the weaker. (Soph. *Aj*. 157–161)

[10] Haubold 2000.

For this chorus, the frightening vicissitudes of the protagonist cannot be viewed with equanimity; as the plot develops, their safety, along with that of Ajax' other survivors, becomes an issue that has to be resolved along with the fate of Ajax' corpse.[11]

As their survival is placed in jeopardy, this chorus is also pulled further away from their identity as a chorus, as a group of singers who recount the hero's fate in pleasurable song rather than sharing it. In apostrophizing Ajax with the words "when you do well, I rejoice," the Salaminian sailors sum up the problem: tragic choruses are bound up with people who do not do well and so they lose their connection to rejoicing. The same chorus spells this out more fully later when they complain about the hardships of war. Their dramatic role as warriors takes them away from the kind of scene of festive song, in this case a symposium, where their underlying identity as singers would place them. They curse whoever it was who first introduced war to the Greeks:

> He was the wretch who kept me from garlands
> and the pleasures of deep cups
> and the sweet din of the flute
> and nighttime joys. (Soph. *Aj.* 1199–1204)

In a famous and famously ironic moment, the chorus of the *Ajax* can only really express its choral identity at a moment when they misunderstand what they are witnessing, when they fail to recognize the tragic direction in which Ajax' story is tending. Fooled into thinking that Ajax is not moving towards the violent fate of self-inflicted death, they break into a joyous song and spirited dance:

> I shudder with joy; elated, I take flight.
> . . .
> Now I am bent on dancing. (Soph. *Aj.* 693, 701)

Another Sophoclean chorus that wrestles with its relationship to a towering but unstable protagonist is the chorus of *Oedipus the King*. There the chorus are not the dependents of a military leader but citizens of a city that owes its well-being to the brilliant efforts of its king. Remembering the past, when Oedipus rescued Thebes from the Sphinx, and hoping for future relief from the new trouble of a terrible plague, the chorus knows Oedipus as their savior. So, when Teiresias intimates that Oedipus is also the murderer of Laius and the source of the plague, the chorus refuses to believe it.

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[11] For a fuller discussion, see Budelmann 2000: 231–245.

In wisdom,
one man might overmatch another.
But I would never
before I saw a true proof
agree with those who blame Oedipus.
For she plainly came at him once
that winged maiden
and he proved wise
and saved the city.
So he will never be condemned by my mind. (Soph. *OT* 502–511)

Starting as they do with this confident, partial vision of Oedipus, the chorus experiences the rest of the play, not as a spectacle seen in safety, but as an intensely disorienting series of cognitive challenges. By the end of the play, their own circumstances have not altered. They are still citizens of Thebes, and Thebes has once again been saved by Oedipus; their own future survival is assured. But they have taken on a very different role as witnesses to the action. As models for the experience of outliving tragic action, they show that surviving does not mean emerging unscathed. In the song they sing when the full truth of Oedipus' identity has come out, they identify themselves as sad singers of lamentation, but link that role to their complete identification with Oedipus and a wish that they had never seen him.

O child of Laius
I wish, I wish
I had never seen you.
I grieve and pour forth
a lament
from my mouth. To tell the truth,
it was from you that I took my breath
And closed my eye in sleep. (Soph. *OT* 1216–1222)

When Oedipus reappears after blinding himself, the chorus repeats their wish that they had never known him. They cannot bear to fulfill their role as tellers of his tale; they cannot bring themselves to look at him or to elicit his story, even though they feel that sympathy that supposedly draws us into the experiences of tragic characters.

Oh, oh, miserable sufferer, I cannot look at you,
although there's much I want to ask,
much I want to learn, and much I want to see.
What a shudder you give me! (Soph. *OT* 1303–1306)

As witnesses to Oedipus' fate, the chorus of *Oedipus the King* presents his story as something that they cannot bear to live through. But they

do live through it. They are not like those protagonists who simply are not able to survive. The chorus do offer the audience a model for its own experience as survivors. But it is not a comfortable one, and it provides relief only through looking away. Here tragedy intensifies the inevitable ignorance of survivors, who can never fully understand the dangers they have escaped or relive their own adventures of the past. Survival entails many forms of ignorance, both conscious and unconscious, and Sophocles' plays confront us with several of them: the willed blindness of the chorus of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*; Oedipus' mistaken belief that Laius' death has nothing to do with him; the appeal to powerlessness that allows Ismene and Chrysothemis to forget that they could sacrifice themselves to the memories of their dead relatives if they wanted to; the cheerfulness in the face of others' suffering that makes heroic song possible. In another way, these plays confront us with our own ignorance as distant heirs to the long-past performances and poetic traditions of which they are the partial remains, and which it is the particular contribution of scholars like Martin Cropp to recover as far as possible from what bits and pieces survive.

THE SETTING OF THE PROLOGUE OF SOPHOCLES' *ANTIGONE*

John Porter

In her influential 1989 study, "Assumptions and the Creation of Meaning: Reading Sophocles' *Antigone*," Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood argues that the acutely sympathetic portrayal of Antigone offered by many modern readings is misguided—a reflection of the gap that distinguishes the values and concerns of today's readers from those of the fifth-century Athenian *polis*, but also of the failure of modern critics to respond to the prompts offered by Sophocles' text.[1] This discrepancy, she maintains, becomes apparent from the very opening of the play, as Sophocles makes a point from the start of distancing the audience's sympathies from the protagonist and raising questions about the nature and validity of her motives: "At the very beginning of the play the audience saw two women in the dark, in a place which ... is beyond the courtyard's gates, and thus a place where they ought not to be. This frames them negatively ...."[2]

We are presented with two related charges: that Antigone and Ismene are perceived as gathering in a conspiratorial fashion in the dark, which biases the audience against them, and that the audience would in any case regard with suspicion *any* women who strayed beyond the confines of the *oikos*. The first of these charges points to the much-debated but as yet not fully resolved issue of the temporal setting of the play's opening, which will be examined afresh in the discussion that follows; the second has been addressed more fully in other studies and will be touched on only briefly here. Both disputes, however, raise interesting questions concerning the communication between playwright and audience, and the sorts of prompts to which the critic is to respond in attempting to construct a reading of an ancient tragic text.

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[1] Her article is part of a larger project: see Sourvinou-Inwood (1987–1988), (1988), (1989b), (1990), (1995).

[2] Sourvinou-Inwood (1989a) 138. Cf. Calder (1968) 392: "... *Antigone* begins at night. We soon see why. Alone ... in the courtyard of the palace two members of the royal house are conspiring against the state." More qualified readings, still favoring a pre-dawn setting, are presented by O'Brien (1978) 10, Benardete (1999) 1, Griffith (1999) 119.

Sourvinou-Inwood cites many useful critical axioms at the beginning of her piece, but one that she neglects is the importance of considering the play as experienced *in performance* rather than on the printed page. On the modern stage, or in film, it is indeed possible to present Antigone and Ismene in this initial scene as a pair of co-conspirators meeting on the sly amidst gloom and shadow, but the difficulties of doing so in the Theater of Dionysus in March are considerable. Either we must revive the long discredited notion that plays actually began before dawn (a notion that has been dispatched, most recently, by Cliff Ashby)[3] or we must place immense weight on Ismene's passing reference to the Argive forces having departed ἐν νυκτὶ τῇ νῦν ("on this current night"?) at line 16—the sole reference in this scene to the time of day, and scarcely emphatic enough to build much of a case upon. Calder and Knox, in particular, cite parallels from other plays, with Knox commenting that, "(n)ight scenes on the Attic stage are simply indicated by a verbal reference,"[4] but if we compare other nocturnal prologues, we find that solid parallels are hard to come by, while Knox's assertion turns out to be simply misleading.

In cases where the temporal setting is significant to an understanding of the ensuing action, we discover, as one would expect, that a reference to the time of day appears early, and that this reference is both emphatic and unambiguous.[5] In the majority of instances, some mention of night, the night sky, activities or items appropriate to nighttime, or the appearance of dawn occurs within the first few lines of the play, or at the open-

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[3] Ashby (1992). See, e.g., Schmidt (1971) 38 f., where an attempt is made to identify which plays might have been first in their respective trilogies based on references to morning in the prologue and/or *parodos*. Such an investigation is futile, given that plays commonly assume a morning setting as a default for their opening scenes, even in instances where the temporal setting receives no particular emphasis (consider, for example, Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, the third play of the *Oresteia*). In any case, the fact that each day of performances at the City Dionysia would have begun with prayers and offerings to the gods makes it impossible to assume a pre-dawn curtain time for a particular work, even had the playwrights envisioned such an unpractical arrangement.

[4] Knox (1964) 180 f. n. 43.

[5] Aesch. *Ag.* 1–7; Soph. *El.* 15–22; Eur. *Hec.* 68–70, *El.* 54–56, *Ion* 82–111, *IA* 1–15, fr. 114 K. (*Andromeda*) [= Ar. *Thesm.* 1065–1069]; Eur. *Rhes.* 1–10; Ar. *Ach.* 17–22, *Nub.* 1–79, *Vesp.* 1–53, *Lys.* 1–19, *Thesm.* 1–2, *Eccl.* 1–3, 17–21 (cf. 30 ff., 82 f., 282–284, 290–292, etc.); Carcinus *TGrF* 70F2; Men. *Mis.* A1–26; *adesp. com.* 1084.1–7 (cf. 28); Plaut. *Amph.* 153 f., *Curc.* 1 f., 8 f. Cf. also Apollodorus (Carystius vel Gelous) 3 K./A., with Men. *Mis.* (loc. cit.) and Plaut. *Merc.* 3–8. An instructive contrast is provided by Eur. *IT*, which clearly opens in the morning (42–66) but where little practical significance is placed on the time of day. Compare Fantuzzi (1990).

ing of the action proper following a preliminary monologue or introductory passage.[6] In every instance where a nocturnal setting is significant, the time of the action is made emphatically clear, either by a prominent and early reference to night itself[7] or through a detailed description of nighttime activities.[8] In three passages (characteristically, all from comedy), the text makes it clear that the staging itself would immediately suggest nighttime: *Clouds* and *Wasps* each present the viewer with characters who are attempting to sleep, while Praxagora in *Women in Assembly* opens with a lengthy comic address to the lamp that lights her way.[9] In no case is the location of the action at night entrusted to a delayed and oblique verbal cue comparable to Ismene's ἐν νυκτὶ τῇ νῦν.

Moreover, the words ἐν νυκτὶ τῇ νῦν, taken by themselves, are far from unambiguous. Commentators are correct in asserting that the adverb νῦν used in the attributive position regularly conveys the meaning "current" or the like.[10] Bradshaw, in his often-cited 1962 article, sums up the matter thus: "There are nearly fifty instances of this combination in [Sophocles'] extant plays and in all of them νῦν refers to the present, with the possible exception of *Ant.* 151 .... It is then highly probable, to say the least, that the phrase ἐν νυκτὶ τῇ νῦν is intended to indicate that this is a night scene."[11] This argument sounds conclusive, but consider *Antigone* 148–151, the possible exception mentioned by Bradshaw:

ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἁ μεγαλώνυμος ἦλθε Νίκα
τᾷ πολυαρμάτῳ ἀντιχαρεῖσα Θήβᾳ,
ἐκ μὲν δὴ πολέμων
τῶν νῦν θέσθαι λησμοσύναν ...

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[6] For the latter, see Soph. *El.* 15–22; Eur. *Hec.* 68–70, *El.* 54–56, *Ion* 82–111; Ar. *Ach.* 17–22; Plaut. *Amph.* 153 f. *Adesp. com.* 1084 K./A. might also belong to this class.

[7] Eur. *Hec., El., Andromeda* [*Thesm.* 1065–1069]; Ar. *Clouds*; Carcinus *TGrF* 70F2; Men. *Mis.; adesp. com.* 1084 K./A.; Plaut. *Amph., Curc.* Cf. Alexis 93 K./A. and Turpil. com. 52–55 R.

[8] Aesch. *Ag.*, Eur. *IA*, Eur. *Rh.*, Plaut. *Amph.*

[9] Cf. *adesp. com.* 1084.28 K./A., where the speaker commands his slave to bring a lamp closer so that he can see more clearly. As Fantuzzi (1990) 20 f. notes, the fifth-century tragedians avoid, to the degree possible, the sorts of discrepancies inherent in such scenes between the dramatic temporal setting and the temporal setting of the performance. By contrast, the comic stage, with its attention to matters of "low" realism, readily accommodates such scenarios and is perfectly content to exploit any ludicrous impressions that might result: cf., e.g., the well-known Paestan bell-krater attributed to Asteas (Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Inv. no. 17106) depicting Zeus, Alcmene, and Hermes.

[10] Cf. Ellendt (1872) *s.v.*2.

[11] Bradshaw (1962) 203.

> But since Victory whose name is glorious has come,
> her joy responding to the joy of Thebes with many chariots,
> after the recent wars be forgetful … (Soph. *Ant.* 148–151 LCL)

The chorus here rejoices at the fact of Thebes' salvation and urges forgetfulness of the just-concluded war (πολέμων τῶν νῦν). As Bradshaw notes, the text has been suspected by some, but it has generally been retained by recent editors.[12] This does not appear to be a *possible* exception to Bradshaw's rule, but a very real one, and one that comes only some 135 lines after Ismene's problematic utterance. Compare as well *Oedipus at Colonus* 387 f., where Ismene, asked whether she has any reason to hope that Oedipus' fate might improve, refers to recently delivered oracles (τοῖς νῦν … μαντεύμασιν), which in turn prompts Oedipus to enquire what the oracles have prophesied (τί δὲ τεθέσπισται, τέκνον;). Again, the reference is to something in the recent past, as Oedipus' use of the perfect τεθέσπισται indicates. And at the conclusion of *Electra* (1510), the chorus celebrates the release of the descendants of Atreus from their travails τῇ νῦν ὁρμῇ: "by means of their just accomplished enterprise" (again in association with a perfect tense, τελεωθέν). In each of these instances, and elsewhere,[13] νῦν is employed in combination with the definite article to refer in a vivid fashion to something in the recent past.[14]

The principal concern of Bradshaw and Knox, whose arguments have been cited above, is to bolster the contention that both the prologue and the initial burial of Polynices' corpse occur before dawn, and thereby to yield what they regard as a plausible chronology for the play's events. Yet, in addressing one difficulty, they merely highlight another: it is one thing to imagine that the city's former king, having been killed just outside the city gates, could have been buried so quickly and with so little fanfare—without, in fact, the participation or even the prior knowledge of his own sisters; it is quite another to accept that this has been accomplished in the middle of the night.[15] Ultimately, one must

[12] The principal disagreement concerns the emendation of θέσθαι to θέσθε at 151, which does not substantially alter the sense.

[13] E.g., Aesch. *Pers.* 801; Soph. *OC* 1034 f.; Eur. *Hipp.* 718, *IA* 1343; Ar. *Nub.* 372, *Eccl.* 492; Men. *Epit.* 534. See below on Aesch. *Ag.* 279 and Soph. *Aj.* 141 f.

[14] This combination has a similar force to that associated with the demonstrative adjective in such contexts: e.g., Soph. *Aj.* 21 f., 208 f., *El.* 644, Eur. *El.* 90 (with n. 18).

[15] While it was stipulated that Athenian funeral processions should commence before dawn (Burkert [1985] 192 and n. 14; Garland [1985] 33 f.), there is no indication that the

confess that, as in the case of the *Oedipus*, Sophocles does not provide for a precise or altogether realistic understanding of the offstage events reported in the course of the play. But if we return to the audience's initial perceptions in the prologue—prior to the chronological difficulties posed by later developments—ritual norms suggest the assumption of a setting at some unspecified point in the morning;[16] a nighttime setting, with the concurrent suggestion of an unseemly hastening off of Eteocles to the grave and an overhasty assumption of power by Creon, would merit—and, in fact, require—more specific comment. In the same vein, it is worth noting that the most egregious feature of Creon's policy toward the dead Polynices lies in the fact that the threat which he and his Argive forces once presented now lies safely in the *past*. Again, the basic assumptions that inform the scene suggest that, as in the *parodos* (100–109), the appropriate timeframe is the morning following the events to which the characters allude.

It is often argued that the lines just cited, the opening strophe of the *parodos*, demonstrate that the prologue which precedes it must occur in a pre-dawn setting,[17] but this line of reasoning falters on two counts. Twice elsewhere in Sophocles (*Ajax* and *Electra*), prologue and *parodos* meld together to present a common exposition of the play's setting.[18] In such cases, the *parodos* does not represent a subsequent development of the temporal setting but is contiguous with the prologue and complements it, in a manner that recalls the juxtaposition of spoken verse and lyric commonly employed to explore a character's emotional state.[19]

interment itself was regarded as a nocturnal rite: note, e.g., that Plato, *Laws* 960a (echoing an ordinance attributed to Solon: Dem. 43.62, Cic. *Leg.* 2.26.66) stipulates only that the funeral procession quit the city walls before dawn (πρὸ ἡμέρας ἔξω τῆς πόλεως εἶναι), while Heraclit. *Quaest. Hom.* 68.4 states expressly that the procession took place neither in the dead of night (νύκτωρ) nor in full heat of the day, but in the gentle first light of dawn (πρὸς βαθὺν ὄρθρον ἀπύροις ἡλίου ἀκτῖσιν ἀνιόντος).

[16] Cf. Ehrenberg (1954) 108 f.

[17] E.g. O'Brien (1978) 10 and Jäkel (1961) 45.

[18] See *Aj.* 141 (cf. 21), *El.* 86–91 (cf. 15–22). (In the latter case, the *parodos* proper is preceded by and incorporated with Electra's monody.) Cf. Eur. *Ion* 82–111, where it would be a mistake to assume that Hermes' prologue is to be imagined as being presented in the dark, and the opening of Euripides' *Phaethon* (the *parodos* at fr. 773.63 ff. K, preceded by an early morning conversation between Clymene and Phaethon). The entrance at Eur. *El.* 82, by contrast, does reflect such a temporal progression (contrast 54–59 and 78 f. with 90 and 102 f.); note, however, that the passage in question does not involve lyrics but a new scene in iambics appended to the prologue.

[19] E.g., Aesch. *Ag.* 1072–1330, Soph. *Ant.* 801–943, Eur. *Hipp.* 198–430.

The technique is particularly effective in *Antigone*, where it contrasts the personal and conflicted situation of the heroine with the naive relief of the broader community, as represented by the chorus: for the latter, the new day brings the light of safety and an end to woes; for the former, it merely introduces a fresh chapter in her family's seemingly endless tale of grief.

More to the point, however: *Antigone* 100–109 celebrates the coming of the day of Thebes' salvation but does not describe sunrise as actually occurring before the audience's eyes. The assertion that the day (ἀκτὶς ἀελίου) that has witnessed the retreat of the Argive forces "has advanced over Dirce's streams (Διρκαίων ὑπὲρ ῥεέθρων μολοῦσα) and shone forth at last (ἐφάνθης ποτέ) as the fairest ever to have shone upon Thebes (τὸ κάλλιστον φανὲν τῶν προτέρων φάος)" reflects no more than the chorus' joy and relief that, on this day, Thebes is safe at last. There is nothing in the passage to suggest that the chorus is at that moment witnessing the arrival of morning. Compare the following passages, none of which has been taken to describe a dawn scene:

Sophocles, *Electra* 201 f. (Electra recalling the day of Agamemnon's murder):

> ὦ πασᾶν κείνα πλέον ἁμέρα
> ἐλθοῦσ' ἐχθίστα δή μοι.
>
> O day that came most hateful of all days to me!
> (Soph. *El.* 201–202 LCL)

Euripides, *Electra* 585–587 (the chorus celebrating the return of Orestes):

> ἔμολες ἔμολες, ὤ, χρόνιος ἁμέρα,
> κατέλαμψας, ἔδειξας ἐμφανῆ
> πόλει πυρσόν, ὅς …
>
> You have arrived, have arrived, O long-awaited day!
> You have dawned and shown clearly
> to the city the torch … (Eur. *El.* 585–587 LCL)

Euripides, *Phoenissae* 3–6 (the opening of Jocasta's prologue speech):

> Ἥλιε, θοαῖς ἵπποισιν εἱλίσσων φλόγα,
> ὡς δυστυχῆ Θήβαισι τῆι τόθ' ἡμέραι
> ἀκτῖν' ἐφῆκας, Κάδμος ἡνίκ' ἦλθε γῆν
> τήνδε …
>
> Sun, who on swift steeds whirl your blaze in an arc,
> how unblest for Thebes was the beam you shed the day
> when Cadmus came to this country … (Eur. *Phoen.* 3–6 LCL)

Euripides, *Rhesus* 989–992 (Hector on the coming day's battle):

> ὡς ὑπερβαλὼν τάφρον
> τείχη τ' Ἀχαιῶν ναυσὶν αἶθον ἐμβαλεῖν
> πέποιθα Τρωσί θ' ἡμέραν ἐλευθέραν
> ἀκτῖνα τὴν στείχουσαν ἡλίου φέρειν.
>
> I am confident that when I have crossed the ditch
> and the Achaean stockades I will set fire to their ships,
> and that this day's dawn will bring to the Trojans a day of liberty.
> (Eur. *Rhes.* 989–992 LCL)

Lycophron, *Alexandra* 1056–1058 (part of Cassandra's prophecy):

> ἔσται ποτὲ πρεσβεῦσιν Αἰτωλῶν φάος
> ἐκεῖ γοηρὸν καὶ πανέχθιστον φανέν,
> ὅταν …
>
> There some time for the ambassadors
> of the Aetolians shall dawn a sad and hateful day,
> when … (Lycoph. *Alex.* 1056–1058 LCL)

In each instance, it is the fortune that has attended the new day, not the sun's rising, that is the focus.[20] In the end, the principal reason for interpreting *Antigone* 100–109 as a dawn scene would appear to be the assumption that the preceding prologue takes place during the night—the very point that the *parodos* itself is then often taken to demonstrate.

There would be no debate at all were Ismene as specific as the chorus at *Ajax* 141 f., who refer to the preceding night as τῆς νῦν φθιμένης νυκτός.[21] Still, it seems reasonable to argue that the ancient audience, accustomed to receiving an early and unambiguous indication of any remarkable features in the setting of a prologue scene, would have been assuming for the first fifteen lines of this play that it was day: after all, what they *saw* was two actors appearing in front of the *skene* in full daylight. Ismene's ambiguous reference to νυκτὶ τῇ νῦν might have suggested a pre-dawn setting to some, but, in and of itself, it scarcely establishes the murky atmosphere posited by the critics. As the passages cited earlier demonstrate, dramatic tradition readily offered Sophocles the resources to establish such a mood. That he did not elect to avail himself of this tradition is significant—particularly if his intention was to emphasize the transgressive, conspiratorial overtones of such a nocturnal meeting.[22]

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[20] References to the day as bearer of a particularly welcome or baleful fate are of course common: e.g., Aesch. *Ag.* 1577; Soph. *El.* 783 f., 916–919; Eur. *Tro.* 848–852.

[21] Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 279: τῆς νῦν τεκούσης φῶς τόδ' εὐφρόνης.

[22] On the related question of the actors' initial entrance, see below.

What, then, to make of Sourvinou-Inwood's second indictment, the contention that an Athenian audience would in any case regard with suspicion *any* woman who strayed beyond the confines of the *oikos?* This issue has been addressed by Patricia Easterling and others[23] and will be dealt with relatively briefly here. The appearance of Antigone and Ismene outside the gates might have aroused comment in fifth-century Athens, but this is not as certain as Sourvinou-Inwood asserts: the notion that the seclusion of respectable women was an all-pervasive feature of Athenian life has been debunked in past years—for example, by David Cohen, who relies in part on comparisons with modern Mediterranean societies, and by Lisa Nevett, in her studies of the Greek house.[24] The frequency with which female characters appear before the *skene* in tragedy (not to mention the practical necessity—given ancient staging conventions—that they do so) makes it doubtful that an Athenian audience would immediately jump to the conclusion that Antigone and Ismene were a bad lot, or that they would regard Antigone's reference (18 f.) to meeting with Ismene outside the courtyard doors as anything more than a convenient motivation for their entrance, such as we find, e.g., with Oedipus' first entrance at *Oedipus the King* 6–8.[25]

As with the question of nocturnal scenes, a response such as that hypothesized by Sourvinou-Inwood must be activated and valorized by the text. When, for example, the Clytemnestra of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* feigns diffidence at proclaiming her affection for her husband before a public audience of men (855–858), her sham concern highlights both the transgressive nature of her character and the sinister quality of her actions. No equivalent markers are to be found in Sophocles' text. In modern productions of the play, such effects are often achieved by the manner in which the two actors enter onto the stage prior to speaking (although in such productions the goal is usually to suggest the helpless pathos of the young Antigone before the sinister power of Creon and the State). It is possible that some such mimed action formed part of the original fifth-century production, conveying a sense that these two

[23] Easterling (1988), esp. p. 29. Cf. Foley (1982) and (1995) 145 n. 9; Seidensticker (1995), esp. 153–156.

[24] Cohen (1989) and (1991) 133–170; Nevett (1994) and (1995). For discussion of relevant issues, see also, e.g., Isager (1978), Walker (1983), Walcot (1994), Morris (1998), Antonaccio (2000).

[25] Cf. the comments of Kaibel (1896) 65, cited by Calder (1968) 392 n. 18.

characters were entering a space where they did not belong,[26] but the text lends little support to such a staging. Unlike, e.g., Athena's address to Ajax at *Ajax* 1–8, Antigone's opening address to Ismene gives no indication of following upon a previously mimed action; instead, it suggests a static formal opening. Lines 18 f. make it clear that the two actors entered together,[27] but suggest nothing in the way of any unusual effects that might distinguish that entrance as somehow transgressive. Nor do either Antigone or Ismene remark on the nature of their meeting-place beyond the glancing reference at lines 18 f.: there are no other indications in the text of where this dialogue occurs, not even when the two characters part to go their separate ways at the scene's conclusion (98 f.). It is with good reason, then, that Seidensticker characterizes this and other similar passages as virtual interior scenes.[28]

Lines 18 f. clearly establish that Antigone wishes to consult with Ismene alone about how to respond to Creon's edict, but any conclusions about the original audience's potential response to this meeting must be based on what they heard and saw as the interview unfolded in lines 21 ff., not on any *a priori* and—so far as the tragic stage is concerned—thoroughly problematic assumptions of bias against women transgressing the confines of the *oikos*. As in the matter of nocturnal settings, the ancient playwright, composing for a large open-air theater and in accordance with the performance conventions which the latter fostered, could not employ a dramaturgic shorthand—a glancing temporal reference here, an assumed cultural norm there—but was compelled to build significance into his text in a systematic fashion, and with a keen eye to how his audience would experience that text in performance. By the same token, readings that appear to bypass such practical considerations deserve to be treated with caution.

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[26] Cf., e.g., Tyrrell/Bennett (1998) 29 f., who cite a number of modern hypotheses regarding the staging here. Cf. Calder (1968) 392 n. 18.

[27] See Jebb (1900) *ad loc.* and Meunier (1932) 128.

The active ἐξέπεμπον indicates that Antigone herself has escorted Ismene from the house (cf., e.g., Eur. *Andr.* 989, *Tro.* 896 f., *IA* 1110, fr. 449.5 f. K.; Ar. *Vesp.* 174 f., *Thesm.* 499–501; contrast Soph. *OT* 951), while the imperfect tense emphasizes her state of mind at the time the act was being done and, in particular, the urgency of her as yet unstated concern.

[28] Seidensticker (1995) 155, with n. 33.

WHERE IS ELECTRA IN SOPHOCLES' *ELECTRA*?

Francis Dunn

My general theme is the semiotics of space. By this I refer to the process by which dramatic space acquires meaning—the *skene*, for example, becoming a sign denoting the House of Atreus, or an offstage area beyond view coming to represent Mount Cithaeron. Each drama generates its own set of significant spaces which may have connotations enriched by the internal action of the play or by the external knowledge of the audience, and these spaces may in turn contribute to the meaning of a character or the response of an audience.[1] As a brief illustration, consider the prologue of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, spoken by the priestess at Delphi. Only gradually does she identify the *skene*, beginning instead by invoking Gaia and her daughter Themis, whose prophetic powers were eventually passed down to Apollo; thus she endows Apollo's Temple with a power and authority almost as old as the world itself (1–20), while also indicating her own identity and stature. The shocking reentry of the priestess a few lines later, crawling on all fours from within the temple (34–37), consequently undermines the authority of the temple and generates a new, horrifying space within. Dramatic space may be dense and complex, and I could not begin to unpack this opening scene without considering the ritual space implied by the oracle, and the geographical space suggested by those Athenians who escorted Apollo on his way from Delos to Delphi (9–14).

My aim in this essay, however, is more limited, exploring one character's relation to dramatic space, and my thesis is that Sophocles' *Electra* handles this unusually: the protagonist, I shall argue, fails to occupy a significant place—partly because she is excluded from those that seem to acquire importance, and partly because the places she *does* occupy are emptied of meaning (they fall short as signs). My argument begins with the most important signifier in theatrical space, the *skene*, and then

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[1] Much has been written on dramatic space, especially since Peter Brook's influential *The Empty Space*, 1968; most of my discussion would fall under the rubric of "Fictional Places" in the taxonomy of McAuley 1999: 27–32. For works specifically concerned with Greek tragedy, see Wiles 1997 and Rehm 2002.

considers other real and imagined spaces that Electra may inhabit, eventually concluding that Sophocles' use of "negative space" not only heightens the emotional power of his protagonist but also makes it hard for spectators to find meaning in the murders.

After she enters at the end of the prologue, Electra is outside the scene-building for all but fourteen lines of this lengthy play.[2] Her sister comes outside to find her there, as does her mother; more important, she is outside when her mother is murdered indoors,[3] and stands by as Aegisthus is ushered inside to his death. Through all these comings and goings she remains in the same location, not far from the door of the scene-building. What, then, does this place signify?

The scene-building is identified for the audience only by those who return from afar, Orestes and the Tutor. As they enter at the beginning of the play, the Tutor identifies to Orestes features of the surrounding landscape,[4] concluding with the building visible onstage: "and here, where we have arrived, you behold the house of the Pelopidae, full of death" (οἶ δ' ἱκάνομεν,/ φάσκειν Μυκήνας τὰς πολυχρύσους ὁρᾶν,/ πολύφθορόν τε δῶμα Πελοπιδῶν τόδε, 8–10). Later, when they return in disguise, however, the travellers identify it not as the site of ancestral violence but as the living quarters of the man they seek: "Dear women," the Tutor asks, bringing his news of Orestes' death, "is this truly the house of the henchman Aegisthus?" (ξέναι γυναῖκες, πῶς ἂν εἰδείην σαφῶς / εἰ τοῦ τυράννου δώματ' Αἰγίσθου τάδε; 660–661). Subsequently Orestes, when he enters with the ashes to prove he is dead, likewise asks the chorus-women if he is on the right path: "I have been looking for where Aegisthus has his home" (Αἴγισθον ἔνθ' ᾤκηκεν ἱστορῶ πάλαι, 1101). Thus in preparing for their scheme, the Tutor and Orestes define the scene somewhat vaguely as the site of prior murders, but in carrying it out, they define it very narrowly as the house of the man they mean to kill.

[2] Her voice is heard at line 77, she enters at 86, and except for brief exit at 1384–1397, she remains onstage until 1510, the last line of the play, when she reenters the house; on her final exit, see discussion below.

[3] To some extent the murder of Clytemnestra within the house is ventriloquized through Electra onstage, who cries out for her murder (compare Ringer 1998: 201–202), but she is unequivocally separated from the deed, and her exclamations are less effective in making the murder visible to the audience than are the detailed reports provided in other plays. As Kitzinger 1991 observes, Electra's words "are so plainly removed from it [the action] that they are shockingly futile and empty" (326).

[4] I discuss this topographical excursus in Dunn 2006.

Electra, by contrast, who seems to live in front of the building, does not need to identify the *skene* at all. For her, the house consists of an inside, where she spends the night in grief (92–94), an outside, where she shares her laments with sun and sky (ὦ φάος ἁγνὸν / καὶ γῆς ἰσόμοιρ' ἀήρ … 86–87), and the door in between, where she cries out forever like a nightingale (ὥς τις ἀηδὼν / ἐπὶ κωκυτῷ τῶνδε πατρῴων/ πρὸ θυρῶν 97–99). Her place at the door is repeatedly noted by those who meet her—the Tutor (θυρῶν … ἔνδον 78–79), Chrysothemis (πρὸς θυρῶνος ἐξόδοις 328), and Clytemnestra (θυραίαν γ' οὖσαν 518)—as well as by Electra herself (πρὸ θυρῶν 109, θυραῖον 313, τῇδε πρὸς πύλῃ 818), with the result that the threshold acquires a special prominence. Indeed, this is the most distinctive feature of the drama's spare staging, which requires nothing more, as Rush Rehm notes, than "a facade, and a door" (Rehm 1996: 54; likewise Lloyd 2005: 63).[5]

What does it mean for Electra to be at the threshold? The boundary between inside and out is conventionally associated, in Greek tragedy, with social and cultural oppositions between *oikos* and *polis*, female and male, private and public. Yet in this play there is little to distinguish the two. Electra's days outside the door are no happier than her nights within, since both are filled with constant lament, and when indoors she feels like an outsider (ἀλλ' ἁπερεί τις ἔποικος ἀναξία / οἰκονομῶ θαλάμους πατρός, 189–190). Inside she must bear the insult of seeing Aegisthus on her father's throne (267–268), whereas outside her mother, as if in mockery, holds festivals celebrating the murder of Agamemnon (277–281). Indoors, Electra finds consolation in causing them pain (355) or, as Clytemnestra sees it, drinking their blood (τοὐμὸν ἐκπίνουσ' ἀεὶ / ψυχῆς ἄκρατον αἷμα 785–776), whereas outdoors she succeeds in causing them shame (518). Electra's constant lamentation not only seems to transcend time, like that of weeping Niobe in her rocky tomb (150–152),[6] but also obliterates distinctions in space. The area outside the *skene*, conventionally associated with the public realm of men (as in the general's triumphant return in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, or the supplication of the king in Sophocles' *Oedipus*), is in this play given over

[5] Budelmann 2000: 247–248 observes that inhabitants of the house "hardly ever see it as *anything other than* a building" (emphasis in original) and "only speak of movement into and out of the house, or something or somebody being in or away from it."

[6] Compare Segal 1981: 262–267 on the static or repetitive time of Electra.

to the private grief of Electra—although her role is echoed to some extent by that of Aegisthus, who remains offstage and outside the city for most of the play, apparently occupied not with public business but with his private estates. The space within the *skene*, often marked as private and female, is indeed the scene of flaring passions (as Electra reports, 289–292), but the same passions are staged directly in the argument outside between mother and daughter (516–659). As Pat Easterling observes (1987: 19–21), in this play a gendered opposition between inside and outside breaks down, and as Charles Segal has noted, any initial contrast between inner and outer is soon confused and inverted.[7]

It follows that Electra, in terms of dramatic space, is nowhere: she is neither inside the house nor clearly outside it, but in some kind of limbo in between. This is not the same as occupying a "liminal" position. In anthropological terms, liminality is a transitional zone between one clearly defined state and another, for example between adolescence and adulthood, and the liminal zone of initiation places participants "outside" the familiar world in a ritual death or exile in order to facilitate their passage from one status to another. Electra, by contrast, inhabits a death-like world that seems permanent and unchanging. Literally, her position by the door lacks meaning since inside and outside are equally full of grief and lamentation, and her "in-between" is therefore not theatrically (or semiotically) significant. Her position also lacks meaning symbolically since she has embraced a role as outsider and a virtual death with no understanding that this will lead to a new status or integration into a new community,[8] and her "outside" is therefore not figuratively (or anthropologically) significant. Since Electra's pain and grief are the same wherever she is, she is both everywhere and nowhere at all.

Electra's place onstage thus thematizes her "outsideness"—her place outside the plot of vengeance carried out by Orestes and the Tutor (thus Goward 1999: 103), outside the patrilineal inheritance of power and social standing usurped by Aegisthus (Ormand 1999: 62), and outside the reintegrative function of lament (Seaford 1985). The theatrical effect,

[7] Segal 1981: 254–262. I should add that Segal overstates the initial contrast, which consists of little more than Orestes' arrival from Phocis and Electra's entrance from the house (250).

[8] Ierulli 1993 proposes that Electra converts the chorus to her point of view and thus achieves a form of social integration in which "the many must yield to the one" (229). Yet the only evidence offered to support this view is the enigmatic second stasimon, and Ierulli takes no account of 1171–1173, where the chorus again advises moderation as it has throughout the play.

however, goes beyond this. In terms of dramatic space, Electra is neither banished to a place where she belongs nor lingering on the margins of where she wants to be, but instead has no significant place at all. We have seen that she lacks a meaningful position with respect to the *skene*, and I turn now to other uses of dramatic space.

The action of the play suggests several real and imagined locations where Electra *might* belong, helping us work through, so to speak, her place in the dramatic action. The first arises with the entrance of Chrysothemis, who reports Aegisthus' threat to banish Electra to a covered chamber away from the light and outside the land (ἐνταῦθα πέμψειν ἔνθα μή ποθ' ἡλίου/ φέγγος προσόψῃ, ζῶσα δ' ἐν κατηρεφεῖ / στέγῃ χθονὸς τῆσδ' ἐκτὸς ὑμνήσεις κακά, 380–382); this is a concrete if unspecified place and implicitly a deadly one, since if Aegisthus made good on his threat Electra would die (392), yet to her sister's surprise Electra says she wants to go there (389–391). When Chrysothemis criticizes her sister and then resumes her mission to Agamemnon's tomb, the ensuing discussion of the grave offerings from Clytemnestra and the dream that prompted them (404–471) entirely upstages Aegisthus' threat against Electra. The prospect of being buried alive is never mentioned again and remains entirely hypothetical (unlike the threat of Creon against Antigone, *Antigone* 773–780); as a consequence, the underground chamber is equally unreal and Electra's desire to go there is no different from her other vain wishes for death.

A second place is Chrysothemis' destination, the grave of Agamemnon to which she is carrying offerings from Clytemnestra.[9] This is an "actual" offstage location that acquires some importance both because of the troubling dream that impels Clytemnestra to make propitiation there and because of Orestes' tokens subsequently discovered by Chrysothemis. Yet the grave has minimal impact upon the action. Electra persuades her sister to replace their mother's offerings with their own (449–452), yet we do not see the grave, as in Aeschylus, we hear no report of Chrysothemis' offerings (what did she do with Clytemnestra's offerings? did she cut her hair as Electra advised? 448–449), and we do not know what kind of prayer she made once she reached the tomb (did she follow her sister's

[9] As if anticipating the diminished meaning of the grave, the offerings are described in ambiguous terms both at the beginning and at the end of the sisters' exchange, as objects to be burned (ἔμπυρα 405), libations to be poured (χοάς 406), or perhaps both (οὐδ' . . . ἱστάναι / κτερίσματ' οὐδὲ λουτρὰ προσφέρειν 433–434).

suggestions, 453–456, or was she surprised by Orestes' offerings before even making a prayer?).[10] Furthermore, when she returns some time later with her discovery that Orestes must have made dedications there (877, 885–886), Electra overrules this with the news that Orestes is dead (924–925) and concludes that some nameless person left the offerings in memory of Orestes (932–933). The *potential* power of Agamemnon's grave is most clearly seen in Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers*, where the dead man's anger is almost literally summoned up by Orestes and Electra (456–509), but even in Euripides the grave plays a part off-stage, since the Old Man discovers dedications there which convince him that the stranger is Orestes, thus prompting him (despite Electra's doubts) to find the scar betraying his true identity (573–574). In Sophocles, by contrast, the grave is doubly emptied of meaning, first when the prayer and offerings Chrysothemis brings to it are passed over in silence, and second when the information she brings back from it is shown to be mistaken.

Another offstage space of potential importance is the town of Mycene, representing the larger community beyond the confines of the royal house. When Clytemnestra first enters and confronts Electra, she chastises her daughter for standing outside the doors, running loose where she threatens to shame the queen's friends (ἀνειμένη μέν, ὡς ἔοικας, αὖ στρέφῃ. / οὐ γὰρ πάρεστ' Αἴγισθος, ὅς σ' ἐπεῖχ' ἀεὶ / μή τοι θυραίαν γ' οὖσαν αἰσχύνειν φίλους· 516–518), and later she fears to pray openly to Apollo lest Electra scatter false reports to the whole city (πολυγλώσσῳ βοῇ / σπείρῃ ματαίαν βάξιν εἰς πᾶσαν πόλιν 641–642). The queen is alarmed presumably because she fears that the people might be turned against her and Aegisthus, a possibility that starts to be realized at the end of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* when the chorus threatens to revolt (1615–1616, 1650–1651). In this play, however, that possibility vanishes. Electra knows, as her sister reminds her (911–912), that she cannot venture from the palace, and her only contact with the outside world is with the chorus, a group of local women who already take her side. There is one point, however, at which Electra imagines appealing to the larger community. When the Tutor's speech has convinced her that Orestes is dead, she asks her sister to help take matters into their own hands, telling Chrysothemis that by killing Aegisthus they will earn praise from the townspeople and from foreigners (τίς γάρ ποτ' ἀστῶν ἢ ξένων ἡμᾶς ἰδὼν / τοιοῖσδ' ἐπαί-

[10] Chrysothemis prefaces her report of Orestes' offerings by saying "when I came to father's ancient grave" (893) with no mention of her own offerings and prayer.

νοις οὐχὶ δεξιώσεται; 975–976); she even goes so far as to deliver a specimen speech (977–983) in which the people promise to honor the sisters for their bravery at festivals and the public assembly (τώδ' ἔν θ' ἑορταῖς ἔν τε πανδήμῳ πόλει / τιμᾶν ἅπαντας οὕνεκ' ἀνδρείας χρεών 982–983). Chrysothemis, however, is not persuaded and soon afterward Orestes enters in disguise (1098), leaving Electra's plan irrelevant and rendering the prospect of public praise as hypothetical as burial alive by Aegisthus.[11]

Perhaps the most striking example of dramatic space denied to Electra occurs in the belated recognition scene with Orestes. Her brother, disguised as a stranger from Phocis, brings a funeral urn as proof he is dead; taking Electra to be a woman of the house, he shows it to her saying "understand that this vessel here shelters that one's [Orestes'] body" (τόδ' ἄγγος ἴσθι σῶμα τοὐκείνου στέγον, 1118). With heart-rending irony, Electra not only wishes she had died first (1131) but asks her dead brother to take her into his dwelling so she might live with him below (τοιγὰρ σὺ δέξαι μ' ἐς τὸ σὸν τόδε στέγος / τὴν μηδὲν ἐς τὸ μηδέν, ὡς σὺν σοὶ κάτω / ναίω τὸ λοιπόν 1165–1167). Now at last she has found a place where she truly belongs ... and she has no chance of going there, anymore than she can somehow squeeze into the box of ashes. The impossibility of going there is underscored by the fact that the "place" where Electra wants to go does not exist—it is merely a fiction.[12]

Electra's impossible wish to lie beneath the roof of Aegisthus' prison (ἐν κατηρεφεῖ / στέγῃ 381–382) or the roof of her brother's urn (ἐς τὸ σὸν τόδε στέγος 1165) is a wish to make literal her figurative death in endless mourning; instead, however, she remains elsewhere, excluded even from the House of Hades where she would happily go. Yet perhaps she can take some comfort from the end of Aegisthus. As her stepfather walks toward his death at the end of the play, he seems to fulfill the abortive role of Electra. He comes from the fields (ἀγροῖσι 313), on the margins of the city where he has lingered throughout the play and, drawn by the false report of Orestes' death, asks for the doors to be opened so his rightful place as ruler will be acknowledged by all the people of Mycene and Argos (πᾶσιν Μυκηναίοισιν Ἀργείοις θ' ὁρᾶν 1459). Yet he is silenced by Electra, as she had been silenced by Orestes (1483–1484); he is driven indoors into the darkness that oppresses her at night (τί δ' ἐς δόμους

[11] Compare Ringer 1998: 180: "Electra's heroic posture proves itself a grand chimera."

[12] Compare Kitzinger 1991: 322–323, who observes that the presence of Orestes "robs Elektra's words of objective meaning."

ἄγεις με; πῶς, τόδ' εἰ καλὸν/ τοὔργον, σκότου δεῖ; 1494–1495); and he complains that the roof of the house must see further evils (ἦ πᾶσ' ἀνάγκη τήνδε τὴν στέγην ἰδεῖν/ τά τ' ὄντα καὶ μέλλοντα Πελοπιδῶν κακά; 1497–1498), recalling the places of death that could *not* contain Electra. Earlier, Electra had vented her anger by telling the chorus that Aegisthus was in the wrong place—sitting in her father's throne, wearing his clothes, pouring libations at his hearth, and sleeping in his bed with his wife (267–272). At last Aegisthus seems to be in *his* right place; can we say the same for Electra?

The last twenty lines of the play, which include some cagey maneuvering as Orestes directs Aegisthus to his death, seem yet again to exclude Electra. After 1490 she speaks no more lines and none are explicitly addressed to her,[13] leaving her movements and manner of exit unclear. William Calder describes the most likely scenario: "the protagonist [Electra] remains on scene facing the chorus until 1510, the last line of the play, and then exits alone into the palace while the chorus and fluteplayer exit down the right parodos to the *asty*."[14] It follows that Electra is absent from the second murder just as she was from the first, and that even when she finally reenters the house she remains, as always, outside the action.

To the question "Where is Electra?" the simplest answer is therefore "Nowhere"—that is to say, in the stage language of this play she never occupies a significant place. If this claim seems somewhat paradoxical (Electra, after all, is onstage longer than most tragic protagonists),[15] it is borne out by a brief comparison with the corresponding plays of Aeschylus and Euripides.

In *Libation Bearers*, Agamemnon's tomb is the most significant feature of the setting, especially in the first half of the play, and Electra's position

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[13] ὦ σπέρμ' Ἀτρέως (1508), the farewell of the chorus at the end of the play, primarily addresses Electra on my reading of the staging (see below); the generalizing abstract expression, however, precludes reference to her alone as Calder 1963: 216 prefers, followed by March 2001: 231.

[14] Calder 1963: 216. Ormand 1999: 77 asserts that "The doors of the house are closed, indeed, but Electra is not within them. She remains outside, in the open space of the theater, possibly unsure of where to turn next." I do not see what would be gained by this strange and unconventional tableau, and Ormand offers no supporting argument.

[15] Among Sophocles' plays, only Oedipus in *Oedipus at Colonus* is onstage longer (for 1555 of 1779 lines) and even so, this is a smaller percentage (87.4% versus 93.4% for Electra).

at the tomb is crucial to the drama: here, with the chorus in attendance, she brings libations from Clytemnestra; here, at the chorus' urging, she turns the libations from propitiation into a prayer for revenge; here she recognizes first her brother's offerings and then Orestes himself; and here, in a spine-chilling three-way *kommos*, she joins with her brother and the chorus in summoning her dead father's support. Her place at the tomb, so often illustrated in vase-painting,[16] is instrumental in converting the return of Orestes into a successful act of retribution that will be carried out in the second half of the play (where the setting shifts to the royal house).

In Euripides, Electra's position is just as crucial, but its meaning inverts that of Aeschylus: her place is not by a tomb before the royal house but at a farmer's cottage in the countryside, and not at the seat of noble and paternal power but in a female and domestic scene of carrying water, preparing for Hera's festival, and getting the house ready for childbirth. In accord with this, the ingenuity of an old servant and a young woman must devise the scheme of revenge (since Orestes does not know how to proceed, 612–618) and the jealousies between mother and daughter drive it forward. Electra's physical distance in this play from her father's tomb and the ancestral house thus makes literal her ethical distance from the dynastic concerns of her counterpart in Aeschylus.[17] The unusual setting is thus very specific and highly meaningful.

Sophocles' Electra, by contrast, occupies neither kind of space. She is not only isolated from other characters in the play, as Michael Walton emphasizes (1996), but lacks a meaningful place of her own. Whereas stage language tends to be constructed from meaningful spaces (a tomb or a cottage) and meaningful things (a lock of hair or a footprint), in Sophocles' *Electra* it proceeds by negation: the interior of the house is a scene of misery hardly distinguishable from that onstage; the tomb of Agamemnon is unseen and the grave-offerings there are considered meaningless; and the places where Electra would like to be, in the House of Hades or the chamber of Aegisthus, are unreal or unattainable. This negation extends also to the play's central property (the urn, we know, is not a funeral urn) and to the vivid account of offstage action reported

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[16] See *LIMC* s.v. Elektra I, #1–23 and #34–41, all later than the *Oresteia* and presumably influenced by it; for a general discussion, see Prag 1985.

[17] Martin Cropp 1988: 98–99 observes that Euripides' setting puts the focus on ordinary people and their ethical qualities.

by the Tutor (Orestes' death, we know, is also a fiction). As a result, the language of the stage fails to denote places and things that will give Electra an intelligible context; in terms of the semiotics of space, Electra inhabits a world that seems empty and meaningless.

This pattern briefly shifts toward the end of the play. With her belated (and originally unintended) recognition of Orestes, confirmed by the ring of Agamemnon that he wears, Electra is finally included within the conspiracy—yet almost immediately her cries of joy are silenced (1238) as are her subsequent attempts to speak or celebrate (1257, 1259, 1271–1272, 1322, 1335–1336, 1364, 1372), the plot of revenge proceeds largely without her, and her presence is required neither for the murder of Clytemnestra nor for that of Aegisthus.[18]

What do we make of this unusual dramatic technique? First and most straightforwardly, Sophocles' use of negative space accentuates Electra's isolation and thus contributes to the concentrated portrait of her grief and anger.[19]

Second and more important, this has a bearing on the central issue of the matricide.[20] Sophocles has chosen to separate the dramatic action between his protagonist, who embodies the will and drive to perform this unpleasant deed, and her brother who carries it out.[21] Orestes knows what must be done, and is urged on by the Tutor, but the burden of motivating the murder—of communicating its necessity both within the drama and to its external audience—rests entirely with Electra.[22] Yet just as the poet separates her from the deed, he also separates her from theatrical markers that might give it meaning. In Aeschylus, the commanding presence of Agamemnon's tomb validates an otherwise horrific deed, and in Euripides the farmer's hovel signals the petty motives of those who

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18 Electra briefly helps to lure Aegisthus to his death (1448–1457), but her role is hardly indispensable and must be considered negative (disarming any suspicions Aegisthus might have) where Orestes' is positive (displaying the body of Clytemnestra and then escorting his victim inside the *skene*).

19 On Electra's character, see Johansen 1964.

20 The most recent overview of this contentious issue is the brief and judicious chapter in Lloyd 2005: 99–115.

21 Foley 2001: 145–171 emphasizes the disjunction between Orestes' action and Electra's lamentation, conjecturing that this reflects the Athenians' impotent desire for redress in the later years of the Peloponnesian War.

22 In these terms, as least, the drama's ambiguous references to Apollo's oracle (32–37 and 1424–1425) do little or nothing to motivate the murder.

feel required to act. Sophocles, by contrast, deprives his protagonist of access to spatial signifiers that might help us make sense of the matricide, and we are consequently left with what we might call free-floating motives, a powerful combination of love and hate, hope and despair, nobility and baseness, that we must—and ultimately do—accept on its own terms.

THE ROLE OF APOLLO IN *OEDIPUS TYRANNUS*[1]

David Kovacs

In Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*—to reduce the plot to its essentials—a man who has received an authoritative prediction that he will kill his father and marry his mother learns in the course of the play that in spite of his best efforts to avoid doing so this is precisely what he has done. What is the relation between Apollo's prediction—that the son of Laius and Jocasta will kill his father and marry his mother—and the events it predicts? Just how perplexing the question is may be seen in the contradiction into which E.R. Dodds is led in his famous essay "On Misunderstanding the *Oedipus Rex*."[2]

Dodds enumerates three common answers to the question, "In what sense, if any, does the *Oedipus Rex* attempt to justify the ways of God to man?" These have implications for our question. According to the first, the play justifies the ways of God to man because it shows Oedipus being punished for faults of character. This need not detain us long. First, it is so obviously a misreading of the play.[3] Second, its proponents, who believe that the gods caused Oedipus' misery, say little or nothing about how they brought it about.

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[1] This paper, offered in homage to our honorand, is a version of my inaugural lecture as the Hugh H. Obear Professor of Classics at the University of Virginia. My thanks to John Miller for arranging an occasion I shall long remember. I am grateful to Bill Allan, Mary Lefkowitz, Vayos Liapis, Hugh Lloyd-Jones, and Ruth Scodel for their helpful comments on an earlier draft.

[2] Dodds 1966.

[3] See Dodds 1966: 38–40. In a detailed and lucid exposition Lurje (2004: 1–225) makes it clear that the interpretation of *OT* as a play in which Oedipus is punished for faults of character—a view which began in the Renaissance and held sway with little challenge until Wilamowitz 1899—would never have arisen if not for the Renaissance doctrine that the function of tragedy and comedy is to demonstrate that virtuous behavior leads to happiness, vice and the passions associated with it to misery. Literature thus shows the providential character of the world ("poetic justice"). Aristotle's *Poetics* was interpreted in such a way as to harmonize with this view, and the doctrine of *katharsis* was interpreted as the moral improvement of the spectator, his *cleansing* from vicious passions by being made to see the misery to which they lead. Lurje also answers decisively (255–277) recent attempts by Schmitt 1988 and Lefèvre 2001 to revive the "just retribution" view.

The second position Dodds argues against holds that *OT* is a "tragedy of destiny," that the play shows "that man has no free will but is a puppet in the hands of the gods who pull the strings that make him dance" (1966: 37). Dodds is not nearly as effective in demolishing this point of view as he is the "just retribution" view. Dodds seems to want to say that there is no causal connection between the gods and Oedipus' parricide and incestuous marriage. "The gods know the future," says Dodds, "but they do not order it: they know who will win the next Scotland and England football match, but that does not alter the fact that the victory will depend on the skill, the determination, the fitness of the players, and a little on luck."[4] Apollo, it is implied, had nothing to do with bringing about Oedipus' actions but merely predicted them. But the play itself, as Dodds himself later shows, suggests a more intimate connection.

The third position maintains that Sophocles is not trying to justify the ways of God to man or for that matter to indict them, that he is a pure artist and not interested in this question. He took the story of Oedipus as he found it and made an exciting play of it without intending to make any theological point. Dodds has some sympathy with this view, particularly as a reaction against the "just retribution" view, but he rightly finds it inadequate. In the second stasimon the Chorus raise the question of the existence and power of the gods and ask why anyone should dance in their honor if their prophecies are proved false. The ode, of course, is less about the justice of the gods than their power, but the Chorus's pointed question raises the existential issue of belief in the gods in a way that would be irrelevant if Sophocles were just using them to create a gripping yarn.

Dodds's own view of the gods in Sophocles is that his plays, *OT* included, exhibit both a belief in their existence and a willingness to describe some of their actions as unjust, at least on a human understanding of justice. In doing this Sophocles stands in a tradition. Serious Greek literature, from Homer onward, depicts the gods as being not infrequently the source of misery for mortals, as in the famous passage (*Iliad* 24.525–533) on Zeus' dispensation of good and bad things. There is no hint there that Zeus acts as he does to reward the good and punish the wicked.

Dodds's reply to the second and third views are clearly in tension. His claim that in Sophocles' plays the gods send misery on mortals (his reply

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[4] Dodds 1966: 42, quoting A.W. Gomme.

to the "pure artist" view) and his claim that the gods merely predict but do not cause Oedipus' misery (his reply to the "Oedipus as puppet" view) are *prima facie* contradictory. I shall argue, however, that both of Dodds's instincts are correct: it is *both* the case that Oedipus is no puppet *and* that it is Apollo who induces him to commit parricide and incest.

Dodds's football match analogy, that Apollo did not cause but merely predicted Oedipus' misery, could be called the "weatherman" view of Apollo. We say, jokingly, "The weatherman isn't being very nice to us," but we know perfectly well that yesterday's weather prediction had no effect on today's weather. This view relieves us of Oedipus the marionette, but the cost is high. Apart from contradicting his other remark that in Sophocles' plays the gods do send misery, it reduces the parricide and incest to mere happenstance. Apollo merely happened to know about them and predicted them to Laius, Jocasta, and Oedipus, apparently to no purpose, since they had no way of averting the result. But, as we will see, there is a lot of language in the play that contradicts such a view and asserts a causal role for Apollo. Several people in the play (notably Teiresias, Jocasta, and Oedipus at the end when the full truth is known) speak as if Apollo caused Oedipus to kill his father and marry his mother. One has to reckon with the possibility that Sophocles made them speak this way because that is what he meant.[5] How can this be maintained, though, without making Oedipus a marionette?

My first thesis is that in the world of the play all of Oedipus' actions are perfectly free, but that in the case of the parricide and incest Apollo created a situation where Oedipus, a free agent acting on the information available to him, unwittingly carried out Apollo's designs.[6]

Consider an analogy. Let's say I'm an ordinary chess player matched against a grand master. All of my moves in the game are freely chosen, and I am in every sense the author of them, yet the grand master can beat me easily—indeed, can confidently predict the result of the match beforehand. If he has a particularly malicious sense of fun, he might even

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[5] Lurje (2004: 246) remarks in regard to Dodds's football match analogy: "Somit wurde das unvermeidbare Verhängnis als wirkende Ursache aus der griechischen religiösen Weltsicht ein für alle Mal eliminiert. Allein … die Funktion der Götter beschränkt sich trotzdem nicht nur auf das bloße Wissen." There is a cooperation between unequal partners, divine and human.

[6] The idea I am developing here is distinct from "double motivation" or "overdetermination" (on which see Kranz 1933, Lesky 1961, and Lurje 2004: 246 with n. 25), though an audience familiar with double motivation would find the kind of divine intervention I am suggesting perfectly natural to accept.

say beforehand “I shall bring about checkmate by means of my queen’s rook” and then do so in a surprising way that completely confounds my ability to guard against it. That analogy, I suggest, gives us the way of Apollo with Oedipus in this play. All of Oedipus’ actions are free, but because Apollo knows more than Oedipus and because he can withhold information from him when he wants and supply it where it will be most misleading, he easily engineers the result.

The clearest indication of Apollo’s leading of events, apart from Oedipus’ final accusation of the god (1329–1332), occurs in the middle of the play. In the scene following his quarrel with Creon Oedipus gives Jocasta a summary of his life story (774–827). He tells her that he was raised as the son of Polybus, King of Corinth, and was quite happy with his lot until a chance event caused him worry: a drunken man at a feast accused Oedipus of being no true son of Polybus. Oedipus was angry, and when he asked his parents about this remark, he could not get complete satisfaction and so resolved to go on his own to Delphi and ask the god who his parents were. Consider what he says about his visit to Delphi

> λάθρᾳ δὲ μητρὸς καὶ πατρὸς πορεύομαι
> Πυθώδε, καί μ᾽ ὁ Φοῖβος *ὧν μὲν ἱκόμην*
> *ἄτιμον ἐξέπεμψεν, ἄλλα δ᾽ ἀθλίῳ*
> *καὶ δεινὰ καὶ δύστηνα προὐφάνη λέγων*,
> ὡς μητρὶ μὲν χρείη με μειχθῆναι, γένος δ᾽
> ἄτλητον ἀνθρώποισι δηλώσοιμ᾽ ὁρᾶν,
> φονεὺς δ᾽ ἐσοίμην τοῦ φυτεύσαντος πατρός.

> Without the knowledge of my mother and my father I went to Pytho, and Phoebus *sent me away cheated of what I had come for, but came out with other things terrible and sad for my unhappy self*, saying that I was destined to lie with my mother, and to show mortals a brood they could not bear to look on, and I should be the murderer of the father who had begotten me. (Soph. *OT* 787–793 LCL)

Notice what has happened here. Apollo withholds information from Oedipus about his parents, refuses to answer his inquiry at all, as Oedipus explicitly says (788–789). Then, gratuitously, he tells him that he will kill his father and marry his mother. This will turn out to be true, of course, but Apollo reveals this “truth” to Oedipus at the point where it will be the most misleading. For even though Oedipus has doubts about his parentage, the foreseeable result of Apollo’s prediction is what actually happens: he resolves never to return to Corinth.[7] Because of the god’s

[7] The effect of the oracle on Oedipus’ subsequent action is noted by Knox (1957: 40).

prediction he leaves Delphi in the opposite direction, and Apollo, who knows what is happening everywhere in the world, knows that even now Laius is traveling down this road with his entourage. The meeting at the crossroads is therefore *engineered* by Apollo. Laius is a high-handed and haughty fellow and tries to thrust Oedipus out of his way, and it is not in Oedipus' nature to accept insult meekly. The rest follows naturally. They fight, and he kills Laius. When he arrives at Thebes, he finds a city that has no king and is being terrorized by the Sphinx. Clever man that he is, he solves her riddle and thereby wins the throne and with it the hand of Jocasta in marriage. The impression we thus get is of someone who has been deliberately set up.[8]

Consider also the prediction made to Laius, reported by Jocasta at 711–714:

> χρησμὸς γὰρ ἦλθε Λαΐῳ ποτ', οὐκ ἐρῶ
> Φοίβου γ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, τῶν δ' ὑπηρετῶν ἄπο,
> ὡς αὐτὸν ἥξοι μοῖρα πρὸς παιδὸς θανεῖν,
> ὅστις γένοιτ' ἐμοῦ τε κἀκείνου πάρα.
>
> An oracle once came to Laius, I will not say from Phoebus himself, but from his servants, saying that it would be his fate to die at the hands of the son who should be the child of him and me. (Soph. *OT* 711–714 LCL)

This too serves a function in helping to bring the parricide and incest to pass. Had Laius not received this warning and had his and Jocasta's son

[8] The theme of divine deception is discussed by Deichgräber 1940, though curiously he regards the idea as foreign to the theology of Sophocles.

More curious still is the argument of Peradotto 1992. He wants to warn his audience (the annual meeting of the APA) against the dangers posed by Sophocles' *OT*, its fraudulent claims of authority for oracles and the gods. Sophocles, he says, tries to make his story of prophecy being fulfilled seem inevitable and to banish genuine chance from the world, while in actual fact such stories rest on the choices of the author and are not really as inevitable as they seem. Imagine! One wonders why he did not also warn his audience that when someone is shot or knifed onstage or in the movies, it is meant to look like blood but in reality is no such thing. Peradotto's complaint that the coincidences necessary to make the plot of *OT* work are illegitimate is answered by Griffith 1996: 59–62 and Dawe 1982: 6–22 (2006: 5–17).

These stories, he says, also express a magical, unscientific view of reality. He invites his audience to imagine a free-thinking sophist sitting at the performance of *OT*, downcast that he cannot put his own view of reality across in such an effective setting. But he appears to have forgotten the fragment (DK 82 B 23) in which Gorgias says that in the theater the one who deceives (the successful dramatist) is more just than the one who does not deceive, and the one who is deceived (the spectator who surrenders to the play's spell) is wiser than the one who is not deceived. In other words, fifth-century sophists are not as puritanical as twentieth-century deconstructionists.

been raised knowing who his parents were, the likelihood of his killing his father would have been slight and the likelihood of his marrying his mother virtually nil. But because of the oracle the parents exposed him, and this allowed Oedipus to grow up not knowing who his parents were and set him up for two acts he never would have done had he been raised by them.

Apollo, then, has engineered the fatal meeting at the crossroads between Laius and Oedipus, and this led in turn to the fatal winning of the prize of the Theban throne and the wife that went with it. The same idea is suggested strongly by what Jocasta says at 715–722:

> καὶ τὸν μέν, ὥσπερ γ᾽ ἡ φάτις, ξένοι ποτὲ
> λῃσταὶ φονεύουσ᾽ ἐν τριπλαῖς ἁμαξιτοῖς·
> παιδὸς δὲ βλάστας οὐ διέσχον ἡμέραι
> τρεῖς, καί νιν ἄρθρα κεῖνος ἐνζεύξας ποδοῖν
> ἔρριψεν ἄλλων χερσὶν εἰς ἄβατον ὄρος.
> κἀνταῦθ᾽ *Ἀπόλλων οὔτ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἤνυσεν*
> *φονέα γενέσθαι πατρὸς οὔτε Λάιον*
> *τὸ δεινὸν οὑφοβεῖτο πρὸς παιδὸς παθεῖν*.
>
> And he, as the story goes, was murdered one day by foreign robbers at the place where three roads meet; but the child's birth was not three days past when Laius fastened his ankles and had him cast out by the hands of others upon the trackless mountain. *And so Apollo did not bring it about that he should become the murderer of his father, nor that Laius should suffer the disaster which he feared, death at his son's hands.*
>
> (Soph. *OT* 715–722 LCL)

Jocasta here denies that the prediction has come true, but her words imply that if it had, Apollo would have been acting to cause (ἤνυσεν) the events he predicted. This suggests to the audience the view they are to take of the relation between Apollo and the actions of Oedipus: it is Apollo who brings his predictions to fulfilment. But his intervention, so far from destroying Oedipus' free will, presupposes it. The same view is found in Oedipus' famous utterance at 1329–1332, cited below.[9] So both of Dodds's contradictory instincts are right: Oedipus is no puppet, and Apollo is no mere weatherman.

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[9] Mention should also be made of Teiresias's words at 376–377, which attribute Oedipus' fall to the agency of Apollo. (Brunck's conjecture in 376 is necessary, for without it Teiresias's words are a complete irrelevancy as a reply to 374–375.) In view of this repeated reference to the agency of Apollo I cannot agree with the otherwise cogent Lurje when he says (2004: 389) that no one in the play asks who is responsible for what happens to Oedipus. No one, it is true, raises or answers the question *why* Apollo caused Oedipus' downfall, but the play would seem to imply clearly that cause it he did.

My second thesis is that Apollo, who actively promoted the realization of the events he predicted, is still visibly at work in the course of the play.[10] In order to make this plausible I shall have to explain what I take to be a pattern in Greek tragedy where characters, often minor ones, express the opinion that some event they have seen or heard is mysterious enough to have a divine causation.[11] On the basis of a number of examples I have collected I think we can extrapolate a rule: when a character, even a minor one, says that something is mysterious and may have been caused by divine intervention, the audience by convention knew they were to take such a hint seriously.[12]

Before I illustrate this rule and apply it to *OT*, let me first say something about why such a rule would be necessary, or at least useful, to a tragic poet. Tragedy is inevitably a two-decker affair. The action happens on the human plane, but there is always a divine background, as there is in epic. Yet whereas the epic poet speaks from an omniscient point of view and can make it clear when events have a divine causation—for example, when a god whisks away a hero in a cloud without the knowledge of the human bystanders—tragedy has no omniscient narrator. At best it can present supernatural figures at the beginning or end of a play or bring on one of the gods' accredited spokesmen, a Teiresias or Cassandra, in the middle. But in addition to these, I argue, another means tragic poets have for hinting at the divine background is the casual statement, often by a minor character, that something must be the work of the gods. Such remarks operate on two levels. To the character himself they are pious conjecture. But on another level these guesses are intended as guidance to the audience. They are not meaningless, the way talk about the weather is for us. And indeed, talk about the weather in tragedy is almost always talk about the gods.

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10 Other aspects of Apollo's action in the course of the play itself are discussed by Cameron 1968: 63–95 and Lurje 2004: 248.

11 The same seems to apply to events that are described as having *unknown* causation ("I known not why" or the like) or pointedly described as *chance* events: see Mastronarde 1994 on *Pho*. 33, 49, and 1466 and Kovacs 2002: 209. This is possibly relevant to τύχη τοιάδε in 776–777.

12 I hope at some future date to treat the subject of casual talk about the gods in the whole genre of tragedy. I made a first pass through this material in Kovacs 2000. Since this is not easily obtainable, I will be happy to send a copy to anyone on request. For an interesting discussion of the role of striking chance events in Euripides see Mastronarde 2002a.

Let me illustrate this with two examples from Sophocles' *Antigone*. Creon, in the first *epeisodion*, makes an edict that no one shall bury Polynices, and he orders a guard set over the body. In the next *epeisodion* one of the guards reports that the corpse has been buried under mysterious circumstances right under the noses of the watch. The Chorus say, "My lord, my mind has long been wondering whether this deed might not be sent from the gods" (278–279). The suggestion, of course, is angrily repudiated by Creon. In one way it seems a gratuitous hypothesis: a purely naturalistic explanation is that someone moving quietly in the dark has escaped detection. An audience, however, that is receptive to this kind of suggestion will realize that this is the first hint that the gods had a hand in helping Antigone perform the burial. This first hint is closely followed by a second. When the Guard returns with Antigone in the next *epeisodion* he describes how he and his fellow-guards were sitting up-wind from the corpse at midday when suddenly a dust-storm arose. All weather is conventionally ascribed to the gods, and when the Guard calls the dust-storm a θείαν νόσον, a "god-sent nuisance," he is using conventional language. But it is not hard to hear behind his words the poet using his conventional language to suggest something significant. Scodel has shown that the dust-storm is for Sophocles what the enveloping cloud is for the epic poet, a way of getting a character into or out of a situation unobserved.[13] The guard is allowed to use language that suggests divine intervention because the poet has no other way to convey this information to the audience.

The speech of the Exangelos in *OT* illustrates this rule. He first describes how Jocasta entered the house in agitation, shut fast the bedroom doors, and called on Laius and their marriage bed. His next words are some of the eeriest in the play:

> χὤπως μὲν ἐκ τῶνδ' οὐκέτ' οἶδ' ἀπόλλυται·
> βοῶν γὰρ εἰσέπαισεν Οἰδίπους, ὑφ' οὗ
> οὐκ ἦν τὸ κείνης ἐκθεάσασθαι κακόν,
> ἀλλ' εἰς ἐκεῖνον περιπολοῦντ' ἐλεύσσομεν.
> φοιτᾷ γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἔγχος ἐξαιτῶν πορεῖν,
> γυναῖκά τ' οὐ γυναῖκα, μητρῴαν δ' ὅπου
> κίχοι διπλῆν ἄρουραν οὗ τε καὶ τέκνων.
> λυσσῶντι δ' αὐτῷ *δαιμόνων δείκνυσί τις·*
> οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀνδρῶν, οἳ παρῆμεν ἐγγύθεν.

[13] Scodel 1984.

> δεινὸν δ᾽ ἀύσας *ὡς ὑφ᾽ ἡγητοῦ τινος*
> πύλαις διπλαῖς ἐνήλατ᾽, ἐκ δὲ πυθμένων
> ἔκλινε κοῖλα κλῇθρα κἀμπίπτει στέγῃ.
>
> And how after that she perished is more than I know; for Oedipus burst in crying out loud, so that we could not watch her calamity to its end, but were gazing upon him as he moved around. For he ranged about asking us to hand him a sword, and asking where he should find not his wife, but the field that had yielded two harvests, himself and his children. And in his fury *some god showed her to him*; it was none of us men who stood nearby. And with a dreadful cry, *as though someone were guiding him* he rushed at the double doors, forced the bolts inward from their sockets and fell into the room. (*OT* 1251–1262 LCL)

How she died after that, he says, he does not know, for Oedipus burst into the house shouting, asking for a sword, and demanding to know her whereabouts. An obvious place to look for Jocasta is the bedroom where she has in fact locked herself, but Sophocles does not choose to represent Oedipus' finding of his wife and mother as the result of a search in the obvious place. Rather he has the messenger say, "To him in his rage *some god* revealed the truth: none of us nearby did so. Then with a dreadful cry, *as if led by some guide*, he leapt on the double doors, forced the bolts inward from their sockets, and fell into the room." The introduction of the divine here is gratuitous: Oedipus could have found Jocasta without divine intervention. But for that very reason the Exangelos's language, so highly charged, looks as if it must be significant.[14] What it suggests is that Apollo is visibly at work in the action of the play. Through the eyes of the Exangelos we get to see him guiding Oedipus to his fateful encounter with the dead Jocasta and with the brooches on her clothing. And so when Oedipus, emerging from the palace self-blinded, replies to the Chorus Leader's question which of the gods caused him to put out his eyes by saying (1329–1333)

> Ἀπόλλων τάδ᾽ ἦν, Ἀπόλλων, φίλοι,
> ὁ κακὰ κακὰ τελῶν ἐμὰ τάδ᾽ ἐμὰ πάθεα.
> ἔπαισε δ᾽ αὐτόχειρ νιν οὔ-
> τις, ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ τλάμων.
>
> It was Apollo, my friends, Apollo who accomplished these my sufferings, though the hand that struck the blow was my own, (*OT* 1329–1333)

[14] Compare the implication of divine guidance in the phrase ὑφ᾽ ἡγητῆρος οὐδενὸς φίλων at *OC* 1588.

we are entitled to suspect that this is no more than the plain and literal truth. Apollo, as he did in the past, has guided Oedipus to the result that he and Teiresias had predicted. It was by the god's manipulation that Oedipus killed his father, married his mother, and now puts out his own eyes.

I have said nothing about *why* Apollo contrives disaster for Oedipus. The reason is that Sophocles says nothing either, at least nothing explicit. But Sophocles implies an answer, and to make his implication plain it will be necessary to clear out of the way an oft-repeated misconception. Many scholars claim that there is a big difference in the way the tragic poets treat the oracle: Aeschylus and Euripides, on the one hand, make Apollo say to Laius, "If you have a son, he will kill his father and marry his mother," whereas Sophocles, they claim, makes the prediction unconditional.[15] But examine closely the oracle given to Laius in Sophocles (711–714):

> χρησμὸς γὰρ ἦλθε Λαΐῳ ποτ', οὐκ ἐρῶ
> Φοίβου γ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, τῶν δ' ὑπηρετῶν ἄπο,
> ὡς αὐτὸν ἥξοι μοῖρα πρὸς παιδὸς θανεῖν,
> ὅστις γένοιτ' ἐμοῦ τε κἀκείνου πάρα.

> An oracle once came to Laius, I will not say from Phoebus himself, but from his servants, saying that it would be his fate to die at the hands of the son who should be the child of him and me. (*OT* 711–714 LCL)

The last line says that any son born to Laius and Jocasta will commit parricide. The aorist optative γένοιτο is indefinite or generalizing (ὅστις γένοιτο stands in historical-sequence *oratio obliqua* for ὅστις ἂν γένηται) and does not predict, as a future optative would, that any child will actually be born to them. The oracle therefore means "If a child is born to Laius and Jocasta, he will kill his father." The Sophoclean version, no less than the Aeschylean and Euripidean, leaves Laius the option of having no child.[16]

In Aeschylus, to judge from *Septem* 745–749, the principal motive[17] for giving this oracle to Laius was to encourage him to die without issue.

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[15] As far as I know, the idea first appears in Wilamowitz 1899: 55.

[16] Wilamowitz's view is repeated by Dodds (1964: 41), Segal (1993: 28), Griffith (1996: 53 and n. 87), Lurje (2004: 392), Garvie (2005: 50), and others, though it had been argued against by Lloyd-Jones (1971: 119–120, citing Perrotta 1935: 203). Jebb 1893 does not have Wilamowitz's view, published in 1899, to controvert, but his note on 714 could serve as its refutation.

[17] As noted above, a further consideration is that if Laius and Jocasta receive such an oracle, they will expose any child born to them, thereby making it possible for the exposed child to kill his father and marry his mother in ignorance of their identity.

Evidence for the two plays preceding *Septem* in the trilogy is slight, but it seems clear from the reference at *Septem* 691 that throughout the trilogy Apollo is represented as hating the race of Laius and wanting to bring the Theban royal line to an end. And so if Laius, afraid of being murdered by his son, does not have a child, his line comes to an end with him, and Apollo's purpose is fulfilled. But in fact he does father a son, and the son too begets children, so it is only in the third generation that the wiping out of Laius' line is accomplished when Eteocles and Polynices kill each other. There was a story that explained why Apollo wanted to bring Laius' line to an end: he abducted a beautiful boy named Chrysippus and had sexual intercourse with him. The boy hanged himself in shame. His father Pelops had prayed to Zeus for requital, and Apollo cooperated with Zeus. Aeschylus may have treated this story in his *Laius*. Euripides did so in his *Chrysippus*.

Sophocles' oracle, likewise conditional, likewise presupposes hostility to Laius and a desire to bring his line to an end. Sophocles may have felt that Apollo's hostility was already sufficiently familiar and that he needn't spell out the background. He may have expected his audience to assume the well-known story of the rape of Chrysippus,[18] or he may have felt that a slightly mysterious and vague enmity of Apollo was just as good a background to his play. In any case, Apollo has no reason to hate Oedipus *per se*. It is merely as the son of Laius and not on his own account that Oedipus incurs the hatred of Apollo.[19]

Shall we subscribe, therefore, to Dodds's view[20] that Sophocles believed in the existence of the gods but not necessarily that they were just by human standards? Or shall we agree with Lloyd-Jones (1971: 107–128), who maintains that those who believed in the gods in the archaic and classical period believed they were just? To me it seems that the issue between Dodds and Lloyd-Jones is largely one of definition. Both would agree that Oedipus is visited with sufferings which his own actions do not merit. To the question whether Apollo acts justly in persecuting Oedipus because he is Laius' son, more than one answer could be returned. On the one hand, people today (or most of them) would deny that it is a just act for a Hatfield to kill a McCoy or a Montague a Capulet simply because

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[18] Hubbard 2006 argues that the story of Chrysippus' rape by Laius was invented by Euripides. As far as I can tell, he could be right.

[19] Apollo's hostility to Laius is also invoked by Lloyd-Jones 1971: 121–123, who cites Perrotta 1935.

[20] A view found, in slightly different formulation, in Wilamowitz 1899: 56 and Friis Johansen 1962: 161–162.

of the victim's family affiliation. On the other hand, for a Greek of the fifth century the morality of dealing harshly with personal enemies had few if any critics,[21] and such treatment often extended to the children of enemies.[22] Indeed, Solon regards it as an argument *for* the justice of the gods that they punish the children of those who have offended them (fr. 13.29–32 W.). It would be hard to maintain that any significant portion of Sophocles' audience would have found it clearly unjust for Apollo to bring harm to Oedipus as a way of punishing Laius. The question is obviously a difficult one, but the evidence seems to favor the more elastic view of justice argued for by Lloyd-Jones.[23]

[21] See Dover 1974: 180–184, Blondell 1989.

[22] In many cases an element of prudence is at work: since my enemy's children will inherit the duty to avenge their father, it will be wise for me to eliminate them if I can. But no such motive seems to be at work in *HF* 982–983, where Heracles regards Eurystheus' children as proper victims of his vengeance. (He is mad, of course, and mistakes his own children for those of Eurystheus, but that does not seem to be affecting his attitude toward vengeance *per se*.)

[23] Allan 2006 shows that if we judge by the standards of archaic Greece, morality is no less evident in the *Iliad* than in the *Odyssey*. These standards are roughly the ones applicable here to Apollo's destruction of Oedipus.

PART SIX

EURIPIDES AND HIS INFLUENCE

IS THE WASPS' ANGER DEMOCRATIC?

David Mirhady

Aristotle defines anger, *orgê*, as "a desire, accompanied by pain, for perceived retribution because of a perceived slight that was directed against oneself or those near to one, the slight being uncalled for."[1] It is easy to see how this definition might be applied to the judicial situation. The judges only need to see the alleged act of injustice that is brought before them as a slight against themselves or against the victim as someone near to themselves in order to be angry and so desire retribution against the accused in the form of a vote for conviction and severe (or "perceived") punishment. If we take one further step and consider the slight (*oligôria*) as an offense against the democratic principle of equality inasmuch as the victim's equal status has been lessened, then the judges' anger could also be considered democratic. The goal of this paper is to determine whether Aristophanes' *Wasps* can be used as evidence that anger played some role in the Athenian courts and, further, whether that anger worked in a "democratic" way. At first glance, Aristophanes' *Wasps* seems to fit this model perfectly. It presents a chorus of dicasts and their principal representative Philocleon as strongly motivated by anger. They are also beholden to their champion Cleon, who employs the dicasts and their anger to promote his ostensibly democratic political agenda. But Aristophanes clearly sees this model as a perversion. The dicasts are not justified in their anger, and Cleon is not pursuing a truly democratic agenda but rather hoodwinking the dicasts into attacking innocents.

Recent papers by David Konstan[2] and Douglas Olson[3] have debated the democratic orientation taken by Aristophanes in *Wasps*. Konstan argues that Aristophanes is advocating withdrawal from the democratic courts in favor of the aristocratic household; Olson responds that Aristophanes is actually advocating only a conservative democratic ideology. Konstan's model may actually work well enough for the aristocratic

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[1] Aris. *Rhet*. 2.2.1 1378a 30: Ἔστω δὴ ὀργὴ ὄρεξις μετὰ λύπης τιμωρίας φαινομένης διὰ φαινομένην ὀλιγωρίαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἤ τῶν αὐτοῦ, τοῦ ὀλιγωρεῖν μὴ προσήκοντος.

[2] Konstan 1985.

[3] Olson 1996.

protagonists of the play, but it leaves unanswered the question of Aristophanes' attitude to the courts in general. Likewise, Olson's argument essentially leaves open the question of Aristophanes' view of the courts. Does Aristophanes advocate retiring from (that is, abolishing) the courts, or doesn't he?

My principal goal in this paper is not to address Konstan and Olson's question at length, but along the way toward answering the question of whether the wasps' anger truly is or can be democratic I think an answer to them is necessary. As I said, Aristophanes frames the Wasps' anger in terms of Cleon's manipulation of the courts, so a first intermediate question arises, whether Cleon is really democratic, at least as presented in the play. A second intermediate question is whether Aristophanes himself is an advocate of the democracy. A third is whether he favors the law courts. A fourth question is about anger: is the wasps' anger really anger in the Aristotelian sense or in any other sense?

Before taking on these intermediate questions I'd like to make some methodological points. First, I think we should read *Wasps* in tandem with Aristophanes' *Knights*.[4] Both plays were written in the same political context and performed at the Lenaea, two years apart,[5] and they have remarkable similarities, both in content and structure. Both deal explicitly with the fundamental institutions of the democracy, *Knights* with the *dêmos* meeting in the Assembly on the Pnyx, *Wasps* with the law courts. Both plays are directed against the demagogue Cleon: in *Knights* he fails to convince (the) Dêmos on the Pnyx and in *Wasps* a dog playing his part fails in a prosecution in a mock court. Both feature characters that initially favor Cleon and then abandon him (in *Knights* Dêmos and in *Wasps* Philocleon and the Chorus). Both feature characters that are hostile to Cleon and represent a more aristocratic point of view but who nevertheless humour the democratic elements in the play (in *Knights* the characters are the chorus of knights and in *Wasps* Bdelycleon). Structurally, both plays begin with discussions between two slaves, and both move toward debates over Cleon's patronage of the *dêmos*. In *Knights* the progression is more linear, Cleon and the Sausage-Seller trading barbs almost to the end of the play, where Cleon is finally vanquished. *Wasps*, I would suggest, is more circular: by half way through the play Philocleon abandons judging in the law courts, but then, after enjoying a mock law

[4] In this regard I have been influenced by Edmunds 1988, whose starting point is *Knights*.

[5] In 424 and 422. See MacDowell 1971 1 and Sommerstein 1983 xv.

court at home, he does almost everything that will ensure that he will return to the law court as a defendant—he is even summoned to court (1417–1418)—though the play ends before that point.

The point of drawing such comparisons is to be able to assert that the political point of view of the second play should not be read as being very different from that of the first. *Knights* makes no suggestion that Dêmos meeting in the Assembly on the Pnyx should not continue being sovereign in Athens, so, I would argue, the point of *Wasps* is not that the *dêmos* should not continue being sovereign in the law courts. Although Philocleon, as one part of *Wasps*' analogue for Dêmos, leaves the law court, the wasps themselves stay. And even the separation of Philocleon from the law courts is revealed as a failure. Despite the Chorus' congratulations to Philocleon for having abandoned his old ways, his nature cannot be so easily transformed (1456–1458).[6]

A second methodological point comes in defining the term "democratic." In general, we might follow Aristotle (*Pol.* 1310a28–33) and say that the fundamental principles of democracy are freedom and equality: all free people have an equal right to power.[7] In the comic world of *Wasps*, these principles arise, for instance, as Philocleon and the Chorus object when they perceive that Bdelycleon is treating them like slaves (441–451). The play's actual slaves, Sosias and Xanthias, acknowledge their status distinction: as slaves they can be beaten (1292–1298). Freedom, particularly freedom from physical violence, is one of the play's leitmotivs (443, 1080, 1418, 1491). Bdelycleon is accused of tyranny, the antithesis of democratic equality (463–476). The courts themselves, on the other hand, manifest democratic equality (548–549). There the poor majority can be just as powerful as the rich, in some ways more powerful (575).

Besides freedom and equality, we might also identify other democratic principles that are accentuated by the comedy. One of these comes forward in a positive sense in the trial of the dog Labes, where it is claimed, "he hasn't learned to play the lyre" (959). The analogue in *Knights* is the claim of the Sausage-Seller that he hardly reads (189). That is, democratic ideology entails a rejection of aristocratic education. Philocleon is hopeless at understanding proper topics for symposiastic conversation because he is uneducated (1184), but he excels at ridiculing the

[6] MacDowell 1971: 319 argues that "the completion of his re-education is still in the future." It seems to me more plausible to read the chorus' congratulations as ironic.

[7] See the discussion of democratic ideology in M.H. Hansen 1991: 73–85.

symposion's scoliastic poetry—twisting every poetic utterance into an earthy insult against aristocratic pretensions—because he has the common man's innate ability.[8]

Another, less positive, comic version of democratic values is the comedy's embrace of self-interest as the primary human motivation. It may be laudable that some people put patriotic devotion before self-interest, but that would be an aristocratic motivation. Democrats are motivated only by a sense of "what's in it for me?" The chorus members applaud Philocleon's acceptance of Bdelycleon's domestic plans for him because they recognize that he'll get everything out of it that they themselves would want (733–735, 871–873). That doesn't mean that they want to give up dicastic participation themselves; they recognize that it is still in their own interests to go on being dicasts (1112–1113).

A further value that is somewhat connected with the devotion to self-interest is disrespect for the law. Aristotle includes this antinomianism as an aspect of the bad forms of democracy (*Pol.* 1292a15–16), and so it should be no surprise that it emerges in a comic version of democratic values. It seems present in at least three ways in the play. The first is in Philocleon's admission that as a judge he would happily disregard the legitimate rights of an heiress (583–589). Even though he and the judges of course use the law as a mechanism of their employment as dicasts (467), they happily disregard it when it suits them, if Philocleon's attitude is any indication. The second appears in both Philocleon's and the chorus' jubilant claim that as judges they delight in doing something wrong, that is, in doing mischief (322, 340). This ability to engage in mischief is simply a celebration of power: the dicasts can do whatever they want without constraint, even if that constraint is justice. The third form of antinomianism that I think can be identified with comic democratic values is theft. Both Philocleon and the chorus take pride in their youthful thievery when on campaign (236–238, 255, 1200). This again seems a class distinction: low-class people, members of the *dêmos*, steal when they have a chance. It's to be expected; it's in their nature. So long as the theft is from someone else and relatively harmless, others find it excusable. Even Bdelycleon demands pardon for the thievery of the dog Labes by explaining that the dog never learned to play the lyre (959). Even he sees that, according to the comic logic, democratic values embrace a little harmless thievery. Aristotle recognizes these aspects of comedy in the

[8] For a contrary view, see Sommerstein 2005: 199.

Poetics: comedy is, he says, "a representation of baser people, not indeed in the full sense of the word bad, but the laughable is a species of the shameful. It consists in some blunder or shamefulness that does not cause pain or disaster" (Aris. *Poet.* 1449a34–36).

On to the intermediate questions. First, is Cleon democratic? The answer must be yes and no. Cleon is a demagogue, so he ostensibly champions the *dêmos* versus the aristocrats. He is called a "friend to the *dêmos*," and he secured the three-obol payment for daily service on the law courts, a point that is emphasized in *Knights* (53, 255, 799, 905). When in trouble the democratic judges call to him for help (*Wasps* 197), just as he called on them in *Knights* (255). So by many measures Cleon can be called democratic. But he pockets a lot of money for himself—before it gets to the *dêmos*—and Aristophanes is clearly hostile to him as an enemy both to himself and to the city. In both *Knights* and *Wasps* Cleon is revealed as a manipulator and loses his influence over the *dêmos*. Although Aristophanes announces through the slave Xanthias that Cleon is not the butt of *Wasps* (63), his indirect presence is pervasive, from the names of the principal characters to the accuser in the dog trial to the political and legal perversion that Aristophanes is trying to unmask. In the second *parabasis*, Aristophanes describes how he had attacked Cleon as the Jagged-Toothed one in *Knights* (1031). *Knights* concludes with a separation of Cleon from his erstwhile master Dêmos, and this is the result of Bdelycleon's debate with Philocleon in *Wasps* also. Philocleon is clearly hostile to Cleon in the latter half of the play (759, 1227, 1236–1238).

If Cleon is ultimately revealed as undemocratic, we need to ask further what goes with him. At the beginning of *Wasps*, for instance, Cleon and the sycophants seem of a single kind, and the waspish dicasts their tools (400). If Cleon goes, surely the sycophants go too: in the year before *Wasps*, Aristophanes attacked them as agues and fevers (1038; cf. 400, 1096). The flatterers must also go (419, 592, 666–667, 683, 1033), as do the effete prosecutors who boss the judges around (686–694). Cleon is revealed as part of a large apparatus of undemocratic elements that manipulate both the Assembly and the law courts.

My second intermediate question is whether Aristophanes is an advocate of the democracy. The answer to this question will color how the question of the wasps' anger will be framed. If Aristophanes thinks democracy is good, then he would presumably approve democratic anger. Of course this is also the question at the heart of the debate between Konstan and Olson, so something also needs to be said about their

positions. Konstan's arguments center almost exclusively on the law courts, so it is difficult to separate out arguments about Aristophanes and the Athenian democracy in general. But in general Konstan sees in the play "a dramatic denigration of the court system and a valorization of the upper class ideals of withdrawal and privatism" (44); the play, he says, is informed by a "fundamentally conservative political idea" (45). Leaving aside for a time his arguments concerning Aristophanes and the courts, we can question whether Aristophanes actually embraces so unambiguously privatism and conservative ideals. The evidence of *Knights* suggests that Aristophanes has no wish to challenge the sovereignty of the *dêmos*. Certainly that play suggests that political leadership of the *dêmos* should come from someone, like the Sausage-Seller, whose political sympathies are in line with those of the aristocrats, who are represented by the chorus of knights. But the Sausage-Seller is in many ways just as much a rogue and demagogue as Cleon. His conservative ideals are muted at best. In *Wasps*, Bdelycleon's attempt to withdraw his father from the courts backfires egregiously as Philocleon deconstructs the aristocratic symposion, steals its prostitute, and acts hubristically against everyone he meets. The city of Philocleon without laws and the rule of the courts is imagined as a violent anarchy, hardly a ringing endorsement of upper class ideals and withdrawal.

Olson argues that the central concern of *Wasps* is "to argue for one positive vision of democracy over another," although it is "a rather less direct form of rule by the people than that in which Kleon ... claimed to believe" (149). We might say that Olson sees in the play advocacy of a government *for* the people but not *by* the people: "Wasps as a whole explicitly denies that anything which could reasonably be called 'rule by the demos' exists in contemporary Athens" (146). He sees Bdelycleon representing very closely Aristophanes' own views in the play: "Bdelycleon and the poet articulate a strikingly consistent vision of the nature of the contemporary city and its failings" (145). We should not need to comment at much length about the dangers inherent in drawing connections between particular characters and the authors who create them, especially in Attic comedy, where the *parabasis* already provides the author with an opportunity to have the Chorus speak directly on his behalf. In *Wasps*, the Chorus' portrayal of Aristophanes is much more lively and aggressive than Bdelycleon's character. As a poet entering the arena of public and political discourse, he hardly embodies privatism in his antagonism of Cleon. Although Bdelycleon may seem congenial enough, moreover, we should not forget his analogue in *Knights*. Although the

function of the Sausage-Seller in the play is similar to Bdelycleon's, that is, to wean Dêmos/Philocleon off of Cleon, the Sausage-Seller is an altogether different character. Aristophanes is no more likely to see himself in the one than in the other.

Olson's democracy seems starkly illustrated by the passage that describes the end of the trial of the dog Labes, where Bdelycleon hoodwinks Philocleon into voting for acquittal when he actually intended to vote for conviction (990–994). Olson says that Bdelycleon "will not only force him to do right (*Vesp*. 990–994) but make him happier in the bargain" (148). At least two points need to be made: first, Philocleon is not made happier by the acquittal—he faints in disbelief and disappointment instead—and, second, conviction would have been the more just result, since the dog had clearly stolen the cheese (836–838). It seems unlikely that Aristophanes would really have advocated such a dishonest form of democracy. When Philocleon and Bdelycleon debate whether the courts as run by Cleon are good for the *dêmos* or make it a slave, Bdelycleon offers rational arguments on his side (666–718). They include a certain amount of comic excess, to be sure, but they certainly do not involve the sort of patent dishonesty that he uses at the conclusion of the dog trial. Bdelycleon makes rational arguments to the chorus of dicasts, and I think Aristophanes approves of this sort of democratic debate, which is illustrated in *Knights* as well. Where deceit is appropriate against Philocleon it is that of a caring son towards a somewhat deranged father, not that of political leadership toward the *dêmos*.

It is, in fact, difficult to discern precisely where Aristophanes stands with regard to the democracy in this play. Clearly his predilection to poke fun at its institutions is not the same as a desire to condemn them, as he clearly condemns Cleon, the sycophants, and flatterers. Many of his comic heroes in other plays run afoul of various democratic institutions, but that surely is more a function of his literary form than it is of his political ideology. The most that can be said with regard to *Wasps* and *Knights* appears to be that Aristophanes takes the existence of democratic institutions in Athens for granted, including the Assembly, the law courts, the Prytaneion, and so on, but that does not prevent him from criticizing how they are run, or from attacking particular problems with them, such as the sycophants.[9]

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9 For a more nuanced view, see Sommerstein 2005.

So is Aristophanes against the law courts in particular? That seems to be the view of many commentators.[10] In *Wasps* the law courts are represented both by Philocleon and, more importantly, by the chorus of dicasts. It is important to recognize what this chorus represents. For the sake of the play, the men of the chorus are Athenian men who used to have social (and domestic) authority and have lost it. They likewise had physical strength and have lost that too (235). As soldiers and sailors of the Athenian empire they were above the law. While on campaign they stole with impunity (357). Now, for the chorus, the issue of the debate between Bdelycleon and Philocleon is whether the class of elders is useful any longer or not (540). Philocleon points out the power judging gives him not only in the city, likening it to royal and even divine power (518), but also within his house in the attention his daughter and wife pay him; it makes him independent of his son (605–615). But he laments his loss of power over his barbarian slaves, whom he had formerly beaten (440). The requirement to care for one's parents was a fundamental value of Athenian society, one guaranteed by law.[11] But one of the implications of such a value system seems to be that at least some parents cannot take care of themselves. Philocleon's relinquishment of his home and property to his son seems to have been complete; he is left no independent means, other than service as a dicast, to make some money of his own. Even his attempt to sell a donkey is blocked (169–173).

The dicasts of the chorus have an interest in the weather as related to farming, but that does not imply that they are farmers (265), *pace* Stephen Todd.[12] Within a largely agricultural society, everyone has to have had some interest in farming, and the presence of a donkey and rooster must have been common even in ancient urban households without cars or alarm clocks (100–101, 176). The point of Aristophanes' play is not that the men of the chorus are farmers but that they are largely old and poor. Either they have handed over control of their estates to their sons, as Philocleon has done, or they remain poor and physically weak, without another means to make a living. The apparent poverty of the other judges seems to set them apart from Philocleon. He has a wealthy son who can cover his costs without his jury pay. One of the other judges has a

[10] Besides Konstan and Olson, de Ste. Croix 362 n. 10 collects important passages, and Carey 2000 offers a thorough and careful reading.

[11] Lys. 13.91, Aeschin. 1.28, Dem. 24.103–107, Aris. *Ath. Pol.* 56.6.

[12] Todd 1990: 169 does not direct his analysis toward *Wasps* in particular, but is interested primarily with the implications of jury pay.

young son who is dependent on him, and they are both dependent on his dicast's pay (305). The play thus suggests the presence of differing economic circumstances among the dicasts.

David Konstan calls these differing economic circumstances "a fundamental inconsistency in the characterization of the jurors, . . . which points to a kind of fissure in the text that is a mark of its ideological burden" (37). I would prefer to characterize the differing economic circumstances as realistic. Surely the dicasts of Athens did come from a range of economic backgrounds, more poor than rich, more old than young, it would seem, but still with a range. What seems to lie behind Konstan's criticism is that he believes that Aristophanes wants to champion the affluent class that Philocleon and Bdelycleon belong to.[13] Aristophanes would thus lose interest in the poor who seem to make up the majority of the *dikastêrion*. But we need not see Aristophanes as having such ideological blinkers. He *nowhere* denigrates the poor or suggests that they should not participate in the courts. What Bdelycleon, for instance, wishes for his father he wishes for all, and that involves a broader distribution of the wealth of the Athenian empire (698–712). Aristophanes' point seems to be that participation in the courts should not be based on economic necessity (712), as it is for many of the dicasts, or on an addiction, as it is for Philocleon. But that does not mean that there is not still a role for the courts. We should also bear in mind that the comedy may only present a band of old, impoverished dicasts as the chorus because these men have the greatest affinity with Philocleon. Clearly other types of men participated as dicasts too. Perhaps they were not all as fanatical; they didn't bother going to the courts as early or as often. But the play allows room for their participation.[14]

For comic reasons, the dicasts admit that they want to make trouble (*kakon ti poiêsai* 322; cf. 168, 340). Philocleon takes delight in his lack of accountability (587), even when Bdelycleon points out its injustice (589). But these points are made before the great debate in which Bdelycleon manages to persuade the chorus that they should allow him to take his father home. It would be easy to infer on this basis that the law courts are then entirely abandoned. But what the Chorus leader says afterwards seems important:

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[13] Konstan 39 relies somewhat on Lateiner 1982 for this view.

[14] The Chorus complains that there are men unlike themselves serving on juries (1114).

> We who wear this rump are the true Attic men, who alone are noble and native to the soil, a most manly class and one most of aid to this city, when the barbarian blinded the city with smoke and put it to flames in his relentless desire to destroy our nests by force ... Look at us from many angles and you'll see that we have all the character and discipline of the wasp. Firstly, if roused, no beings are more ill-humored, more relentless than we are. In all other things, too, we act like wasps. We collect in swarms as if in nests; some judge with the Archon, some with the Eleven, others at the Odeon, packed tightly against the walls bent over the ground almost like grubs moving in their cells. We also pay full attention to the discovery of all sorts of means of making a living and sting the first who comes, so as to live at his expense. (Ar. *Wasps* 1075–1113)

A new sort of court is being called for. It maintains its waspish sting and claims an exclusive autochthony that is justified by participation in the defense of Athens against the Persians, or rather by military participation in general. For our interests it is important that this defense was motivated by the wasps' sharp temper and expressed in the solidarity of the battle line, men standing side by side, biting their lips *in anger* (1075–1083, 1104–1105). The newly charged Chorus is particularly incensed, however, by the drones that sit among them, without a sting, those who stay at home and consume the tribute without working for it (1114–1116). As the Chorus says,

> Any citizen who doesn't have his sting should not be paid the three obols (Ar. *Wasps* 1120–1121).

The Chorus seems to be suggesting that in future such people who don't go out and fight, meaning Cleon and the sycophants—like the *meirakion* who struts about sensuously as a prosecutor and bosses the dicasts around (685–694)—will not only not participate as dicasts but will have no influence on the courts either. As the play moves away from the issue of the civic *dikastêria* to the story of Bdelycleon's domestic *dikastêrion* for his father, this renewed Chorus attitude seems to be Aristophanes' last word on the role of Athens' law courts. The courts are to remain, but without the influence of Cleon. The dicasts continue to swarm in the courts of the Archon, the Eleven, and in the Odeon (1102–1109), and they make a good living sticking it to people (1112–1113).[15] The last point is surely comic excess, but the point of the passage in general, which supports the courts' continuing existence, is clear.

[15] It seems impossible to convey through a translation the double meaning of δίαιτάν (ἔς τε τὴν ἄλλην δίαιτάν ἐσμεν εὐπορώτατοι 1112; cf. 1103). The chorus mentions how

Sommerstein argues that Aristophanes envisions an alternative democracy that "will abolish, or drastically curtail, *public pay* for civic functions, especially for jury service."[16] Passages like that above (1120–1121), however, seem to suggest that the court will continue to demand its public pay. Other passages that Sommerstein has assembled are more ambiguous. To the extent that Cleon used the three-obol payment as an instrument of his influence, for instance, Aristophanes is certainly critical of it (*Knights* 50–54, 255–257, 798–809). But, as we have seen, it seems possible to have the courts and to separate them from Cleon's influence. Cleon did not originate jury pay, though he raised it to three obols per day.[17] Its use as a mechanism to empower the popular courts goes back at least to Pericles and perhaps to Ephialtes.[18] Bdelycleon raises the issue that jury pay puts the dicasts in the position of olive-gatherers, i.e., day labourers (*Wasps* 712), and other passages likewise emphasize the discomfort of this sort of wage-dependence (*Lys.* 624–625, *Wasps* 300–301). But it is military service that justifies access to public pay (*Knights* 1367–1368), but then military service also justifies participation in the courts (*Wasps* 1120–1121).

What remains for us is the last intermediate question that I posed at the beginning: what role does anger have in these courts? The Chorus says that no animal is more sharp-tempered (*oxuthumon*) or ill-humored (*duskolôteron* 1105). Indeed, the stinger seems a physical metaphor for the dicasts' anger, as well as for military participation (and perhaps sexual potency). Aristophanes makes clear at the beginning of the play, however, that the anger that Philocleon and the dicasts are feeling is not true anger, but a sort of disease.[19] Xanthias explains the present situation to the audience: the two slaves have locked Philocleon inside his house on orders from their master, his son Bdelycleon, because Philocleon "is sick with a strange-grudge sickness", an *allokotos nosos*.[20] The guessing game in which the two slaves then engage with the audience about what kind

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they judge, packed in swarms (1107–1111), and then moves on to their "other *diaita*," which of course could be both "arbitration" (cf. 524) and "life-style."

[16] Sommerstein 2005: 197–198. Sommerstein suggests that "such pay is a pointless waste of scarce resources" (198). But Bdelycleon says that the resources are vast and that the judges are getting hardly any of it (*Vesp.* 660–663).

[17] Schol. on Ar., *Vesp.* 88, 300.

[18] See Hansen 1991: 188, who cites Aristotle [*Ath. Pol.*] 27.3, and, *Pol.* 1274a8–9.

[19] Disease 77, 80, 87, 114, 651, 744, 1486.

[20] Sophocles uses the expression *allokotos nosos* concerning Philoctetes (*Phil.* 1191), and Thucydides says that the ship sent with orders to kill the Mytileneans had not done so with speed, because of the (Cleon inspired) *allokoton pragma* (3.49.5).

of disease this *allokotos nosos* is makes comparisons with addictions, to gambling, alcohol, religious ritual, and hospitality. The comparisons admittedly get increasingly less apt, but the first two seem instructive inasmuch as gambling and alcoholism are still recognized today as addictive conditions. Judging has become for Philocleon an addiction. According to Xanthias, Philocleon's disease also involves insomnia (91), and if he does sleep all his dreams are filled with judging (93); he groans if he can't sit on the front bench (90). He is even physically affected, his hand keeping the shape to hold a voting pebble (94–95). He also accuses even the rooster who crows at the beginning of the night of having been bribed to wake him up late (100–102), and he goes to the courts in the evening to wait for the morning's cases (103–105). The man is fixated. Bdelycleon has tried ritual purification (118), corybantic rites (119) and the sanctuary of Asclepius (122–123), all to no effect.[21]

More important for an analysis of the democratic implications of the play is the description of Philocleon's manic modification of some graffiti from "Dêmos is beautiful" to "Kêmos is beautiful" (97–99; cp. 1339), the *kêmos* being the funnel atop the court's voting urn. Of course Dêmos in this case is obviously a person and not the Athenian *dêmos*, but the nominal redirection of sympathies from the *dêmos* to the courts also suggests a change in ideological sympathies from the *dêmos* to the activity of the court *per se*. Bdelycleon's pun on the resemblance of his father to the foal of a summoner-ass, a *klêtêr* (189), also subordinates Philocleon's role to that of a hanger-on of the judicial process. The *klêtêr* has a formal role in observing the issuing of a summons. As the foal of the *klêtêr*, Philocleon is in an altogether subordinate role in the judicial process, though he does not realize it.

Later in the play, Bdelycleon says that he must cure this longstanding disease within the city; Philocleon's disease is epidemic (651). The disease clearly has many components, the manic desire to participate in the judicial process (not only as judges, but also as prosecutors, witnesses, and simply as observers) and a perverse pleasure in the goings on of the courts. But in the Aristophanic model the disease of the courts also

[21] Being a dicast is not only a disease; it is also thrilling. As we learn from the other dicasts in the Chorus, there is excitement in running in to find a seat, voting pebble in hand (*Vesp*. 349). They take pleasure in the tears and the groans of the accused (390; cf. 564–574, 882, 967–981). Philocleon describes how he enjoys judging as entertainment (566), as a sort of religious ritual done in his honor (555), as sexual titillation (573–574, 578–579), and even as class vindication (575). He wants to be buried beneath the bar of the court (385–386).

involves *duskolia*, an ill humor. Xanthias says that because of *duskolia*, Philocleon always marks the long line for the greater penalty (106–108). Bdelycleon characterizes it at one point as his father's harsh and oaken character (στρυφνὸν καὶ πρίνινον ἦθος 877; cf. 383). What seems clear is that the *duskolia* leads not only to participation in the *dicastêria*, but to a bias toward conviction and severe punishment. Philocleon worries, for instance, that unless he is released to go and judge, a defendant will be acquitted (157), and he suggests that he is following divine commands in convicting people (160). Indeed, the Chorus worries that Philocleon has taken offense because they acquitted someone in his absence (281–283). After Bdelycleon has convinced Philocleon to participate in the mock court at home, moreover, he still wants his father to lose his *duskolia*. He asks that Philocleon take pity on the defendants instead of on those who indict them, lose his *duskolia*, and remove the thorn from his anger (cf. 942). Nevertheless Philocleon anticipates a conviction in the mock court (893) and immediately thinks ill of the defendant, calling him foul, thievish-looking, and deceptive (900–901).

Although the dicasts' bias toward conviction is portrayed for comic reasons as part of their sickness, there seem at least two reasons to think that it was somewhat of a reality in Athens' courts at this time. First, Athenian procedure seems to involve an assumption of guilt. When he comes to trial, the accused already has the *aitia*, the responsibility for the injustice, which he must then flee.[22] If he is assumed to be guilty, then the dicasts' anger against him is justified, as would their bias toward conviction. Such a bias could only partly be mitigated by the dicasts' oath, which obligated them to hear out both sides with equal goodwill.[23] As Aristotle's definition suggests, anger is an appropriate response to injustice, so anger will have been the dominant emotion in the courts as a response to the claims of the prosecutors, who generally spoke first and thus supported the bias for conviction, which the charge itself created. The second reason for thinking that a bias towards conviction was particularly prevalent at the time of the play stems from the methods of Cleon, the leading politician of the time. Aristophanes' portrait of him suggests that he actively used anger as an instrument of his policies,

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[22] Cf. Lys. 4.4 περὶ τῆς αἰτίας ἧς ἐγὼ φεύγω ["upon the charge laid against me" LCL]; cf. Hdt. 7.214.8. φεύγοντα Ἐπιάλτην ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην οἴδαμεν ["we know that Epialtes was for this cause banished" LCL]., and, e.g., Dem. 21.91; 23.38; 30.5, 9, 16; Aesch., *Eum.* 753, Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 57.3.

[23] Dem. 18.1–2, 24.151, 34.1, Isoc. 15.21, Lys. 15.1. Cf. *Wasps* 724–725.

and Thucydides' description of the Mytilenean Debate supports this portrait. He describes the initial decision to kill not just those involved in the revolt but all the Mytileneans as being taken in anger (Thuc. 3.36.2 καὶ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς), and in his speech the next day in defense of this decision, which he no doubt influenced, Cleon warns the Athenians against delay and the dulling of their anger (Thuc. 3.38.1 ὁ γὰρ παθὼν τῷ δράσαντι ἀμβλυτέρᾳ τῇ ὀργῇ ἐπεξέρχεται). Anger serves Cleon's interests.[24] The portraits in Thucydides and Aristophanes are to that extent consistent. The cases with which the wasps are primarily concerned are those of public officials accused of malfeasance (240). Cleon seems to be behind the prosecutions, choreographing the dicasts' attendance at the trials with which he is particularly concerned and priming them about their level of anger (243). When the Chorus reports that an accused man escaped them the day before through his false pretence that he loved Athens and had been the first to unfold the Samian plot (283), we are reminded of Thucydides' Cleon and his demands not to accept excuses.

Important for our understanding of the chorus of dicasts is a passage in Euripides' *Suppliants*, in which the poor are characterized as being motivated by envy, as shooting stingers against the rich and as being deceived by base leaders. The characterization seems to fit Aristophanes' dicasts almost perfectly. *Suppliants* is likely to have been produced close to the same time as *Wasps*. It thus seems to represent a parallel contemporary political analysis:

> οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες καὶ σπανίζοντες βίου
> δεινοί, νέμοντες τῶι φθόνωι πλέον μέρος,
> ἐς τοὺς ἔχοντας κέντρ' ἀφιᾶσιν κακά,
> γλώσσαις πονηρῶν προστατῶν φηλούμενοι·
>
> the poor and destitute, fearsome folk, who allot to envy a larger part (than is right) and shoot out grievous stings against the men who have anything, beguiled as they are by the eloquence of vicious leaders.
>
> (Eur. *Supp*. 240–243)

The striking difference between Aristophanes' Wasps and Euripides' poor is that the wasps sting out of anger while the poor sting out of envy. The analogous function of the two emotions, anger and envy, suggests about Aristophanes' comic caricature of anger that it may reduce to something

[24] We should also note a complementary strategy acribed to Hyperbolus: "convictions are seen as filling coffers out of which payments are made" (Sommerstein 2005: 198). See *Knights* 1359–1362.

like envy. But there is also something more noble behind the comic ugliness. Anger may be related to the disease inflicting Athens' courts, but it is not the same thing. The disease inflicting Athens, the machinations of Cleon, have manipulated the *dêmos*' anger, but Cleon's influence can be removed without altogether removing anger, or the courts.

Expressions for anger, *orgê, cholê, menos*, and *thumos*, appear twenty-two times in *Wasps*. Of them several are used in situations akin to what I would call the "fight or flight" response, visceral responses to attack. Slaves may be fearful and take to flight, but the wasps, as Athenian citizens, get angry and fight.[25] In this way, for instance, the wasps are angered at being pelted by stones (223), the chorus gets angry at Bdelycleon and his slaves for locking up Philocleon (383, 403–404, 423–431), and, as a comic *reductio ad absurdum*, a prostitute is angered by being told to get on top and exert some energy on a hot day (501). Eight of the uses actually refer to anger being mollified in some way, by supplication (560), by being distracted by stories (567), by being sexually aroused (574), or by being persuaded by a defendant (646, 727, 884). The goal of mollifying anger is akin to that of "escaping" the *aitia*.

Several of the uses of words for anger seem particularly suited to the dicasts. As wasps they are described as "sharp-tempered" (*oxuthumoi* 455, 1105), and they claim to use their sharp temper to punish (κολαζόμεσθα) (406). The verb *kolazô* can also be understood to mean that the dicasts "police" the *polis* through their anger.[26] Further positive evidence for anger comes with the Chorus's description of Aristophanes using the "anger (*orgê*) of Heracles" (1030) to attack the greatest of monsters, namely Cleon in the guise of Cerberos, and the sycophants. The anger that the dicasts describe themselves as having had against the Persians (1082–1083) seems similar. It seems to entail a version of the fight-or-flight-response anger, one attuned to the judicial situation. The dicasts, grouped like swarms of wasps within various courts, do not flee but react angrily to the prosecutor's claim that the defendant has done some wrong.

In his confrontation with his son, Philocleon accuses his son of fear:

> You yourself are afraid of me, you are. By Demeter! You're afraid. But I'd die if I were afraid of you. (Ar. *Vesp*.628–630)

[25] The differences in slave and citizen responses are somewhat akin to the responses to torture. See Mirhady 2004: 29–31 for discussion of this phenomenon in Euripides' *Hippolytus*.

[26] See Hunter 1994: 3–5.

When attacked, when done an injustice, there are two alternatives, anger or fear, fight or flight. For Philocleon and the dicasts it is important that they respond with anger. When the dicasts respond to the slaves' attack with their stingers, the slave Xanthias becomes fearful (420–427). When the demagogues are afraid of the *dêmos*, they promise it Euboea and grain by the fifty *medimnoi* (715–716). Anger is characteristic of the citizen, fear of the slave and sycophant. The difference between Aristophanes' dicasts and Euripides' poor is similar. The dicasts are motivated by proper anger, the "poor" by envy. The purpose of the stinger, says the Chorus-leader, is the defense of Athens (1073). Fight or flight, anger or fear, are obviously not the only possible responses to attack or injustice, but *Wasps* does seem to present them as the only alternatives.

If it is correct to see the dicasts' self-description at 1102–1121, after they have accepted Bdelycleon's arguments, as a description by Aristophanes of a judicial attitude with which he can feel happy, one that is free from the influence of Cleon and the sycophants, then it appears that anger in itself is not problematic for him. However, the dicasts say not only that they are as wasps more sharp-tempered than any other animal but also that they are more ill-humored (*duskolôteron*). They still have *duskolia* in abundance. If *duskolia* is a pathological condition, some of what is being said may be comic irony. The reformed dicasts aren't really still pathologically ill-humored; they simply still have their capacity for anger in full measure, a capacity for anger that is manifest in the hardness of their stingers. Another possibility seems to be that *duskolia* really is to be understood as pathological, but Aristophanes is resigned to the existence of the *dicastêria* and to their pathologies. The attitude of Bdelycleon, which he tries to instill in his father, that the *kaloi k'agathoi* have no need for the courts (1256) and their pathologies is all well and fine, but most people are not *kaloi k'agathoi*. The courts are a necessary evil. People like Philocleon cannot be restrained by aristocratic niceties but need to be hauled into court.

How seriously should Aristophanes' *Wasps* be taken in our understanding of the role of anger in Athenian law? The large role that he gives to anger in the play must reflect some of the reality of the courts, with the dicasts packed into the courtrooms and the court cases highly charged emotionally. The comparison of Athenian judges to wasps seems entirely appropriate. The heliastic oath, whether or not it actually contained language that explicitly proscribed emotional responses, must at least have been understood by the litigants and dicasts alike to have excluded them as being *exo tou pragmatos*, or outside of what related to the prosecu-

tion (Aris. *Ath. Pol.* 67.1). For this reason we don't see explicit appeals to anger in forensic oratory that often, as Lene Rubinstein has rightly pointed out.[27] But when Bdelycleon is put on trial in the *Wasps*, an informal trial where no oaths are sworn that prohibit emotions, he explicitly says that he must assuage the anger of the dicasts (649). He is put on trial for what might reasonably be called a case of maltreatment of parents, since Bdelycleon acts with violence against his father (443).[28] The dicasts are there both because they have come *in anger* to Philocleon's aid as a fellow dicast and citizen and because they have been agreed upon as judges of the dispute. This dual role as judges and as angry defenders of legal rights, taken on by a mass popular court, seems an essentially democratic institution. While legally anger had no explicit role in the courts, Aristophanes suggests that socially it played a large implicit role.

The trial of Labes the Dog also illustrates the role of emotions. Just as much as Philocleon is too waspish and anxious to convict, Bdelycleon, even before he adopts the role of defense advocate, instructs Philocleon to show only pity to the defendant (879–881), which is as lop-sided an approach as Philocleon's. The identification of interests between the victim and the judges becomes a notable issue in the trial of the dog. The Dog prosecutor, representing Cleon, says that the dog Labes has done the most terrible things to himself and the *Ruppapai*, that is, the navy-oriented *dêmos*. The Dog asks who will look out for the dicast's interests (Philocleon's here, representing the *dêmos*) if he, the Dog, is not given something. Philocleon responds that he, the commons, also didn't get anything when the cheese was stolen (917). The point is that the prosecutor attempts to point out the commonality of interest between himself and the dicasts, as Aristotle's definition of anger suggests he should.

Is the Wasps' anger democratic? No and yes. It is not so long as it is being manipulated by the private interests of Cleon and those allied with him. Cleon is not actually a friend to the people, and the anger that he asks them to bring to bear on his enemies is misdirected. But the anger that arises as indignation against those who do wrong to the *dêmos* and its individual citizens does seem, within the comic world of *Wasps*, to be an appropriate mechanism to protect Athens and its citizens, and the law courts, as represented by the chorus of Wasps, seem the right institution for this anger.

[27] See Rubinstein 2004: 187–203, correcting Allen 2000.

[28] See the passages cited in note 6, above.

DRAMA AT THE FESTIVAL: A RECURRENT MOTIF IN MENANDER

William D. Furley

1. *Introduction*

In this chapter I wish to single out one scene from *Epitrepontes* as it recurs, with variations, in several plays by Menander, and is important, it seems to me, in a number of ways. The scene itself involves the rape or seduction of a young Athenian woman by a male Athenian citizen, usually in the course of a nocturnal festival, and results in the birth of an illegitimate baby. This poses the acute problem of what to do with the baby. The normal procedure—at least in ancient plays—was to expose the baby in a deserted spot and leave it to its fate. But the child—again, in the plays—rarely died but was taken in by a friendly countryman and looked after. There were usually so-called "tokens" left with the baby. These consisted of small pieces of jewelry or keepsakes by which the unfortunate mother hoped that her child might be recognized later if it was lucky enough to survive and grow to maturity. And, in Menander's plays, the tokens indeed play a vital part in recognition scenes, whereby the abandoned child is recognized and changed circumstances of the parents permit its reentry into Athenian society.[1] Before we dismiss such a story as totally fanciful I recall that a recent law in Germany has allowed young mothers who would have disposed of unwanted babies by throwing them in waste disposal units to pass them, anonymously, through a so-called "Baby-Klappe" or "baby-hatch" for charitable adoption.

In considering this motif I wish to begin by considering Menander's inventive use of a traditional theme, as well as points of style in its presentation. We should also consider Menander's ethical standpoint regarding the act itself: rape or sexual exploitation of an unprotected girl. Finally, I wish to suggest a reason why the motif may have lent

[1] Apart from *Epitrepontes*, tokens feature large in *Perikeiromene* and *Sikyonios*.

itself so well to Menander's dramatic production. I will be talking mainly about two plays—*Epitrepontes* and *Samia*—but the motif recurs in other, lost, plays such as *Plokion*, *"The Necklace," Heros, "The Guardian Spirit," Phasma, "The Apparition," and Kitharistes, "The Kithara-player."*[2] It might be as well to give a very rough outline of the plots of the two main plays first.

In *Epitrepontes* a young man, Charisios, abandons his wife Pamphile because he hears that she has given birth to a baby while he was away from Athens and the child cannot be his—he thinks—because they had only been married five months. But it emerges in the course of the play that he had raped, or seduced, a girl by night at the Tauropolia festival some four months before he had got married. He had lost his signet-ring on the night, so the girl in question had a means of identifying the rapist, even if she had not seen his face clearly. To cut a long and very involved story short, it turns out that the girl Charisios had raped that night at the Tauropolia was his own future wife and the baby she had exposed—but which was rescued and plays an important non-speaking part in the play—is their own legitimate son. And they all lived happily ever after . . . !

In *Samia* the story is quite different, but the night-time seduction is quite similar. In this play, a young man, Moschion, seduces the neighbour's daughter while she is at his house celebrating the Adonia festival with other women of his household. Moschion is quite prepared to marry the girl, but the problem is that he has not yet secured his foster father's consent. So the young couple decide to keep mum about the child until their parents can be persuaded to permit the marriage. In the meantime, the father's friendly mistress Chrysis—the lady from Samos after which the play is named—will pretend that the baby is hers. Then disaster strikes. The father Demeas comes home from a trip to the Black Sea, and overhears a conversation from inside the larder which makes him think that the baby in the household is the son of his adoptive son by Chrysis! He thinks he has been cuckolded by his own son. The play focuses on the breach, and near calamity, which Demeas' false grasp of the situation causes in the family. Again, however, recognition saves the day at the eleventh hour.

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[2] The fragmentary plays with *testimonia* are now available as volume VI.2 of Kassel and Austin (1983–2001) (= *PCG*), or one can still use Koerte and Thierfelder (1953–1955); the English translation of Balme (2002) includes the fragments. *Plokion*: cf. Gellius II 23.15 on fr. 335 K.-Th.: Filia hominis pauperis in pervigilio vitiata est; *Heros, Hypothesis* line 3; *Phasma* 95: παν]νυχίδος οὔσης καὶ χο[ρῶν, "during a night-time festival with dancing groups;" *Kitharistes* 94–95: festival of Artemis Ephesia.

The motif of "drama at the festival," that is, of some untoward incident happening in the course of a religious festival, is by no means new. Earlier literature, in particular Euripides, had used this very theme—a woman made pregnant during a nocturnal festival—to set the ball rolling in several plays: *Ion* most notably; but also in lost plays such as *Alope* and *Auge*. An ancient critic of Euripides, Satyros, points out that these typical themes of New Comedy, e.g., rapes of girls and rediscovered babies, were first developed by Euripides.[3] In fact the motif has a very long literary history: in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* Aphrodite, pretending to be a human girl in order to seduce Anchises, tells him that Hermes had plucked her from the ranks of girls celebrating a festival for Artemis and carried her off.[4] Herodotus relates as a matter of historical fact how "Pelasgians" ambushed Athenian women while they were celebrating the festival of Artemis at Brauron.[5] It is obvious that religious festivals took women out of the confines of the home and put them on public view in choruses, and, particularly during *pannychides*, or all-night celebrations, exposed them to predatory men. Religious festivals provided better opportunities for seduction and rape or more innocent flirtation than everyday life.

Festivals provided other opportunities as well. In ancient warfare it was quite common to attack an enemy, or stage a coup, when the opponent's defences were down as a result of participation in a religious festival.[6] It has been observed that revolutionary activity in Athens seems in some way to be linked with the city's major festival of the Panathenaia.[7] The tyrant-slayers Harmodios and Aristogeiton chose, according to Thucydides, the occasion of the Panathenaia for their coup precisely for the reason that then "the carrying of arms" in the city would not necessarily

[3] In his *Life of Euripides* (*P Oxy*. 1176 fr. 39, col. 7.8–10) he says that βιασμοὶ παρθένων are a stock theme of New Comedy, stemming particularly from Euripides (ibid. 20–22: πρὸς ἄκρον ἤγαγεν Εὐριπίδης). For sociological analysis of the whole subject, see Omitowoju (2002).

[4] Lines 117–129. Another prominent mythical example: the rape of Oreithyia by Boreas, who transported her forcefully to Thrace; she bore Zetes and Kalais through the union. See Ap. Rhod. 1.212 ff.

[5] 6.138.

[6] Examples: Kylon timed his coup during "the greatest festival of Zeus" (Thuc. 1.126); enemy attack: the Plataeans accuse the Thebans of attacking their city during a festival (Thuc. 3.56.2); note the armed guard given to the Eleusinian procession in 408 BCE (Xenophon, *Hell*. 1.4.20); rumour of Boeotian attack during Athenian festival of Choes and Chytroi (= Anthesteria. Ar. *Ach*. 1076).

[7] Figueira (1984, 466–469, esp. 469). On the Panathenaia see further Neils (1997); Robertson (1985).

arouse suspicion.[8] Very generally, festivals were a time when the community dropped its usual occupations—work, business, war—and congregated around sanctuaries or in processions. This took people out of their homes or stations and brought them together. It distracted them from their everyday concerns. It created a vacuum into which the holy spirit of worship was meant to flow, but whose license also attracted crime and opportunism.

2. *The Tauropolia in* Epitrepontes

Now for the texts. In *Epitrepontes* the slave Onesimos has mentioned to Habrotonon, the *psaltria*, that his master Charisios had lost his ring at the Tauropolia "during nocturnal celebration, with women around" (Men. *Epit*. 452; παννυχίδος οὔσης καὶ γυναικῶν);[9] no doubt, says Onesimos matter-of-factly, Charisios had lost it while raping one of the girls. This reminds Habrotonon that she had witnessed just such a scene at the last Tauropolia, when she had been the musician playing for the girls' chorus. Onesimos asks her if she knew who the girl was. "No," says Habrotonon, "but I would recognize her. God, she was *attractive*!—and rich, they said." Then she describes the incident:

> She was wandering with the rest of us. Then suddenly she came rushing towards us alone, in tears, tearing at her hair. And the exceptionally pretty and thin dress she was wearing—O god!—was ruined. The whole thing was in tatters. (Men. *Epit*. 486–490)

Onesimos asks: "And the ring? She had that?" to which Habrotonon replies: "Probably, but I didn't see it." Later in the play the detail is added that Charisios must have "seized" Pamphile when she was "separated from the chorus" (χορῶν ἀποσπασθεῖσαν Men. *Epit*. 1120).

First there is the antiquarian interest of the passage. The Tauropolia festival is otherwise scarcely attested. But it is not a fiction. A couple of 4th-century BCE inscriptions attest to its existence at a place called Halai Araphenides on the E. coast of Attica.[10] It was a festival of Artemis

[8] 6.56.2.

[9] Note the parallel expression from *Phasma* 95 παν]νυχίδος οὔσης καὶ χο[ρῶν, "during nocturnal dance celebration."

[10] See Stauropoullos (1932) and Kotzias (1925–1926, text and p. 176)). Hesych. has the entry ταυροπόλια· Ἁλεῖς (Deubner (1932, 208): ἃ εἰς codd.) ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν Ἀρτέμιδι. Strabo 9.1.22 mentions a temple of Artemis Tauropolos at a locality which has had to be

Tauropolos, founded, accorded to one of Euripides' aetiological notes at the end of a play, by Orestes.[11] The authorities on Athenian festivals all rely chiefly on the present passage of Menander to assert that the festival involved a women's *pannychis* at which girls danced and "roamed" in honour of Artemis.[12] A passage in Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*, however, mentions Halai Araphenides as one of the places where Artemis dances with her school of nymphs (173); "may my oxen not be ploughing then," says Callimachus, "when the Sun looks down on that spectacle, as he will be reluctant to move on" (170–182). This recherché conceit is a way of expressing the beauty of Artemis' choral dances at this locality. We may assume that the mythical precedent (Artemis and nymphs) reflects cult reality. If the Sun in Callimachus found the sight of Artemis' dancing nymphs at Halai so irresistible, so might well have Charisios, although there is the obvious discrepancy that the nymphs' dance in Callimachus took place while the sun was up, whilst Charisios assaulted the girl at night.

Close to Halai, at Brauron, there was a famous girls' cult of Artemis known as Arkteia.[13] Kahil (1977, 96) wonders whether the cult at Halai did not have similar women's rites in honour of Artemis-Iphigeneia to those at Brauron; she points to a small sanctuary at Halai which might have been a *herōon* of Iphigeneia (as at Brauron) and to the fragments of *krateriskoi* found at Halai, a vase form typical of the Brauronian *Arkteia* celebration. Although it is not permissible simply to equate Artemis' festival at Brauron with that at Halai, nevertheless pictures of the girls' *pannychis* at Brauron help us imagine the scene at Halai that night as envisaged by Menander and his audience (fig. 1).

Then there are stylistic points to be made. First, the description is incidental, oblique. Menander does not highlight the drama at this particular festival but introduces it almost casually, when Habrotonon is reminded of the incident through hearing of the loss of Charisios' ring. Secondly,

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supplemented ([Ἁλαὶ Ἀραφη]νίδες) in addition to the neighboring temple of Artemis Brauronia at Brauron (Mette, 1962, 383). Menander is said to have written a play called *Halaeis*, whose action took place at Halai Araphenides; no fragments survive (Koerte and Thierfelder, 1953–1955, II p. 19).

[11] *IT* 1446–1461.

[12] Nocturnal roaming as a cult activity is particularly associated with women's *pannychides*. A good example is the "Festival of the Torches," Phanai, celebrated by women on the upper slopes of Mt. Parnassos in honour of Dionysos. Euripides has Xouthos in *Ion* 550 rape a girl on that occasion.

[13] See Sale (1975), Hamilton (1989), Sourvinou-Inwood (1988b).

Figure 1: Girls at the Arkteia. Photo: Kahil (1977)

it is incredibly short and allusive. In those five lines Menander succeeds in suggesting what might be a whole scene in a modern crime drama. Moreover, he does not even mention the violence or the people involved. Instead he describes an incidental result of the violence—the girl's dress, left in tatters—and her appearance *after* the incident: in tears, tearing her hair. He has simply elided the seamy side of the episode. However, I do not quite agree with the remark of Rosanna Omitowoju, who has devoted half a book to the study of Menander's rape-scenes, that there is no hint of sexual excitement in the description.[14] That see-through dress Pamphile was wearing, torn when the girl reappeared, and Habrotonon's exclamation at two crucial points—when she mentions the girl's attractiveness and when she describes the dress—are suggestive hints.

This scene is the fuse which ignites the plot of the play. Pamphile exposes the resulting child; a shepherd rescues the baby, hands it over to an acqaintance who is a charcoal-burner. The two quarrel over the tokens. The settling of this dispute is the substance of the famous arbitration scene between the two slaves after which the play is named, *Epitrepontes*. Charisios leaves his wife when he hears she has given birth to—as he thinks—someone else's child. We have yet to consider Charisios' moral

[14] Omitowoju (2002, 175–176).

dilemma in the play when he learns later that he has fathered a child on an unknown girl, thus plunging that person into the same misery as his own wife had endured, and for which he had separated from her. Before approaching that, however, let us take in the parallel scene in *Samia*.

3. *The Adonia in* Samia

As I said, here Moschion, the young man, tells the audience that he has seduced the neighbour's daughter during a women's celebration of the Adonia in his house.

> The festival was a lot of fun, as you can imagine. I was present as a sort of spectator, I suppose. For the hubbub made it pretty hard for me to sleep. They carried some little gardens onto the roof; they danced; they dispersed and celebrated all night long. I hesitate to say what followed. It makes me blush ...[15]

Here Menander employs the reverse, but similarly evasive, tactic as before. There he omitted the main act to pick up the thread after the damage had been done. Here he leads up to the issue, then has his speaker break off through shame. Again we hear of women engaged in celebrating a women's god, Adonis, this time in a private house, and again dispersed through the rooms and on the roof (46 ἐσκεδασμέναι). But in this passage the culprit describes his own actions and with touches designed to win the audience's sympathy. He tries to suggest that what happened that night was "natural." The fun and excitement of the occasion was "what one would expect" (42 οἷον εἰκός). He was only there as an innocent bystander (43 οἶμαι θεατής). That he was awake during the night was a natural consequence of the women's noise (43–44 ἀγρυπνίαν ... τινά) And, as if to spare the audience's blushes, he breaks off at the critical point, having made it quite clear what ensued. So again in this

[15] Lines 41–47:

> ... τῆς δ' ἑορτῆς παιδιὰν
> πολλὴ]ν ἐχούσης οἷον εἰκός, συμπαρὼν
> ἐγινόμην οἶμαι θεατής· ἀγρυπνίαν
> ὁ θόρυβος αὐτῶν ἐνεπόει γάρ μοι τινά·
> ἐπὶ τὸ τέγος κήπους γὰρ ἀνέφερόν τινας,
> ὠρχο]ῦντ', ἐπαννύχιζον ἐσκεδασμέναι.
> ὀκνῶ λέγειν τὰ λοίπ', ἴσως δ' αἰσχύνομαι

There is a new edition and commentary of *Samia* (in Greek) by Dedoussi (2006).

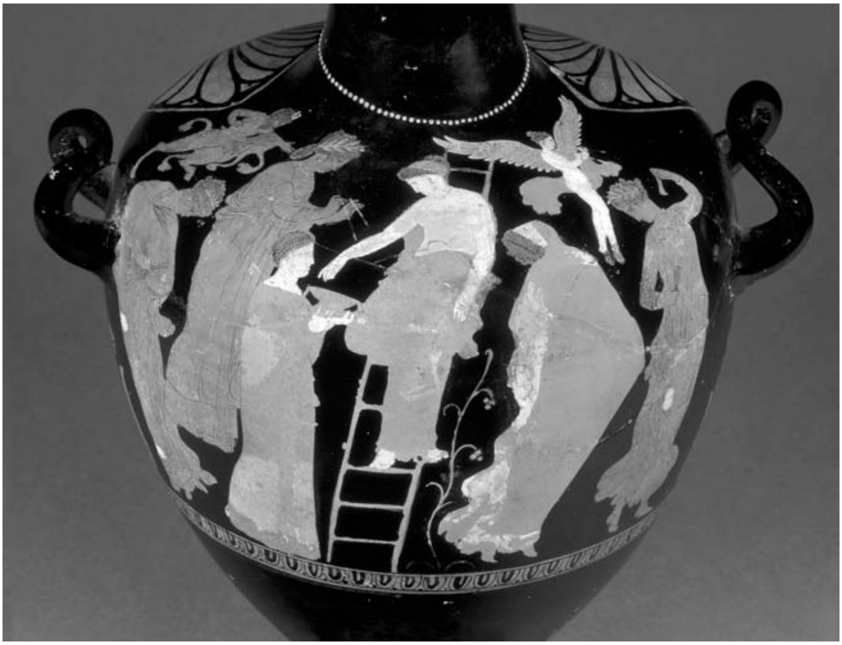

Figure 2: Red-figured hydria showing courtesans and slave-women celebrating the Adonia. British Museum E 241.

passage we have descriptive *enargeia* or "visual immediacy"—the noise, atmosphere, carryings on at the women's party—combined with ethical restraint on the part of Moschion. Menander paints his picture with swift and light brushstrokes.

And again we can tie in the scene with cult *realia*. Other sources tell us about the miniature "Gardens of Adonis" planted in pots which women carried onto the roofs of their houses as part of the Adonia celebration.[16] A well known passage of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* describes the ritual laments for Adonis which the Athenian women uttered on their rooftops.[17] And Theocritus' fifteenth idyll describes the scene in the Ptolemies' palace in Alexandria when Arsinoe enlists a professional singer to perform the Adonis-lament at her "royal Adonia." Several vases illustrate the scene of women climbing a ladder leading (presumably) to a domestic rooftop on which they will place the miniature Adonis gardens

[16] See Baudy (1986).
[17] See Furley (1992) with further literature.

and mourn, with Aphrodite, the premature demise of Adonis. Erotes are usually present, indicating the ambiance (fig. 2).

4. *What followed in* Epitrepontes

Returning now to *Epitrepontes*, we should ask more searching questions of the Tauropolia scene. What is its place in the play? Its moral import? Charisios' ravishing of an unknown girl at a *pannychis* of the Tauropolia sets the drama in motion. All complications in the play—Aristotle's *desis* or "tying the knot"[18]—follow from this; the happy ending—its *lysis* or "releasing the knot"—centers on the recognition that Charisios had in fact raped his own future wife that night. As we have seen, the facts of the case are discussed by two serving people, Onesimos and Habrotonon, in a matter-of-fact manner, as if they were daily occurrences hardly deserving comment. And, indeed, they were clichés of New Comedy if not of real life then. My main focus here is the theme of "drama at the festival" rather than "rape at the festival" but we should consider here the issue of rape in New Comedy, not a very funny subject, one would think.

Rosanna Omitowoju (2002) has recently examined the main instances of rape in New Comedy for their sociological significance. She defends her use of a literary genre as documentary source, and to some extent, no doubt, with justification. Her main finding is persuasive enough: rape in ancient Athens was not judged according to the criterion of the woman's consent or otherwise, but according to the criterion of the consent, or lack of it, of the woman's *kurios*; i.e., a girl's father had to give his daughter to a man in marriage before sex, with pregnancy, was permissible. Any other arrangement was a threat to the integrity of the *oikos* and to Athenian citizenship laws, which stipulated that citizens had to be children of *bona fide* Athenian men and their daughters. So if a man raped a woman, that was an offence primarily to the girl's *kurios*, not her. The issue of consent was, according to Omitowoju, secondary; a *biasmos* or "violation" of a girl was not so much a physical violation, but a violation of the decorum necessary to the production of legitimate children.

This may be true in terms of social history, and it contrasts interestingly with modern views. All the more remarkable then, that Menander thematizes the rape in *Epitrepontes* from *the woman's point of view*.

[18] For this piece of Aristotelian theory applied to Menander see Jaekel (1984).

Pamphile's father Smikrines hears that Charisios has had an illegitimate child with Habrotonon (it's not true) and tells his daughter that Charisios is no good, she must leave him and return home. In perhaps the central debate of the play, comparable to a Euripidean *agōn*, which is unfortunately only partially preserved, Pamphile argues back.[19] She defies her father's self-righteous indignation. She will not leave her husband, she says; he may have gone astray, but then, so did she. She did not marry him just for the good times, but to share his life in bad as well as good times. She vows to stand by her man.[20]

Now Charisios overhears this conversation from just inside the neighbour's front door. It plunges him into despair. He had cast aside his wife for the very crime which he has now discovered that he committed with some girl at the Tauropolia. Instead of rejecting him now that *she* has discovered he, too, had had an illegitimate child, she had stood up to her father and refused to divorce Charisios. In short, she had shown herself morally superior to Charisios, although he prided himself on his knowledge of right and wrong.[21] Menander shows Charisios up as a poser and fool; Pamphile is the one with moral integrity, and that despite her fall from grace through an unwanted pregnancy. In short, the play thematizes the human, specifically woman's, point-of-view in a cliché situation of New Comedy. Menander lifts the veil to reveal true human feelings behind a stock theme.

5. *Drama at the festival*

One wonders, after all, why so many plays start from, or revolve around, a dramatic incident at a festival. Within this scope we could also take in *Dyskolos* whose action centers on a sacrifice to Pan at a rural sanctuary of the god. The love match there is not only arranged by Pan (as he says in the prologue) but the action, too, revolves around the sacrifice to Pan conducted by the young man's mother. Should we just say that festivals were unusual days which stood out from the usual humdrum daily round? That for that reason unusual events were likely to happen

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[19] First scene of act four. For recent work on the complex textual problems involved in this part of the play see Austin (2001) and Arnott (2004). For the scene in relation to Euripides see Porter (2000).

[20] For good remarks on Pamphile's *rhēsis* see Arnott (2004, 277).

[21] For discussion of Charisios' "confession speech" see Arnott (1968, 17), Vogt-Spira (1992, 170–173), Konstan (1994, 223–224).

on their occasion, or at least more likely than on any old day? Or should we point to that commonplace about women in ancient Greece that it was only at festivals—and funerals—that they really had an opportunity to meet men, or be raped by them, as they were cooped up at home on most days? Or should we be content with recalling the long tradition of rapes and seductions associated with women's festivals in literature? No doubt all these positions provide a partial explanation for this common motif in New Comedy. But I wish to suggest an aspect which may relate to the institution of New Comedy in a more fundamental way.

The opening chapters of David Wiles' book *Masks of Menander* (1991) contain a host of reasoned arguments and inspired intuitions about Menander's theatre. At one point—in an almost casual couple of sentences—he says that Menandrean comedy often revolves around an *interrupted* festival.[22] He is thinking principally, I suppose, of *Dyskolos*, in which the wedding of Sostratos and Knemon's daughter does in fact interrupt the sacrifice to Pan. He says that this phenomenon of an *interrupted* festival matches the experience of Menander's audience which had interrupted its celebration of the Dionysia festival to listen to his play in the theatre of Dionysos. Now I do not think this particular intuition is right; I doubt that Menander's audience would have felt that the Dionysia had been interrupted by the plays produced. Rather, I would imagine, they would have seen the plays as climax and centrepiece of the festival. But where Wiles has anticipated my thinking here lies in his point that this aspect of the structure of some plays of Menander matched *the audience's experience* in attending performances of the Dionysia (or Lenaia or theatre festivals outside Attica). For, if I am right in identifying "drama at the festival" as a common motif leading to the development of a comic climax, with *peripeteia* and resolution, this can be placed in parallel with the audience's experience of precisely this theatrical event. For the Dionysia brought them out of their homes to celebrate Dionysos as patron of masked play in the theatre; and the play itself—if convincing—invited them to share in the emotions of acute consternation followed by relief which the main characters endured. In this way the theatrical experience of the audience mirrored the main plot—Aristotle's *praxis*—of the play. And that plot commonly took its starting point from "drama at the festival." The point of my title is that a play by Menander was literally "drama at the festival," whilst his plots commonly used the theme in a figurative sense.

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[22] Pp. 4–5.

It will be seen that this idea is related to theories of artistic reception. I.e., that the artist's production is related in an integral way to the intended audience's reception of his work. The concept of "horizon of expectation" used by Hans Robert Jauss (1982) implies that the reader or viewer of a work of art sees in it what he is familiar with and has come to expect. Thus cultural conditioning affects aesthetic reception of art. In my present argument I would suggest that the Athenian audience's experience of festivals and, especially, the Dionysia, predispose them to associate certain events and patterns of behaviour with festivals presented or mentioned on stage.[23] It is difficult to prove this contention in a formal sense. Even if I was able to ask Menander in an interview: why do your dramas often revolve around exciting events at a festival or sacrifice? Is it because you think your audience—which is itself attending an exciting event at a festival—may, under these circumstances, be particularly receptive to such a plot structure?—I might not get a satisfactory answer. He might shrug and reply: "I hadn't thought about it." Or perhaps he had thought about it. An interesting fragment from a lost play of his is preserved as a quotation in that collector of ancient *bon mots*, Stobaios.[24] In the quoted passage a character in Menander's play says "life is like a festival. It has all the fun and danger of the fair." Let us look at the wording more carefully.

> You must think of our time here on earth as a festival. There's a crowd, a place to congregate, thieves, gambling and entertainments. If you leave early you'll sleep better. You'll still have money; you won't have made any enemies. But if you linger on, you'll tire, lose your money, grow old abjectly and end a beggar, wandering about, surrounded by enemies, attacked from all sides. You won't die well if you depart too late.[25]
>
> (Men.fr. apud Stob. fr. 416.8–16)

The picture is similar to "all the world's a stage," but we must assert the

[23] For an introduction to the subject of dramatic reception cf. Bennett (1990).

[24] IV 53.7 = fr. 416.8–16 K.-Th. from *Hypobolimaios* or *Agroikos* (= 871 KA "incertae fabulae"). Kassel and Austin believe that the preceding lines in Stobaios (1–7 K.-Th.) do not connect with their fr. 871.

[25] Lines 8–16:

> Πανήγυριν νόμισόν τιν' εἶναι τὸν χρόνον,
> ὅν φημι τοῦτον, τὴν ἐπιδημίαν ἄνω·
> ὄχλος ἀγορὰ κλέπται κυβεῖαι διατριβαί.
> ἂν † πρῶτος ἀπίῃς καταλύσεις βελτίονα.
> ἐφόδι' ἔχων ἀπῆλθες ἐχθρὸς οὐδενί·
> ὁ προσδιατρίβων δ' ἐκοπίασεν ἀπολέσας,
> κακῶς τε γηρῶν ἐνδεής που γίνεται,
> ῥεμβόμενος ἐχθροὺς εὗρ', ἐπεβουλεύθη ποθέν,
> οὐκ εὐθανάτως ἀπῆλθεν ἐλθὼν εἰς χρόνον.

difference: Menander is saying "all the world's a festival," whereby one of Athens' chief festivals, the City Dionysia, focussed on the stage. And he mentions "spoken entertainments" at this festival with the word *diatribai*, even if the meaning is broader than "drama." But he couldn't say "drama:" that would be giving the game away, even if it would have pleased modern devotees of the meta-theatrical camp.[26]

In this fragment, then, Menander has a character compare the experience of life with the experience of festivals. One joins a crowd for a festival: one spends money; one listens to verbal displays; one may get involved in quarrels. It's better not to overstay one's welcome. The speech is meant as a comment on life, not on drama (or on festivals, come to that). So it does not possibly prove my contention that the plot element in Menander's plays I have focussed on here is *deliberately* meant to match its performative context (the festival), but I think it does show us Menander's awareness of the metaphorical significance of festivals for life.

Once one starts thinking along these lines, the possibilities multiply. Try reading Jon Banville's novel *The Sea*, for example, while bearing in mind that most readers' experience of the "seaside holiday" in childhood will help them construct Banville's meaning. Or the novel *Independence Day* by Richard Ford. Here the narrator meanders through a five-hundred page narrative of several days surrounding the *Independence Day* festival. How different that literary stroll through several days' experience is from the concentrated world of a play: how much more a reflection, indeed, of the pace at which a reader over several, perhaps many, days digests a novel. There is "drama at the festival" in Ford's novel, too: the boy gets hit by the baseball. But that dramatic event is more closely allied to the "horizon of expectation" of the typical readers of novels and passive participants in *Independence Day*. I mean to suggest that those plots of Menander involving exciting incidents at festivals chimed with the experience of attending the Dionysia.[27]

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[26] See Gutzwiller (2000).

[27] As I intend the tenor of this piece to suit in some way its intended reception: as a contribution to the celebration of Martin Cropp—the man and his wonderful commitment to the interpretation of Greek drama.

THE *FRAGMENTUM GRENFELLIANUM*: METRICAL ANALYSIS, ANCIENT PUNCTUATION, AND THE SENSE OF AN ENDING*

Luigi Battezzato

The *fragmentum Grenfellianum* is one of the most famous short texts in Greek literature. It is a lyric piece sung by a woman abandoned by her lover. She tries to convince him to come back to her, and to forgive her previous "errors."

The text is commonly named after Grenfell, who first published it (Grenfell 1896). The text is written as prose, and Grenfell thought that it *was* a prose "Alexandrian Erotic Fragment." Wilamowitz and Crusius soon realised that it was poetry, and offered metrical analyses that are still fundamental (Wilamowitz 1896 and Crusius 1896). This discovery did not stop Gaselee from printing the text again as prose twenty years later (Gaselee 1916: 376–379). Grenfell remained uncertain whether the text was "rhythmical prose" or poetry.[1] Several scholars have published edition of this text;[2] each of them has given a slightly different metrical interpretation, and has divided the text (and numbered the lines) accordingly.

In this paper I will argue that the original layout of the text shows signs of an ancient metrical interpretation, which is consistent with ancient metrical practice. I will also offer a new textual supplement for column 2, lines 61–62; on the basis of content, page layout and literary conventions, I will argue that we have the final line of the "girl's lament."

* I wish to thank M.C. Martinelli for her patient and thorough discussion of the metrical problems in this fragments. She has written on the problem of the metrical interpretation of *dicola* in this and other fragments (Martinelli 2009). I am indebted to her for a number of suggestions, adopted in sections 1–3 with reference to her work. I also thank D.J. Mastronarde and G.B. D'Alessio for corrections and suggestions. All errors of fact or judgement are, of course, my own.

[1] See Grenfell in Grenfell and Hunt 1897: 209; see also Grenfell and Hunt 1899: 39 "perhaps an attempt will be made to reduce the present composition to a metrical scheme, as has been effected by some critics in the case of the 'Erotic Fragment'" (commenting on P.Oxy 2.219 = Mime fragment 4 in Cunningham 2004: 40–41).

[2] See especially Crusius 1908: 117–120; Crusius 1914: 124–127; Powell 1925: 177–180; Bing 2002; Cunningham 2004: 36–38; Esposito 2005.

As Wilamowitz demonstrated, the *Fragmentum Grenfellianum* takes up in part the metrical conventions of Euripides. This paper is offered in gratitude to a scholar whose works are always on the desk of those who study Euripides, or Greek metre.

1. *The metre and the use of dicola*

Let us examine the text of the fragment. I will follow Esposito's text, with a few divergences noted below.[3] Dryton lived in the period 192–126 BCE ca, and was an officer in the Egyptian army.[4] The text was transcribed on the verso of a document dated 174 BCE,[5] undoubtedly for personal use (see e.g. Esposito 2005: 15). Two columns are extant. Dryton copied the text in continuous lines, leaving some blank spaces towards the end of column one. Only the left part of the second column survives. Dryton uses both double dots (:), or *dicola*, and *paragraphoi*.[6]

According to Bing, in our fragment "the double dots (:)" mark "word-division at grammatical and metrical pauses; the frequent observance in the papyrus of elision, suggests that Dryton may have made his copy directly from an original in which such signs were used as aids in preparation for performance" (Bing 2002: 384).

It is not clear whether Bing means that the pause is always both grammatical and metrical, or (which seems likelier) that the pause marked by the *dicolon* is at times metrical (but not grammatical) and at other times grammatical (but not metrical). Esposito, the most recent editor, shares this interpretation, offering a detailed discussion. Martinelli (in Esposito 2005: 10–11) suggests a possible metrical interpretation.

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3 I distinguish between "sections" (referring to the "sections" delimited by dicola, and numbered in the text below), "lines" (referring to the diplomatic transcription: Esposito 2005: 73–77) and "verses" (referring to the edition of the text: Esposito 2005: 81–83). Line numbers are of course identical in the transcription offered by Bing 2002: 381–382. Esposito's colometry (2005: 81–82) in the edition does not differ much from Bing's (2002: 385). I use the metrical symbols as defined by West 1982: xi–xii. Note that *pe* = × - ⏑ - × (iambic penthemimer).

4 See Vandorpe 2002: 13 and and 260–261; Esposito 2005: 47. On the archive, Esposito 2005: 17; Gonis, 2006: 197–204.

5 Vandorpe 2002: 381 and Bing 2002: 384. Grenfell 1896: 1 noted that the text was "later than 173 BC."

6 On the use of such signs in musical papyri, and papyri designed as aids for performance, see Fassino 1999: 5–6, Gronewald and Daniel 2005: 8, Esposito 2005: 10–18 and especially Martinelli 2009, with references and bibliography.

For the reader's convenience, I begin a new line after each *dicolon*. I have numbered the sections which are separated by the *dicola*. These numbers are not to be confused with line numbers in editions. The scribe also divided the text into larger sections by means of *paragraphoi*. I leave a blank line at the end of each section marked off by a *paragraphos* in the margin. I have also added a metrical analysis after each line. Note that the metrical analysis explains the analysis of the text as intended by the scribe, not as the best possible metrical analysis of this text (see below, section 4). Note also that, in order to avoid confusion, I have not inserted any signs of punctuation, except those present in the papyrus. I have also omitted papyrological dots under letters that are uncertain. One should consult Esposito 2005 and Vandorpe 2002: 381–382 for full presentation of the papyrological details. (The same criterion is used for other mimes: see Cunningham 2004 for papyrological details).

Symbols used:

: *dicolon*
/ line end (in P. Dryton 50; it does *not* indicate metrical line-end)
| paragraphos (I leave a blank line before the new "section" signalled by the paragraphos).
‖^{H} hiatus, implying metrical pause (and end of metrical line)
‖^{B} *brevis in longo*, implying metrical pause (and end of metrical line)
𝄐 *elementum indifferens*, before metrical pause (and end of metrical line)

I have included ‖^{H} and ‖^{B} in the Greek text when they occur in mid line.

1 ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γέγον' αἵρεσις ἐζευγίσμεθα :
1 – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – – – ⏑ 𝄐 ‖^{B} *2an ia* ‖^{B}
1 – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – – – ⏑ ⏑ *-5da*[7]

2 τῆς φιλίης / Κύπρις ἔστ' ἀνάδοχος :
2 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ 𝄐 ‖^{B} *D cr* ‖^{B}
2 – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ 𝄐 ‖^{B} *2da ia* ‖^{B}[8]

3 ὀδύνη μ' ἔχει ‖^{H} ὅταν ἀναμνησθῶ : /
3 ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ 𝄐 ‖^{H} ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – 𝄐 ‖^{H} *⏑⏑ia* ‖^{H} *δ* ‖^{H}

4 ὥς με κατεφίλει 'πιβούλως μέλλων με καταλιμπάν[ει]ν : / |
4 – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – – – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – *hδ 2δ*

[7] I owe this alternative interpretation to M.C. Martinelli. This is in line with the interpretation given by e.g. Bing and Esposito, of line 1 (a dactylic sequence). On dactylic sequences starting – – ⏑ ⏑ see e.g. Dale 1968: 67–68 and bibliography. Wilamowitz 1896: 211 gave an anapaestic interpretation, stressing the affinity between anapaests and dochmiacs.

[8] I owe this alternative interpretation to M.C. Martinelli. See below for a discussion.

5 ἀκαταστασίης εὑρετής :
5 ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ ⏑ - - ⏑ - *an cr*

6 χὠ τὴν φιλίην ἐκτικὼς / ἔλαβε μ’ ἔρως :
6 - - ⏑ ⏑ - - ⏑ - ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ - *an cr ia*

7 οὐχ ἀπαναίνομαι αὐτὸν ἔχουσ’ ἐν τῆι διανοίαι ⟨:⟩ / |
7 - ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ ⏑ - - - ⏑ ⏑ - 𝄐 ‖^{H} *6da* ‖^{H}

8 ἄστρα φίλα καὶ :
8 - ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ - *ia*

9 συνερῶσα πότνια νὺξ μοι παρά/πεμψον ἔτι με νῦν πρὸς ὃν ἡ Κύπρις ἔκδοτον ἄγει μ[ε] / χὠ πολὺς ἔρως παραλαβὼν συνοδηγὸν ἔχω / τὸ πολὺ πῦρ τοὐν τῆι ψυχῆι μου καιόμενον ταῦτά μ’ ἀδίκει ταῦτά μ’ ὀδυνᾶι ‖^{H} : |

10 ὁ φρεναπάτης ὁ πρὸ τοῦ / μέγα φρονῶν χὠ τὴν Κύπριν οὐ φάμενος εἶναι τοῦ ἐρᾶν ἀεὶ αἰτίαν / οὐκ ἤνεκε λίαν τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἀδικίην : [± 15 letters erased] / |

11 μέλλω μαίνεσθαι ζῆλος γάρ μ’ ἔχει καὶ κατακα⟨ί⟩ομαι / καταλελειμμένη :
11 - - - - - - - - ⏑ - - ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ - ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ - ‖^{H} *4δ* ‖^{H}

12 αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτό μοι τοὺς στεφάνους / βάλε ‖^{H} οἷς μεμονωμένη χρωτισθήσομαι : / |
12 - ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ - - ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ 𝄐 ‖^{H} - ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ - - - - ⏑ - *2δ* ‖^{H} *2δ*

13 κύριε μὴ μ’ ἀφῆις ἀποκεκλει{κλει}μένην δέξαι / μ’ εὐδοκῶ ζήλωι δουλεύειν :
13 - ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ - ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ - - - - ⏑ - - - - - - *4δ*

14 †επιμανουσοραν† / μέγαν ἔχει πόνον ζηλοτυπεῖν γὰρ δεῖ στέγ[ει]ν / καρτερεῖν :
14 ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ - ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ - - ⏑ ⏑ - - - ⏑ - - ⏑ - *4δ*

15 ἂν δ’ ἑνὶ προσκαθῆι μόνον ἄφρων ἔσηι / ‖^{H} ὁ γὰρ μονιὸς ἔρως μαίνεσθαι ποιεῖ ⟨:⟩ / |
15 - ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ - ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ 𝄐 ‖^{H} ⏑ - ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ - - - - - - *2δ* ‖^{H} *kδ δ* (or *2δ*)[9]

16 γίνωσχ’ ὅτι θυμὸν ἀνίκητον ἔχω ‖^{H} ὅταν ἔρις / λάβηι με μαίνομ’ ὅταν ἀναμ[ν]ήσωμ’ εἰ μονο/κοιτήσω σὺ δὲ χρωτίζεσθ’ ἀποτρέχεις ⟨:⟩ / |

17 νῦν ἂν ὀργισθῶμεν εὐθὺ δεῖ καὶ δια/λύεσθαι οὐχὶ διὰ / τοῦτο φίλους ἔχομεν οἳ κρινοῦσι / τίς ἀδικεῖ ⟨:⟩ / |

[9] One could scan μονιὸς = ⏑ ⏑, with loss of syllabic value for iota: see Crusius 1896: 378 n. 14; Wilamowitz 1896: 213; Esposito 2005: 33. For the phenomenon see West 1982: 14; Martinelli 1995: 49–50.

Divergences from Esposito:

> Section 4: κατεφίλει 'πιβούλως Wilamowitz (1896: 211; see also 1896: 214): κατεφίλει ἐπιβούλως Π and Esposito.
>
> Section 6, 9 and 10: χὠ Wilamowitz (1896: 211): καὶ ὁ Π and Esposito (three times)
>
> Section 9: τοὒν Wilamowitz (1896: 211): τὸ ἐν Π and Esposito
>
> Section 15: ἀν δ' ἑνὶ προσκαθῆι μόνον ἄφρων ἔσηι Wilamowitz (ἀν 1896: 212), Grenfell and Weil: ἐὰν δ' ἑνὶ προσκαθεῖ μόνον ἄφρων ἔσει Π and Esposito.

The text of section 10 εἶναι τοῦ ἐρᾶν ἀεὶ αἰτίαν οὐκ ἤνεκε λίαν is very disputed, and the papyrus reading is uncertain. I have reported Esposito's reading, but this is not central to my argument. I assume that, if Esposito's reading τοῦ ἐρᾶν ἀεὶ αἰτίαν is correct, and hiatuses admissible, the sentence should mean "he claimed that Aphrodite does not make people love forever" (not that "l'uomo negava che la responsabilità dell'amore fosse sempre di Cipride:" Esposito 2005: 125, see also 87).

Dryton does not elide vowels in "prodelision" or apheresis (see in general Kühner and Blaas 1890: I, 240–243; Platnauer 1960), nor vowels involved in crasis. Note that crasis is necessary in section 9 (τὸ ἐν P τοὒν Wilamowitz): the anapaest would not scan otherwise. From this fact one can safely infer that crasis was meant in the other cases where καὶ preceded a world beginning with a vowel.[10]

One should note that Dryton added the *dicola* at the end of section 1 and 3 at a later stage. The points are located above and below the line, because he did not leave enough space between words.[11] *Dicola* are not present at the end of section 7 (line 5, after διανοίαι), section 15 (line 20, after ποιεῖ), section 16 (line 23, after ἀποτρέχεις), and section 17 (line 27, after ἀδικεῖ), at the end of sections marked off by *paragraphoi*. However, Crusius (1896: 358) noted that the scribe left a space at the end of section 10 (line 12, after ἀδικίην),[12] section 12 (line 15, after χρωτισθήσομαι),

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[10] Crusius 1896: 380 argues for shortening in hiatus in cases such as καὶ ὁ. Cunningham 2004 (reprint of Cunningham 1987, with small addenda) and Esposito 2005 follow this practice, which however founders on τὸ ἐν. See also Herodas 4.66, Cunningham 1971: 141, West 1982: 13, Martinelli 1995: 49. On crasis see especially Kühner and Blaas 1890: 220–221. One should remember that shortening in hiatus is common in Homer and hexameter poetry, but rare in classical lyric metres, and that hiatus with no shortening is limited to certain special words or combination of words: Descroix 1931: 21–29; Sjölund 1938: 35–70; West 1982: 11–12 and 14–15; Parker 1997: 91–92.

[11] So Martinelli 2009 and (for the *dicolon* at section 1) Esposito 2005: 73.

[12] Note that Esposito 2005: 74 reports that the scribe washed off 15 letters after

section 15 (line 20, after ποιεῖ), section 16 (line 23, after ἀποτρέχεις), and section 17 (line 27, after ἀδικεῖ).[13] Line end is present after section 7. This makes me assume that the space, in conjunction with the following *paragraphos*, was enough to mark off sections 15, 16 and 17. This is why I have supplied ⟨:⟩ at the end of sections 15, 16, and 17. This simply means that the page layout chosen by Dryton implies that he meant a metrical division at those points of the text. At the end of section 7 Dryton did not have a line-end space and did not supply a *dicolon*. I have assumed that a metrical border existed for Dryton at the end of line 7 too, because of the following paragraph end, and of the break in sense (end of sentence followed by a vocative in the new sentence) and metrical character (from a hexameter to an iambic section). Line 10 ends with ὁ φρεναπάτης ὁ πρὸ τοῦ. Dryton did not leave a space and did not write a *dicolon* at the end of this graphic line. It is likely that he assumed that this phrase went with the following section. I do not think we should supply a mark of metrical border at this point.

2. *Dicola and metrical interpretations, ancient and modern*

We have 13 *dicola* in the 27 lines of the original layout. What is their function? Let us look at section 8. The *dicola* isolate the short phrase: ἄστρα φίλα καὶ:, which is not a sense unit. It is however a metrical unit: an iambus (- ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ -).[14] End of colon is very well possible after καί, and even line end after καὶ has several parallels in classical poetry.[15] Unless we assume that the *dicolon* is wrongly placed, the conclusion is inescapable.

ἀδικίην: (this is not reported by other editions): "dopo il *dicolon* sequenza di circa 15 lettere dilavate."

[13] Esposito 2005: 11, in a similar context, observes that a blank space is left in the papyrus at the end of lines 5, 23 and 27 (= our sections 7, 16 and 17). I am not sure a blank space is present at the end of line 5.

[14] Crusius 1896: 380 "Der Doppelpunkt, der nach Grenfell eigenmal unrichtig gestzt is, hat wohl vor Allem rhythmische Bedeutung. Z. 6, wo er nach καὶ steht, hebt er den einleitenden iambischen Monometer ab; Z. 14 ff. wird er allemal nach eninem Paar von dochmischen Dimetern gesetz. Wenn er in den meisten Fällen zugleich eine Sinnpause bezeichnet, so erklärt sich das dadurch, daß die syntaktischen und rhythmischen Einheiten im Ganzen zusammenfallen." I agree with this statement, which has been overlooked because Crusius' overall metrical analysis is not satisfactory. See also Crusius 1896: 377 and 379; Crusius 1908: 117.

[15] See e.g. Pind. *Ol.* 6.17 and the lists in Snell in Maeheler 1989: 188 and Gentili 1999: 52.

Sections 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 13 and 14 are perfectly compatible with modern analyses (e. g. Wilamowitz, Bing, Esposito) even if the *dicola* at time run together sections which are written on separate lines by some modern editors. One should stress (see Esposito 2005: 11) the fact that sections 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15 comprise four dochmiacs each (with a possible kδ in section 15). The regularity is striking.

Sections 3, 12 and 15 present a peculiarity: a hiatus within the section delimited by the *dicola*. The scribe may have forgotten to insert this sign. In alternative, the words could have been meant as part of the same colon by the author or by the person who divided the text into cola. Note that the Hellenistic colometry of Pindar, Bacchylides and that of tragic texts often leaves hiatus within the metrical line.[16] We also find *brevis in longo* and hiatus within the "graphic" line in the so-called asynarteta.[17] Some scholars argue that, in asynarteta, *brevis in longo* and hiatus are *not* signs of verse end (in the metrical sense given by Boeckh). According to this interpretation, asynarteta had a peculiar "freedom" and admitted *brevis in longo* and hiatus within the metrical line.[18] Be this as it may, the asynarteta provide firm evidence that ancient metricians admitted hiatus within the "graphic" line. Note that Dryton elides vowels when we need to leave them out from the metrican scansion (see e.g. lines 1–2, γέγον᾽ αἵρεσις, ἔστ᾽ἀνάδοχος, μ᾽ ἔχει, line 10 μ᾽ ἀδικεῖ: Dryton does not write accents and elision signs). On the contrary, he writes βάλε ‖^{H} οἶς in section 12, even if this invited the spelling βάλ᾽ οἶς.[19] The scribe possibly meant that the final epsilon should not be omitted in pronunciation. He does not seem to elide monosyllables in writing.

It is obvious that sections 9, 10 and 16 are too long, and it is likely that the scribe omitted to report *dicola* at appropriate points within these sections. It is fruitless to speculate where such *dicola* should have been placed.

The other metrical peculiarities are easily solved.

Section 1:

ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γέγον᾽ αἵρεσις ἐζευγίσμεθα :
– – ᴗ ᴗ – ᴗ ᴗ – ᴗ ᴗ – – – ᴗ ᴗ̑ ‖^{B} *2an ia*‖^{B}

[16] See e.g., Irigoin 1958: 19–34; Fleming 1973: 26 (*Pers.* 934 = 943), 53 (*Sept.* 332) and 91 (*PV* 714).

[17] See Merkelbach and West 1974: 102.

[18] See Rossi 1976, esp. 215, Palumbo Stracca 1979, with full discussion of ancient sources, Gentili-Lomiento 2003: 31–33.

[19] See already Crusius 1896: 380.

has a parallel in e.g. Eur. *El.* 586 and 588 *an ia*, *Phoen.* 832 *an ia* (for other parallels and analysis see Dale 1968: 170–171; Basta Donzelli 1995: 78; Gentili and Lomiento 2003: 118). See also the archebulean metre in e.g. Callimachus fr. 128 ⏕ – ⏑ ⏑ ⁝ – ⏑ ⏑ – | ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – (probably ⏕ *D* + *iambic penthemimer*, see West 1982: 48, 152 and 177; Martinelli 1995: 181–182; Gentili and Lomiento 2003: 119 interpret this sequence as *2an* + *syncopated iamb*). The ambivalence between anapaests and rising dactyls does not rule out the interpretation (advanced by M.C. Martinelli) -*5da* (without final pause).

Section 2 runs as follows:

τῆς φιλίης / Κύπρις ἔστ᾽ ἀνάδοχος :
– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ 𝄐 ‖B *D cr*‖*B* (or *2da ia* ‖*B*)

The analysis *D cr* has a parallel in structures such as the encomiologicum *D pe* (West 1982: 76 n. 107; Martinelli 1995: 258; Gentili and Lomiento 2003: 99). For the analysis *2da ia* Martinelli refers me to the mixture of dactyls and iambs that is found esp. in Sophocles (see West 1982: 130; Parker 1997: 53–54, with bibliography). See also the colometry of medieval manuscripts recorded and analysed by Irigoin 1958: 24–25.

Section 3 begins with a slightly peculiar form of iambus:

ὀδύνη μ᾽ ἔχει ‖H ὅταν ἀναμνησθῶ ‖H : /
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ 𝄐 ‖H ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – 𝄐 ‖H ˘˘*ia* ‖*H* *δ* ‖*H*

However, the "anapaest" in first position is common in tragedy and comedy, in recited lines. It occurs in archaic (Pind. *Ol.* 9 ep. 2, *Ol.* 10 ep. 3 [two times], *Nem.* 6 ep. 6: see Snell's metrical analyses in Snell and Maehler 1987; Gentili et alii 1995: 218–219 and 242–243 add Pind. *Pyth.* 8 str. 5 and *Pyht.* 9 str. 5 line 38; see Lomiento 1992: 115) and classical lyric passages (Parker 1997: 33).

Sections 5 and 6 present the sequence *an cr*:

5 ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – *an cr*
6 – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – *an cr ia*

When Wilamowitz analysed the *Fragmentum Grenfellianum*, he only had fifth-century theatrical metre to rely on for comparison. That is why he found striking similarities with late Euripidean metrical practice: that was the main body of anapaestic and dochmiac lyric then known. That is also why both Wilamowitz and Crusius argued that the *Fragmentum Grenfellianum* was the missing link between classical Athenian theatre

and the cantica of Plautus (a notoriously controversial thesis).[20] However, we now have scanty fragments from three other mimes (fragments 2–4 in Cunninghm 2004: 38–41). These texts date from the Hellenistic age (II century BCE–I century CE), and similarly mix anapaestic and dochmiac lines with other rhythms that we cannot easily ascertain. It is striking to find the sequence *an cr* that we have in the Fragmentum Grenfellianum

Mime fr. 4.15 Cunningham

ἀπορου]μαι ποῦ   βαδίσω. ἣ ναῦς   μου ᾽ρράγη
⏑ ⏑ - - -   ⏑ ⏑ - - -   - ⏑ -   *2an cr*

(with apheresis or prodelision of epsilon in μου ἐρράγη: see Kühner and Blass 1890: I 241–243, Platnauer 1960, and Ar. *Eq*. 374 σοῦ ᾽κτεμῶ, *Nub*. 385, *Ran*. 495).

Mime fr. 4.16 Cunningham

τὸν κ]α[τ]α[θ]ύμιον   ἀπολέσας   ὄρνιθά μου κλαίω
- ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ ⏑   ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ -   - - ⏑ - - -   *an cr ia sp / 2da cr ia sp*

Mime fr. 4.23 Cunningham

ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιθεὶς λίθον   ἐμαυτοῦ ᾽πὶ τὴν   καρδίαν
- ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ ⏑   ⏑ - - ⏑ -   - ⏑ -   *an δ cr / an ba δ*
(or *2da δ cr*, *2da ba δ*)

(with apheresis or prodelision of epsilon in ἐμαυτοῦ ἐπί: see above).

Sections 7 and 8: the shift from *6da* to iambics is also in Ar. *Thesm*. 126–128 (see Austin and Olson 2004: 88–89), with no intervening metrical pause.

Modern editors generally run section **section 8** (ἄστρα φίλα καί, a single iambus) together with what follows, in order to obtain the metrical sequence *cr δ ba* (ἄστρα φίλα καὶ συνερῶσα πότνια νύξ μοι). The scribe must have scanned the beginning of **section 9** as a series of anapaests, with resolutions:

συνερῶσα πότνια   νὺξ μοι παράπεμψ-   ον ἔτι με νῦν πρὸς ὃν   ἡ Κύπρις ἔκδοτον
⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑   - - ⏑ ⏑ -   ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ ⏑   - ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ ⏑   *4an*

ἄγει μ[ε] χὠ   πολὺς ἔρως   παραλαβὼν
⏑ - ⏑ -   ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ -   ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ -   *ia 2cr*

[20] See Wilamowitz 1896: 231–232; Crusius 1896: 383–384; contra, Fraenkel 1960: 307–353, who also quotes and discusses extensively the important theory of Leo. In favour of Wilamowitz see Gentili 1977.

Note that anapaests seem to turn into dactyls at the end; see above on the sequence *2da ia*. For resolutions in lyric anapaests see e.g. West 1982: 121, 123 and 149; Martinelli 1995: 184–185; Dale 1968: 51 and 55. Martinelli (2009, and apud Esposito 2005: 10–11) suggests an ionic interpretation.

Section 10:

ὁ φρεναπάτης ὁ πρὸ τοῦ
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – *2io^*

Dryton probably meant this to go with what follows, even if the section is placed at the end of the "graphic" line that ends the previous section. If the line end means that he intended a metrical break, one can analyse this structure as *2io^*, with resolution of the first longum. We have a perfect parallel in the sequence ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – which occurs in Agathon's song (Ar. *Thesm.* 110 and 113). Gentili and Lomiento 2003: 175 n. 47 argue that the metre is *2io^*, with resolution of the first longum. For this resolution see Eur. *Bacch.* 79 = 95 and Parker 1997: 62. The resolution of the *second* longum of an ionic occurs e.g. in Eur. *Bacch.* 372 and Ar. *Thesm.* 122. West 1982: 125 already argued for ionics with resolution of the first longum in these passages. Parker 1997: 74–75 and 398–403, and Austin and Olson 2004: 88–89 interpret Ar. *Thesm.* 110 and 113 as aeolic "heptasyllable," that is anceps followed by reversed dodrans. See also Martinelli 1995: 229. One must stress that it is not by chance that we find a metrical parallel for the *Fragmentum Grenfellianum* in the song of Agathon: this is exactly the sort of metrical mixture and "modern" style that evolved into the Hellenistic metrical and musical practice. In alternative, the line could be analysed as a hemiepes (*D*), with resolution of the first longum (for resolved dactyls see the passages discussed in West 1982: 132; Diggle 1994: 122 and 316; Parker 1997: 54–55).

In **section 16**, the hiatus after ἔχω in section 16 means that the words from the beginning of the "section" formed a metrical line, followed by pause:

γίνωσχ' ὅτι θυμὸν ἀνίκητον ἔχω ‖H
– – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏒ ‖H

This metrical structure is awkward, but inescapable, even if we do not give credit to a metrical interpretation of the *dicola*. The sequence is preceded by clearly recognisable dochmiacs, and is followed by hiatus and metrical pause. Many editors analyse it as "? 3 cho ‖", that is a molossus (= *cho*)

with resolution in the third longum, followed by two choriambs.[21] These scholars do not cite any parallel for this form. Wilamowitz 1896: 212 posited a metrical pause after the conjunction ὅτι (this is rather harsh, but possibly less so than a pause after καὶ). He offered the following metrical analysis:

γίνωσχ' ὅτι ‖^{B}
θυμὸν ἀνίκητον ἔχω ‖^{H}

- - ⏑ 𝄐 ‖^{H} *ia*
- ⏑ ⏑ - - ⏑ ⏑ 𝄐 ‖^{H} *2ia (cho)*

One can advance other metrical interpretations:

γίνωσχ' ὅτι θυμὸν ἀνίκητον ἔχω ‖^{H}
- - ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ ⏑ - - ⏑ ⏑ 𝄐 ‖^{H} *an 2io*^ ‖^{H} or *io a maiore + 2cho* ‖^{H}
or (D.J. Mastronarde) ^^*io io*^ *2io*^‖^{H}

For ⏑ ⏑ - - ⏑ ⏑ - see e.g. West 1982: 125 and Gentili and Lomiento 2003: 176; Ae.*Pers*. 102–103; Eur. *Bacch*. 370–374 and 379–380, corresponding to 386–390 and 395–396. The inital anapaest is unusual. Perhaps one can interpret - - ⏑ ⏑ - as choriamb preceded by long syllable or two heavily syncopated ionics (as D.J. Mastronarde suggests to me). For my other suggestion (ionics *a maiore* alternating with choriambs) see *Supplementum Hellenisticum* 341, West 1982: 143–144 and 168; Martinelli 1995: 230–231; Wilamowitz 1921: 340–342. Gentili and Lomiento 2003: 167–174 argue that archaic poets already used ionics *a maiore*.

Be this as it may, the very difficulty felt by modern interpreters in section 16 = line 33 γίνωσχ' ὅτι θυμὸν ἀνίκητον ἔχω shows that the author's metrical practice is indeed related to that of classical (esp. tragic and comic) lyric, but far from identical with it. We cannot parallel every colon because we do not have a body of contemporary writings to compare the fragment with.

A last question: the final lines are much shorter than the rest of the text. Could it be that Dryton intended to reproduce the original division into cola? This is the division found in the papyrus:

[21] See e. g., Bing 2002: 385; Cerbo 2003: 105; Cunningham 2004: 36; Esposito 2005: 29 and 33. Powell 1925: 179 suggests that the choriambs are a way of realising the dochmiacs, and sees an iambic element in the line. He does not offer a scansion and his interpretation is not completely clear, nor especially convincing.

νῦν ἂν ὀργισθῶμεν εὐθὺ δεῖ καὶ δια-
λύεσθαι οὐχὶ διὰ
τοῦτο φίλους ἔχομεν οἳ κρινοῦσι
τίς ἀδικεῖ ⟨:⟩ / |

17 - ᴗ - - - - ᴗ - - ᴗ - - - ᴗ ᴗ	*2tro + io a maiore*
- - - ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ	*δ*
- ᴗ ᴗ - ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ - ᴗ - ᴗ	*2da + pe*
ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ - ‖	*cr*

I assume that we have elision of αι in -λύεσθαι οὐχί (see e. g. Parker 1997: 219). The first "line" (from νῦν to δια- in διαλύεσθαι) is in fact as long as the preceding one, and we should at least assume that the sequence from νῦν to διὰ is a unit. The analysis does not change much if we posit sequence end at διά.

For the affinity between trochaics and ionics see again Agathon's song in Ar. *Thesm*. 104–105 and 111–115, next to ionics (and anacreontics; see also above on Ar. *Thesm*. 110), and *Vesp*. 279–280 = 288–289. See Parker 1997: 398–405; Gentili and Lomiento 2003: 175; Austin and Olson 2004: 88–89; and, more in general, MacDowell 1971: 170–171; Martinelli 1995: 22. The other cola do not present any special difficulty (see above on section 2 for dactyls followed by iambs).

Crusius (1896: 357) observed that the "meaningless" line divisions in our section 17 are due to the fact that Dryton avoided writing on a section of the papyrus that was damaged (similarly Esposito 2005: 9–10). This appears to be the case after the preposition διά, but the blank space is larger than expected. Dryton often left blank spaces, even in the middle of a word, to avoid writing on damaged surface (this is the case with all the "vacat" signs reported by Vandorpe 2002: 382). The "line" division in this section are not determined by metrical consideration. The first graphic "line" is as long as the previous one; Dryton began a new line after διὰ and κρινοῦσι because he did not want to write on damaged papyrus surface, and wanted to end a column with the end of a section marked by *paragraphos*.

It is however also possible that Dryton found a *dicolon* (or a line end) after the preposition διά in the manuscript he was copying from, and that he decided to start a new line after that word, since he found that he had enough space to copy the whole text. In that case, we should take the analysis advanced above as the one implied by the scribe.

3. *Spaces*

Crusius further argued that the scribe left spaces at appropriate points, to signal the metrical interpretation (1896: 354–356). It is indeed true that there are a few points where the scribe leaves a small space between words. I have checked Crusius' statement against published images of the papyrus (see Grenfell 1896, plate I, and Esposito 2005: tavola 1). Only a minority of the blank spaces discussed by Crusius appear to be intentional (i.e., significant and not caused by the damaged surface of the papyrus):

1 ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων vacat γέγον’ αἵρεσις vacat ἐξευγίσμεθα :
– – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ 𝄐 ‖^{B} – – – ⏑ 𝄐 ‖^{B} *an ia* ‖^{B} *δ* ‖^{B}

9 συνερῶσα πότνια νὺξ μοι παρά/πεμψον ἔτι με νῦν vacat πρὸς ὃν
ἡ Κύπρις ἔκδοτον ἄγει μ[ε] / χὠ πολὺς ἔρως παραλαβὼν vacat
συνοδηγὸν ἔχω / τὸ πολὺ πῦρ τοὐν τῆι ψυχῆι μου καιόμενον ταῦτα
μ’ ἀδίκει ταῦτα μ’ ὀδυνᾶι ‖^{H} : | *3 an^* ‖ + ⏑ ⏑ *2da ia* …

11 μέλλω μαίνεσθαι vacat ζῆλος γάρ μ’ ἔχει καὶ κατακα⟨ί⟩ομαι /
καταλελειμμένη ‖^{H} : *δ + 3δ*

13 κύριε μὴ μ’ ἀφῆις vacat ἀποκεκλει{κλει}μένην δέξαι / μ’ εὐδοκῶ
vacat ζήλωι δουλεύειν: *δ + 2δ + δ*

18 νῦν ἂν ὀργισθῶμεν vacat εὐθὺ δεῖ καὶ δια/λύεσθαι vacat? οὐχὶ διὰ /
τοῦτο φίλους ἔχομεν οἳ κρινοῦσι / τίς ἀδικεῖ ⟨:⟩ / | *cr mol* ‖^{B} *cr pe* ‖^{H}
ia ˘˘ia? lecythion‖

They are all compatible with a (somewhat far-fetched) metrical interpretation, except the first of section 9 (which gives strange rhythm: *3 an^* ‖ ⏑ ⏑ *2da ia*). A different, much simpler suggestion recommends itself: the scribe simply meant to signal the end of words or sections.

4. *Major questions*

We are now left with three major questions:

1. The sections marked off by *dicola* may have a metrical meaning. Do they actually have a metrical meaning?
2. Who divided the text into metrical sections? The author? Or an editor (less likely, in view of the type of text)? Was the original text dived into cola or did it simply have *dicola*?
3. What is the *correct* metrical analysis of this text?

The study of Greek metre is often an exercise in balancing probability. In order to answer these questions, the elements that we do not know weight more than those that we do know. Yet answering these questions means exploring some of the major (unsolved) problems about the evolution and interpretation of Greek metre.

The first question must be left open. It is clear that the scribe placed the *dicola* erratically. It is almost certain that he omitted some of them. We cannot completely rule out the hypothesis that he also placed them incorrectly, as Grenfell argued.[22] If the *dicolon* after ἄστρα φίλα καὶ : is incorrectly placed, we cannot rule out the Grenfell's suggestion that the *dicola* are punctuation marks. However, as things stand, the metrical interpretation is possible. Since the text was prepared for personal use, and is written in lyric metres, these signs show how the writer interpreted the text, ad probably how he performed it (perhaps just in recitation, not necessarily by singing it).

As for the second question, here too we remain uncertain. Other mime fragments present similarly bizarre metre and lack of colometry (fr. 5 and 8 Cunningham). Colometry (in stichic metres of different nature) and performance instructions are present in fr. 6 Cunningham (the so-called *Charition mime*). Performance signs (*notae personarum*) are present in fr. 7 Cunningham, which is apparently a prose composition.[23] Sophron's *prose* mimes from the classical age were the object of scholarly study[24] but we have no information that Alexandrian scholars edited Hellenistic poetical texts written in this genre, nor does it seem likely that they would. Moreover, this is a very early age for colometrical interpretations to appear in papyri.[25] It is impossible to find out whether the model copied by Dryton was divided into cola or simply had *dicola* to mark off metrical sections. If the model had *dicola*, the "omissions" by Dryton are easier to understand. What performance and colometry notations were present were due to the

[22] Grenfell 1896: 2 "the double point is used occasionally to mark the punctuation as in the Phaedo fragments of the previous century, but not always correctly."

[23] See Cunningham 2004: 42–51; Andreassi 2001: 18–19 and 104 with bibliography.

[24] See Pfeiffer 1968: 265 and Hordern 2004: 29–32 on Sophron. Andreassi 2001: 25–31 offers a summary of the bibliography and a discussion on the textual nature of *Charition* and *Moicheutria* (*P Oxy*. 413 = fr. 6 and 7 Cunningham 2004). Most scholars think the texts were written down for (and possibly by) performers, not scholars. The case of Herodas/Herondas is of course different: see Mastromarco 1984.

[25] On this hotly debated question see Parsons 1977: 11, West 1978: 3–4, Haslam 1978: 34; Turner 1980: 21 and 38; Gentili and Perusino 1999 *passim*; Parker 2001; Prauscello 2006: 7–9 and 78–85.

author and/or performers. Dryton must have been a reasonably cultivated man, and may have witnessed a performance of our text (Bing 2002: 384).

We have to remember that Hellenistic practice allowed poets to prolong long syllables to the length of three (*trisēmos*) or four (*tetrasēmos*) short ones. Similarly, a short syllable not followed by pause could occasionally be prolonged to the length of two short ones (*disēmos*).[26] It is far from unlikely that interpreters made use of these "adjustments." On the similarity with the metrical practice of mimes 3 and 4 Cunningham see above, section 2.

This leads us to the third question. A modern metrical interpretation must take into account only what is given by the text. We could add here and there an "extra length" without explicit indication from the ancient document. But that would mean that we could reconstruct very many different metrical patterns: the process of metrical interpretation would be void, and it would be impossible to prove any interpretation wrong. As far as our text goes, the interpretation given by Wilamowitz is one of the best, and is substantially taken up by recent interpreters (Bing, Cunningham, Esposito), with small variation in some details. The evidence of the ancient document points to a slightly different interpretation, and one that was probably performed in the Hellenistic age, in accordance with Hellenistic metrical practice and Hellenistic scholarly theory.

5. *The layout of the text and the final line*

I want to add one final point about the ending and the length of our text. The second column ends with the lines 61–62 (Esposito 2005: 83):

> καὶ νῦν τὰ πεπραγμένα. [
> λελάληται. σὺ δέ, κύριε, μὴ εν[.
>
> "and now what has been done [. . .] / has been said. You, my master, do not [. . .]"

Esposito prints the new reading offered by Gonis. Gonis has also found and placed a small fragment which Crusius transcribed, but located in the wrong position.[27] Grenfell (in Grenfell and Hunt 1897: 211) wrote

[26] See Devine and Stephens 1994: 114; West 1992: 201; Parker 1997: 504–509.
[27] Crusius 1908: 120; Esposito 2005: 7 and Gonis 2006.

that "probably this was the end of the composition" (he read λελαλ[ηϰ ....πε]ϱι εμην[). Esposito, accepting a suggestion by R. Luiselli, considers this option but adds that a third column is also a possibility. Luiselli and Esposito claim that, if the sentence ended at line 60, there was only space for a word, probably the main verb, "or little more" (Esposito 2005: 6).

In fact line length varies much in the first column, and we do not know the width of the second column, especially as the right margin is lost. It is indeed possible that in the second column the lines were shorter. In the first column, we observe that lines 1–19 are quite long, and they average over 30 letters (43 letters in line 1; 40 in line 2; 36 in line 7; 39 in line 19). Lines 20–27 are shorter: line 25 has 14 letters and line 27 only 9. We can also notice that Dryton did not insert any *dicola* in lines 20–27. "From column I, l. 24 onwards, the text is written in larger characters" (Vandorpe 2002: 381). In column two, the space between lines is visibly bigger (Esposito 2005: 6). This leads to the easy inference that Dryton, in copying the document, saved space in the first column, not knowing whether he would be able to fit all the text into the available space. Dryton was not a professional scribe, and we are happy to forgive him his uneven performance because this gives us supplementary information on the presumable length of the piece. At the beginning he chose a compact format: he left little space between the lines and joined together the lines of the original. Perhaps he wrote *dicola* to signal the line ends (or the *dicola*) of the original, but was not very careful in noting it, and omitted it on several occasions (Esposito 2005: 13–14, with references). Towards the end of the first column he realised that he had enough space, and ended the column with four very short lines (perhaps also because the papyrus surface was damaged). In the second column he left a little more space between lines, but still used *dicola*, evidently because he thought that he did not have enough space to respect the line ends of the original. We can easily see that in column two *dicola* isolate metrical sections:

line 5	δυνήσομαι :. [	*ia*
line 14	δου[..]ηταν διαφόϱου : η[	*2tro* (or *δ cr*)

The text is too uncertain in the only other line of the second column where a *dicolon* occurs:

line 16 με. [..].ϙ̣υ̣δ̣ .. φ̣[.]ϱη : πϱοσ̣[

It is impossible to offer a metrical interpretation for this line.

The analysis of the layout thus suggests that the text (or the portion of the text copied by Dryton) ended at line 61.

The text of lines 60–61, as reconstructed by Gonis, is an even clearer sign. The sentence clearly indicates that the speech is at the end: "And now the facts [...] have been said. And you, my master, do not [...]". This echoes a type of ending repeatedly used in Greek oratory, esp. judicial oratory. The speaker says that the speech has ended and invites the addressees to act as he advises. See for instance Dem. 33.38 εἴρηται μοι τὰ δίκαια, ὅσα ἐδυνάμην. ὑμεῖς οὖν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους γιγνώσκετε τὰ δίκαια, 34.52, 36.62, 38.28, Aeschin. 2. 184 ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐμὸς λόγος εἴρηται, τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοὐμὸν ἤδη παραδίδωσιν ὑμῖν καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ νόμος, Lys. 12.100 ἀκηκόατε, ἑοράκατε, πεπόνθατε, ἔχετε· δικάζετε. All these examples are the very final words of the speech. The formula εἴρηται λόγος is also used in tragedy at the end of a speech: see Aesch. *Eum.* 710 (in a legal context), Eur. *Phoen.* 1012 and *Or.* 1203 (in a legal context again) and the comments in Fraenkel 1963: 52 n. 1; Mastronarde 1994: 430–431; Di Benedetto 1965: 232; Willink 1989: 280. See also Aesch. *Ag.* 582 πάντ᾽ ἔχεις λόγον and Fraenkel 1950: II, 291 and 473–474. One should notice the use of the perfect tense for the verb of saying, as in the *Fragmentum Grenfellianum*, line 61 λελάληται. In the Hellenistic age, the verb λαλέω is often used as a synonym of λέγω: see LSJ s.v. I 3, which refers to passages from the Septuaginta, and to Hellenistic mime (Herod. 4.33, 6.61).

The Fragmentum Grenfellianum makes abundant use of legal language: see for instance v. 3 ἀνάδοχος, v. 28 εὐδοκῶ, v. 38 διαλύεσθαι, vv. 39–40 and Esposito 2005: 36, 44–45, 171 (who has good commentary notes on the legal aspect). Note also that πεπραγμένα is often used in legal speeches, esp. in summaries. See for instance Dem. 21.227 καὶ τἄλλα προσεξήτασται τὰ πεπραγμένα τῶι μιαρῶι τούτωι ... πάντων οὖν ἕνεκα τῶν εἰρημένων ... (at the end of a speech; note also the perfect τῶν εἰρημένων), 36.18, 45.2 εἰπεῖν πειράσομαι τὰ πεπραγμένα μοι (at the beginning of a speech), 56.19 τὰ μὲν ... πεπραγμένα Διονυσοδώρωι ἀκηκόατε (summary of a sub-section in the speech).

The last two lines of column two have an anapaestic (or dactylic) rhythm. One may suggest the following supplement

καὶ νῦν τὰ πεπραγμένα σ[οι παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ	– – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ [– ⏑ ⏑ –	*2 an*
λελάληται. σὺ δέ, κύριε, μὴ εν[.	⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – [	*2 an*?
		or *-5da* ‖ *an* [...

"Now I've said what you have done. And you, my master, do not [...]"

For παρ’ ἐμοῦ λελάληται see Xen. *Cyr*. 6.1.42 τὰ παρὰ σοῦ λεγόμενα, Hermas 61.4 ταῦτα παρ’ ἐμοῦ λελάληται ὑμῖν (cf. Whittaker 1956: 59 line 10), also at the end of the speech, *Act. Ap*. 27.25 οὕτως ἔσται καθ’ ὃν τρόπον λελάληταί μοι.

TELEPHUS AT ROME

Elaine Fantham

Martin Cropp was one of the first friends I made on arriving in Canada almost forty years ago, and he has been as good and generous a friend to me as to a generation of Classicists (and other human beings!) in Toronto, Calgary, and from Cape Spear to Vancouver island. Not being a Hellenist, I offer him a sort of Roman *lanx satura* on a Hellenic hero whom he has done much to reinstate. Let me start with Horace advising his young friends, the Pisones.

> Et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri,
> Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exul, uterque
> proicit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba,
> si curat cor spectantis tetigisse querella.
> Non satis est pulchra esse poemata; dulcia sunto
> et quocunque volent animum auditoris agunto.
> Ut ridentibus arrident, ita flentibus adflent (adsunt, Ms)
> humani vultus. si vis me flere dolendum est
> primum ipsi tibi; tum tua me infortunia laedent,
> Telephe vel Peleu; male si mandata loqueris
> aut dormitabo aut ridebo.

> The tragic character too generally grieves in prosaic diction, Telephus and Peleus, when, poor and exiled, each discards the oil-jars and words more than a foot long, if he is concerned to touch the spectator's heart with his lament. It is not enough for compositions to be noble, they must also be pleasing and draw the listener's spirit wherever they want. As human expressions smile with those smiling, so they weep with those who weep; if you want me to weep, you yourself must grieve first; then your bad luck will cause me pain, Telephus or Peleus; but if you speak ill-chosen words, I will either fall asleep or laugh aloud. (Hor. *Ars Poetica* 95–105)

My concern is with Telephus, and to a lesser extent with Peleus, but Horace's text demands some preliminary questioning. Although I have reproduced the text and punctuation of Charles Brink's *editio maior* of the *Ars*, I have risked my own translation, partly in order to bring out the satirist's combination of tragic and comic diction. Horace's point is that both comedy and tragedy adopt the stylistic level of the other dramatic

genre, when comedy is more impassioned than usual—Chremes stands for the generic *senex iratus* found in four of Terence's comedies—or when tragic roles are brought low.

Just as *interdum* and *plerumque* are not parallel, so there is not absolute symmetry of thought, since Telephus and Peleus are not depicted in terms of their emotions, or even lack of emotion, but as humbled by circumstance. While the two sentences following this excerpt seem to continue focus on our angry comic fathers and humiliated heroes ([*verba decent*] *iratum plena minarum / ... iuvat aut impellit ad iram*) (*tristia maestum / verba decent ... aut ... ad humum maerore gravi deducit*), Horace is on his way to considering the relationship of diction to condition; *ad omnem fortunarum habitum* still focuses on tragic *metabolae*, but 112, 114 *si dicentis erunt fortunis absona dicta ... intererit multum divusne loquatur an heros*, have moved on to social (or theological) condition.

Before I return to Telephus and Peleus and their tragic condition I would like to comment briefly on their second appearance, at 102–104, and the language in which Horace introduces the traditional precept (traditional in both oratory and drama, as the Ciceronian precedent[1] shows) that the performer must feel the emotion in order to move his audience: certainly *animum auditoris agere* recalls Greek *psychagogia* and concerns emotional manipulation, but Horace has associated this with *dulcia sunto*: it seems he is coupling Cicero's secondary function of *delectare* with the primary requirement of *movere*. But why does he describe the audience reaction as *humani vultus*? Surely this is not the most obvious form of description. Is it because he is contrasting the mobile expressions of the live (unmasked) audience with the stage situation, where the actor's masked face leaves it to the poet's words and actor's voice and gesture to convey the character's emotional suffering?

[1] Cf. *De Or*. 2.189 non mehercule unquam apud iudices aut dolorem aut misericordiam aut invidiam aut odium dicendo excitare volui, quin ipse in commovendis iudicibus his ipsis sensibus, ad quos illos adducere vellem, permoverer. neque est enim facile perficere ut irascatur et cui tu velis iudex si tu ipse id lente ferre videare ... neque ad misericordiam adducetur nisi et signa doloris tui verbis, sententiis, voce, vultu conlacrimatione denique ostenderis. (I certainly never aimed to arouse indignation or pity or envy or hatred by my speech without myself being thoroughly moved while I was moving the jury, by the same feelings to which I wanted to move them. In fact it is not easy to ensure than the juror feels anger with the man you want him to, if you yourself seem to take it lightly ... nor will he be compelled to pity unless you display the signs of your distress in words, sentiments, voice, expression and finally in your weeping.)

Nor should we miss the generally comic tone of the Plautine favourite *infortunia*, gently belittling the tragic calamities of the heroes. Or the deliberate clumsiness of the seven long syllables opening 98 *si cur/at cor/spectant/is* (including the archaic monosyllable *cor* Ennius *Tr*. 21, and Pacuvius' *Antiope* ap. Persius 1.78 *cor luctificabile fulta*) followed by the equally archaic timeless perfect infinitive (*curat tetigisse* as in the S.C. de Bacchanalibus *coniurasse velit*). Both *cor* and *dolere* are part of the comic lover's vocabulary in Plautus, as is the marvellous compound *cordolium*, "heartache" (*Cist*. 65, *Poen*. 299) a noun submerged in literature between Plautus and Apuleius.

Now for Telephus and Peleus. What yokes them? Perhaps simply assonance. They come from the same pre-Homeric generation, but otherwise their stories have little in common. If you ask someone to think of Peleus in Latin poetry before Horace, s/he will think first of the wedding celebration of Catullus 64, then perhaps the role assigned to Peleus in Varro of Atax's version of the *Argonautica*. And in tragedy? The only surviving fragment to mention Peleus probably comes from Accius' *Hellenes: iam hanc urbem ferro faciet vastam Peleus*. Dangel's[2] commentary on this play goes back to Ribbeck's discussion of the lost *Peleus* of Sophocles. Ribbeck (426–430) cites Sophocles fr. 444 which names Peleus, and frr. 620–624 (apparently from a play about his old age) and mentions the lost *Peleus* and *Phthiotides* of Euripides. But far from attempting to delimit a tragic action, Dangel's own note rehearses all the mishaps of Peleus's long life, and they are many. Exiled with his brother Telamon from his home Aegina for the murder of their half-brother Phocus, Peleus was received and purified by Eurytion, but accidentally killed his benefactor during the Calydonian boarhunt. He again fled and was again purified by Acastos of Iolcos. This time Acastus' wife Astydamia conceived an adulterous passion for him and when he rejected her she falsely accused him to her husband.[3] Acastus dared not kill Peleus but left him exposed in the wilderness among the hostile centaurs. There however Chiron rescued him and restored him. This was followed by the marriage to Thetis, and their separation when Peleus interfered with her attempt to immortalize their son Achilles. One mythical continuation has Peleus avenge

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[2] *Accius; Oeuvres, fragments*, Jacqueline Dangel, Paris, les Belles Lettres 2002, citing O. Ribbeck *Die Römische Tragödie*, 1875 [repr. 1968] Hildesheim, 426–430.

[3] For this biography see Apollodorus *Bibl*. 3.13.1–7 which carries his life-story up to the sack of Iolcos and killing of Astydameia, and *Epit*. 6.13, on Peleus' expulsion from Iolcos by the sons of Acastus, with Frazer (1921) Vol II note 3 p. 251, citing this account from Dictys Cretensis 6.7–9.

himself on Acastus by laying waste his city, before taking over his kingdom of Phthia. In a disconnected episode the aged Peleus is cast out by the sons of Acastus after the murder of his grandson Neoptolemus, but is apparently rescued from the cave where he had hidden and restored to his kingdom. Horace himself (probably recalling Pindar *Nemean* 4.54 f.) mentions Peleus elsewhere only for his resistance to Acastus' wife:

> narrat paene datum Pelea Tartaro
> Magnessam Hippolyten dum fugit abstinens
>
> He tells how Peleus was almost consigned to death while he was chastely shunning the Magnesian Hippolyte. (Hor. *Odes* 3.7.17–18)

So Peleus had many exiles, and one of them may have featured in a tragedy on the Roman stage; but unless this was Accius' *Hellenes* we have no evidence to go by.

Telephus was a more important figure for both Greeks and Romans. The *Cypria* describes how the expedition against Troy lost its way and attacked Mysia, where its king Telephus drove off the invaders but was wounded by Achilles. At the other end of our literary record, the *Fabulae* or *Genealogiae* attributed to Hyginus tell two phases of his story. The *Auge* and *Teuthras* tell how Auge, raped by Heracles, gave birth to Telephus on Mount Parthenios, but was then spirited away to Mysia. Once he was adult, Telephus travelled to Mysia in search of his mother, whom Teuthras, unaware of their relationship, wanted to give him in marriage. A timely recognition saved them both, and Telephus became Teuthras' champion, receiving the kingdom from him in reward. We thus have a Greek-born hero ruling over barbarians.

The next of Hyginus' *fabulae* (CI *Telephus*) seems to reproduce the hypothesis of Euripides' lost play, but the writer may not have understood the text he was abridging. Here is a literal translation:

> Telephus, son of Hercules and Auge, was struck with Chiron's spear by Achilles in battle. When he suffered daily more savage torment from this wound he sought an oracle from Delphi about its cure. The answer was that no one could cure him except the same spear by which he had been wounded. When he heard this he went to king Agamemnon and on Clytemnestra's advice snatched the baby Orestes from his cradle, threatening to kill him unless the Greeks healed him. However since the Achaeans had received an oracle that Troy could not be captured without Telephus as guide, they easily were reconciled to him and asked Achilles to heal him. Achilles replied that he had no knowledge of medicine. Then Ulysses said: "Apollo does not mean you, but the spear that was the cause of the wound." When they scraped it he was healed. When they asked him to go with them to sack Troy he refused because he was married to

> Laodice daughter of Priam, but in return for their kindness in healing him he escorted them, but only showed them the landmarks and routes, then departed for Moesia. (Hyginus *Fabulae* CI *Telephus*)

We are doubly fortunate that Martin Cropp has edited and translated the testimonia, fragments and fragmentary papyri of Euripides' lost play and provided a scrupulous introduction.[4] Since this first volume of Euripides' fragmentary tragedies was published with Aris and Phillips, the two Euripidean volumes (V.1 and 2) of Kannicht's definitive *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* have appeared, but it is a measure of the high quality of the volume Cropp shared with Chris Collard and the late and much-loved Kevin Lee that Kannicht has found so little to add or change. There is much that cannot be certain. Telephus clearly spoke his own prologue and explained his disguise as a beggar: he may have spoken first with Clytemnestra and obtained her support and advice on stage but we cannot be sure that his seizing of the child was a stage action rather than reported by a messenger. Alternatively, he may only have seized the child as hostage when his real identity was challenged and discovered. Possession of Orestes guaranteed him a hearing by Agamemnon and Menelaus, and Odysseus may also have been present, if he did not enter later: in any case it seems that Odysseus uncovered Telephus' identity. When Telephus, like Aristophanes' Dicaeopolis, addressed the Greeks, (703= Schol. Ar. *Acharnians* 497, also 706, 710, 711, Cropp, p. 20) did he, like Dicaeopolis, reproach them with their aggressive expedition against Troy? Or did he confine his reproaches to their attack on his neutral people which had been the occasion of his injury? Did he know that Achilles was the agent of his wound? If so, why would he have travelled to Argos, and not to Phthia? Did he know about the oracle to the Greeks which reported he was necessary as their guide? It seems unlikely; rather it seems more likely that after he was identified (by Odysseus?) any further steps awaited the arrival and consent of Achilles; in a further movement towards resolution it would then again be Odysseus (as Hyginus says) who explained to Achilles when Telephus approached him for his cure.

It was the healing of Telephus by the weapon that had wounded him which persisted as a symbol in Latin poetry, for example in Ovid's appeal

[4] *Euripides: Selected Fragmentary Plays*, edd. C. Collard, M.J. Cropp, and K.H. Lee, Vol. I, Warminster 1995. A crucial previous stage is the publication by E.W. Handley and John Rea of the Telephus papyri along with preexisting fragments: *The Telephus of Euripides*, BICS Suppl. 5, 1957.

to Augustus, *Tristia* 2. 19–20. Horace himself evokes the healing of Telephus in *Epode* 17. 8–10

> movit nepotem Telephus Nereium
> in quem superbus ordinarat agmina
> Mysorum et in quem tela acuta torserat.

> Telephus moved the grandson of Nereus, against whom he had proudly arrayed the ranks of Mysians, and against whom he had hurled his sharp spears. (Hor. *Epod.* 17.8–10)

But did Horace know the career of Telephus in Roman tragedy? How well did he know it, either from texts or from the Roman stage? Cicero, actively interested in the Roman tragic poets, never mentions or cites explicitly from any of the plays about Telephus. Each of the three republican tragic dramatists brought Telephus to the stage, starting with Ennius, whose lost play seems to have followed Euripides' *Telephus*, then his nephew Pacuvius, who included Telephus as a kind of Pylades to Parthenopaeus in his *Atalanta*, which hinges on Parthenopaeus' discovery of his mother and seems to look ahead to Telephus' reunion.[5] Finally Accius, who felt no inhibiting *pietas* towards Ennius, composed his own *Telephus*, which seems to be based on the same Euripidean action as Ennius' tragedy. It is not unlikely that Rome's alliance with Pergamum and subsequent involvement in war with Antiochus may have added to Roman interest in the mythical founder of the Pergamene kingdom, whose life was celebrated on the frieze of the great altar. But we have no way of dating Ennius' play.

Seven fragments (approximately ten lines) survive of Ennius' play; fifteen (approximately twenty two lines) from Accius. As Gianni Guastella has recently reminded us,[6] our efforts to reconstruct lost republican tragedies are doomed to futility when their supposed Greek model is itself lost. I shall not try to take exploration beyond the excerpts left to us. For Ennius, only one of the seven excerpts is cited by sources concerned with its content. Both the encyclopedist Festus and the fabulist Phaedrus quote the lapidary *palam muttire plebeio piaculum est*, literally, "it is a religious violation for a plebeian to speak in public." While this could just be an authoritarian rebuke to the beggar Telephus, like that of

[5] On Pacuvius' *Atalanta* see Fantham "Pacuvius: melodrama, reversals and recognitions," in *Myth, History and Culture in republican Rome, studies in honour of T.P. Wiseman*. Exeter 2003: pp. 98–118.

[6] *Le Rinascite della Tragedia*, ed. G. Guastella, Rome 2006, ch. 2.

Odysseus to Thersites in *Iliad* 2,[7] Phaedrus (3. *Epil.* 33) cites it from the point of view of the uppity plebeian, and this would suit Telephus, who speaks—as Aristophanes reminds us—*ptôchos ôn*. If this is Telephus himself, the Plautine parallels cited by Jocelyn for both *plebeius* and *piaculum*[8] confirm Horace's comment on tragic speakers using ordinary speech: at the same time Ennius' choice of *plebeius* suggests that he had Thersites in mind. But there is no doubt that Ennius too made Telephus a beggar: Nonius 537.23 backs his own claim that *stola* was not only a respectable robe but any clothing, with two excerpts from *Telephus +cedo et caveo cum vestitus+ squalida saeptus stola*, and *regnum reliqui saeptus mendici stola*. (cxliii Joc.)

But Nonius' citations are little help, since he cites only for lexical and syntactical oddities, and is not working directly from the republican poets but through a lost intermediary. His other references seem to come from the scene of Telephus' public speech:

> verum quorum liberi leto dati
> sunt in bello non lubenter haec enodari audiunt
>
> But those whose children have been consigned to death are not glad to hear these mysteries explicated. (Nonius cxlix Joc.)

This sounds more like Dicaeopolis' dissenting address to his fellow Athenians. But who would speak to the Atridae on behalf of bereaved parents? The similar sentiments of the Ennian citation by Servius Danielis on *Aen.* 2,62 led Timpanaro to suggest the following lines also came from this scene:

> ut vos nostri liberi
> defendant, pro vestra vita morti occumbant obviam
>
> So that our children may defend you and go to meet their death for your lives. (Nonius ccxxii Joc.)

But again what is the issue to be explicated in *haec enodari*? As Jocelyn notes the verb is more suited to elucidating an oracle than arguing the legitimacy of the past or future expeditions. If protesting on behalf of bereaved parents comes close to some of the criticism of the Trojan war in Euripides' *Helen*, we must remember that unlike *Helen*, the *Telephus* was performed in 438, when Athens certainly had casualties in minor warfare but before the accumulating casualties of the Peloponnesian war.

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[7] This is Jocelyn's preferred interpretation, but he passes over Phaedrus.

[8] *Plebeius, Poen.*515; for the non-cultic use of *piaculum*, cf. *Tru.*223.

Another unsure quotation from Nonius seems to imply Clytemnestra's presence, but Jocelyn notes that *illam* creates a metric irregularity:

> te ipsum hoc oportet profiteri et proloqui
> advorsum †illam mihi†
>
> You yourself should admit and declare [this] to me in her presence.
> (Nonius cxlv Joc.)

Of the remaining lines, *qui illum di deaeque magno mactassint malo* ("may the gods and goddesses damn him with a mighty damnation," cxlvi Joc) is unambiguous but gives no handle on suggesting a context. It is more likely that *sed civitatem video Argivum incendere* ("but I see that he is inflaming the people of Argos," cxlvi Joc., glossed by Nonius 429.1 *urbs est aedificia, civitas incolae*) comes as a protest against Telephus' speech as subversive. One last fragment is cautiously taken by Jocelyn to refer to the prospective voyage to Troy under Telephus' guidance: *deumque de consilio hoc itiner credo conatum modo*, "and we believe that [someone] has undertaken this journey according to the plans of the gods" (cxlvii Joc.). But is this Telephus' journey to Argos, or the prospective journey back to Asia Minor under his guidance? Handley compares the Berlin papyrus column II 7–10 (= Cropp 727c ii) in which the chorus affirms Telephus' Tegean birth in support of accepting him as their guide.

We come now to Accius, and once again most of the excerpts derive from Nonius who quotes them without interest in content or context. Since Dangel has renumbered I will append the fragment number from Ribbeck TRF 3 and Warmington's Loeb *Remains of Old Latin* vol. 3.

> quantam Tyndareo gnata et Menelai domus molem excitarit belli pastorque Ilius (Dangel fr. 1)
>
> How great a mass of war the daughter of Tyndarus and house of Menelaus and the Trojan shepherd aroused (= TRF 1, ROL 614–615)

must come from Telephus' prologue, explaining the origin of the war against Troy. So also fr. 2—

> aere atque ferro fervere, igni[9] insignibus
> florere
>
> seething with bronze and steel, blooming with fire from devices
> (= TRF 14, ROL 616–617)

[9] Dangel retains *igni*, omitted by Ribbeck and Warmington, despite issues of metre and meaning.

may refer to the conflict between the Greeks and Mysians in which Telephus was wounded. With fr. 3

> qui neque cuiatis esset unquam potuimus
> multa erogitantes sciscere,
>
> we were not at all able even asking many questions, to discover what was his origin (= TRF 10, ROL 634–635)

the speakers must be guards who have caught Telephus intruding and are bringing him to their king. But Dangel's order presupposes a different sequence in his unmasking.

Back in 1910 Leo examined the fragments of the Ennian and Accian plays, and reiterated that Accius too had adapted Euripides, and introduced Telephus disguised as a beggar.[10] Reviewing the descriptions of his rags and tatters Leo emended the text of Ribbeck fr. 3, (which Dangel (fr. 4) has adjusted to form a trochaic septenarius, then an octonarius)

> quem ego ubi aspexi permemorabilem intui
> viderer, ni vestitus taeter, maestitudo, vastitudo
> praedicarent hominem esse ⟨omni mactatum infortunio⟩
>
> And when I beheld him, I would have thought I was gazing on someone most remarkable, if his loathsome rags, his gloom and wild condition did not declare him a man ⟨afflicted with every kind of bad luck⟩.

It is natural to assign Ribbeck fr. 4 (Dangel 5) *nam etsi opertus squalitate est luctuque horrificabili* ("For even if he is covered in filth and horrendous mourning") to the same context, but Dangel is probably right not to follow Leo in continuing the sentence with Ribbeck fr. 5 *profecto haud est ortus mediocri satu* ("surely he is not born of ordinary begetting"). She prints the line separately (Dangel 6).

These lines reflect the passionate interest of both Pacuvius and Accius in depicting royalty reduced to squalor. If this interest has been exaggerated by Nonius' enthusiasm for listing rare coinages like *maestitudo, vastitudo, squalitas* (cf. from the *Eurysaces, squalitudo*, fr. 4, *taetra veste et vastitudine*, fr. 5, *solitas*, fr. 12, *anxitudo* fr. 29) these lines still exemplify the *sesquipedalia*[11] *verba* used by Accius, but not by the humbled Telephus, any more than he is the speaker of *permemorabilis* and *horrificabilis*.

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[10] In *De Tragoedia Romana*, a prize address reprinted in *Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften, Rome* 1960, I.191–212.

[11] I am taking the hexasyllabic *sesquipedalia* not in a metrical sense (a foot and a half would be either a molossus or a mere quadrisyllable), but as a carpenter's measure.

Once someone (Ulysses?) has recognized Telephus' nobility, he can or must speak for himself, and the lines cited by Macrobius as a model for *Aeneid*.2.89–90 show he is no longer denying his identity:

> Nam si a me regnum Fortuna atque opes
> eripere quivit, at virtutem non quiit.
>
> For if Fortune was able to steal my kingdom and my wealth, she could not steal my manhood. (= TRF 6, ROL 625–626)

This line has been taken to mean that Telephus in Accius' play had actually lost his kingship and wealth, and was exiled. But we should hold back, remembering that Sinon, the speaker of Virgil's lines, is lying. Is Telephus lying in claiming to have been driven out, and so replacing one pretence (the disguise) with another? We must return to this issue and its possible relation to Horace's comment after reviewing the rest of the fragments. Dangel's next fragment, cited by Nonius for *nobilitare* in the sense of "make notorious" seems to contradict Telephus' proud claim

> nam is demum miser est cuius nobilitas miserias
> nobilitat. (Ribbeck TRF 7 reads huius demum miseret)
>
> For a man is truly wretched if his nobility makes known his wretchedness.

Is this a sympathetic Greek comment? I do not see how we can place Dangel fr. 10 *flucti cruoris volverentur Mysii*, ("rivers of Mysian blood were/would be rolling": TRF15, ROL 619) when we do not know the construction of the imperfect subjunctive. If subordinated it could come within a past narrative—from Telephus' prologue or from a scene in which he recalls the clash to Achilles (or others). The pair of lines which describe a naval manoeuvre (Dangel 11 = Ribbeck 13) must surely be a historic present, perhaps from the same retrospective narrative?

> remisque nixi properiter navem in fugam
> transdunt subter saxa ad laevam qua mons mollibat mare. (Dangel 11)
>
> Thrusting with their oars they hastily turn the ship on its course
> below the rocks on the left where the cliff broke the sea's force.

The remaining excerpts seem to offer only confusion; I cannot even see how they are to be ordered in relation to each other. Dangel 11 and 12 (= Ribbeck 8 and 12) seem to reflect an oncoming crisis; *nunc tu in re crepera tua quid capias consili/ vide* … ("now see what plan you can devise in this emergency!") but the threat *proinde istaec tua aufer terricula atque animum iratum comprime* ("so take away your scare tactics and

control your angry temper"), need not be connected. It is impossible to determine who is speaking to whom, unless Dangel 12 is addressed to Agamemnon.

The desired outcome of the play is the healing of Telephus and the voyage he will be guiding, and excerpts of Euripides' play show that Achilles himself is impatient to leave and blames the oarsmen (727c ii again). But how does the admonition to him to control his impatience: *studiumque iteris reprime* (Dangel 14 = Ribbeck 11) tie in with the lyric reference to the Thessalians' spirits wilting in stuporous sleep *iamiam stupido Thessala somno / pectora languentque senentque?*: Dangel 15 =TRF 2, ROL 637–638). Ribbeck did not have the advantage provided by the papyrus, but how can the chorus (presumably local Argives who have been watching throughout the play) now accuse the Thessalians of sleepy delay? If they have just rowed Achilles into harbour, it may be assumed they need rest before setting out, but any supposed weariness must be dispensed with as soon as Telephus is deemed cured and the departure can be announced that will lead into the dramatic exodos.

Far more revealing is the fascination of our playwright with squalor and misery. Brink and subsequent scholars have been troubled because Horace seems to describe both Telephus and Peleus as poor and exiled. Brink's careful punctuation before *exul* and after *pauper* neatly allocates one misfortune to each hero. But if Telephus was not formally exiled he was a wanderer away from his homeland. To call him *pauper* may be a neat metrical equivalent for his role as *ptôchos*. But it is pointless to distinguish between the exiled Peleus and the wandering Telephus; in ancient social expectations both would have been poor and deprived of everything. Consider some of the other exiles in Roman tragedy: Ennius' Alcmaeon, *circumventus morbo exilio atque inopia* (fr 14 Joc.); Ennius' Telamo bathing with his tears his *vestem squalam et sordidam* (fr. 138); Accius' Telamo as described in the *Eurysaces*, *nunc per terras vagus extorris /regno, exturbatus mari* (Dangel 8) or Medea's curse of Jason: *exul inter hostes, exspes desertus vagus* (Dangel 11). The pattern continues in Augustan poetry; Hecuba, for example in *Metamorphoses* 13,510 is *exul inops*, as Achaemenes is *solus inops exspes*, *Met.*14.217; Medea begins her letter *Her.* 12.1 *exul inops contemptaque novo Medea marito*, while Hypsipyle curses Jason, as Ovid does his *bête noir* (*Ibis* 116) *erret inops exspes*. Such accumulations of adjectives are cherished as much by epic as drama.

To judge by its traces Roman tragedy was soaked in misery, especially the misery of the formerly great, and wallowed in the pity it aimed

to provoke. And to mark off Telephus as *pauper* when he was only pretending to be a beggar, but actually afflicted with an incurable wound, may be as much of an understatement as defining Peleus as exile when (if) he was abandoned in the wilderness among dangerous Centaurs. To return at last to line 96, I would translate it so that both heroes suffered the double burden or exile and poverty.

Off-stage the eloquent beggar gives way to the medical test-case, cited by Propertius as proof that only love does not respond to the agent of its sickness: 2.1.63–64 *Mysus et Haemonia iuvenis qua cuspide vulnus/ senserat, hac ipsa cuspide sensit opem* ("the Mysian hero felt relief from the same Thessalian spearpoint from which he had felt his wound"), and reworded in the introduction to Ovid's *Remedia* 47–48 *vulnus in Herculeo quae quondam fecerat hoste/ vulneris auxilium Pelias hasta tulit* ("The Pelian spear brought aid to the wound which it had once caused to the enemy born of Hercules").

Achilles himself recalls the Mysian raid and his wounding among his past successes when he is frustrated by his inability to wound the invulnerable Cycnus: *vel cum purpureus populari caede Caïcus/ fluxit, opusque meae bis sensit Telephus hastae* ("or when the Caïcus flowed crimson with local slaughter, and Telephus twice felt the effect of my spear", *Met.* 12.111–112). In exile Ovid finds and repeats a personal identification with Telephus: *Tr.*1.1.99–100 *qui mihi vulnera fecit / solus Achilleo tollere more potest* ("only the hero who caused my wound can remove it as did Achilles"); so also *Tr.*2. 19–20, 5.2.25–26 and *ex Ponto* 2.2.26 *profuit et Myso Pelias hasta duci* ("and the Pelian spear also benefitted the Mysian hero"). But if we are to believe Juvenal, would-be dramatists did not give up. A century after Horace the fate of Telephus still wastes its listeners' day and overflows its text.

> impune diem consumpserit ingens / Telephus
>
> … the sprawling *Telephus* wastes a whole day unavenged (Juvenal 1.5).

EURIPIDES IN BYZANTIUM*

Barry Baldwin

"Euripides? You Mend-a Dees!"—antique Marx brothers jest.

No need here[1] to Baldwinly go where Turyn (1957), Wilson (1983), and Zuntz (1965) have gone before. Instead, a mini-rama of how Euripides affected Byzantine sensibilities. Despite those who plump for Justinian or Heraclius, Byzantine history began on May 11, 330. Ammianus (27. 4. 80) celebrates *Euripidis sepulchrum, tragoediarum sublimitate conspicui*, albeit omitting the romantic details recorded elsewhere.[2] Eunapius (fr. 1 Blockley) ridicules those who attach significance to "some poet" being born on the day of Salamis. Later (fr. 48), he rehashes Lucian's tale[3] of theatregoers driven mad by the *Andromeda*—early Beatlemania. Apart from shifting it from Hellenistic to Neronian times, Eunapius (unlike Lucian) lavishes praise on Euripides for "the dignity and profundity of his words, structure, metre, sharp characterisation, and appropriate tone."

Collard-Cropp-Lee (1995: 5) "cannot fully appreciate" this play's impact on Aristophanes' Dionysus. The short answer may be the heroine's implied nudity—Madonna appropriated this scene for her notorious Sex picture album (1992). Later (Ar. *Ran.* v. 545), this deity unabashedly masturbates. In the Byzantine verse novel *Callimachus and Chrysorrhoe*, where (vv. 450–497) a naked damsel hangs by her hair from the dragon's castle, there is a slight concordance in its mention of "Silence" (v. 488) with *Andromeda*, fr. 126, possibly suggesting that this latter should be assigned to Andromeda rather than Perseus (Collard-Cropp-

* Thanks to Rob Cousland and Jim Hume for this chance to add a crumb to Martin Cropp's great Euripidean banquet.

[1] Elsewhere, yes, given Wilson's (1983: 246) doubts about Moschopoulean recensions, influenced by K. Matthiessen (1974: 89–94), echoed in A.-M. Talbot's *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (1991) notice; Triclinius' credentials are not impugned (Wilson 1983: 254–255). See further my review of Wilson, *EMC/CV* 19 (1985), 196–198.

[2] Though omitting the romantic details of Pliny, *HN* 31. 19. 28, and Aulus Gellius, *NA* 15. 20; cf. *Anth. Pal.* 7. 43–51 for poetic amplifications.

[3] *How to Write History* 1. The anedote is introduced by "They say," suggesting it had become a classic. Lucian specifies that people who had seen the *Andromeda* were haunted by its spectacle of Perseus brandishing Medusa's head.

Gibert 2004: 161). The novel's episode could be Euripideanly influenced; cf. J. Burton's (2003) detection of strong Theocritean impact on the language and motifs of Eugenianus' *Drosilla and Charicles*. Athenaeus (537D) says Alexander the Great could recite *Andromeda* scenes in his cups.

"Apollo applauds Euripides who even now is played upon the stage." Thus Eusebius,[4] whose concept of Divine Providence has been traced back to *Phoenissae* 637.[5] Whoever penned the cento *Christus Patiens*[6] began, "Now shall I tell the sufferings of the Saviour in Euripidean manner." Eustathius dubs the *Susannah* of John Damascene "entirely Euripidean in style."[7] Ignatius the Deacon's *Life* of George of Amastris (64.15–65.1) repeats from Gregory Nazianzenus (*Oration* 4—against Julian) "the Taurian slaughter of strangers," harking back to *Iphigenia in Tauris* 53. Robert Browning (1968: 401–410) traced three (*Alcestis*, *Andromeda*, *Iphigenia in Aulis*) borrowings and four possible indirect echoes (likewise from Sophocles) in Ignatius' playlet on Adam, Eve, and the Serpent, asking "Est-ce Ignace qui a lui-même retrouvé Sophocle et Euripide?" St Basil's quotation "Against enemies anger arms the hand," has been proposed as a fragment missed by Nauck.[8]

No surprise that the emperor Julian (Eunapius' hero, Gregory's *bête-noire*) should quote Euripides eleven times in his speeches, four in his letters, and thrice in the satirical *Caesars*. He varies on no obvious pattern between naming the play/playwright and expecting his recipient to catch the allusions. Both extant and lost plays are cited, most frequently the *Andromache*, *Orestes*, and *Phoenissae*. Gilbert Murray (Preface to his OCT, 1902: 5) suggested Julian's tutor "Sallust" (i.e., Saturninius Secundus Salutus) may have chosen the ten "school plays."

Christodorus of Thebes (*Anth. Pal.* 2. 32–35) describes the statue (fourth in sequence) of Euripides (neither Aeschylus nor Sophocles warranted one) in Constantinople's Baths of Zeuxippus (burned down in

[4] *Preparation for the Gospel* 5. 32. See G.W. Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon* for other Christian usages.

[5] By R.M. Grant (1980: 144 n. 12), albeit phrase and sentiment are paralleled in Herodotus 3.108 and Sophocles, *OC* 1180.

[6] Its traditional ascription to Gregory Nazianzenus is nowadays widely doubted. My favourite alternative is his contemporary Apollinaris of Laodicea who (Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History* 5. 18) "wrote tragedies in the Euripidean manner."

[7] *PG* 136: 508, Preface to his Interpretation of John's iambic poems.

[8] By the Loeb (1934: 4, 402 n. 3) editor, R. Deferrari of his *Address to Young Men Reading Greek Literature*. Wilson in his edition (London 1975: 58) assumes it is simply a misquotation of *Rhesus* 84. Basil occasionally quotes Euripides in his letters, e.g. 63.189A.

532): "There stood He, named for the Euripus, communing (it seemed) with the Tragic Muses, contemplating the virtue of Chastity, like to one shaking a thyrsus on the Attic stage." By the *Suda*'s time (E 3695 Adler), devotion to chastity has been replaced by a reputation for bisexual amours. "Euripus" to Byzantines connoted a feature of the Hippodrome. Aristophanes would have relished this cod etymology, especially as the noun comported a vernacular sense of "unstable" or "weak-minded."[9]

John Malalas' dozen or so allusions have never recovered from Bentley's (1691) "slashing hook."[10] The point here is not his ignorance, but that he so frequently referred to the dramatist, usually billing him as "the most learned Euripides," often specifying now-lost plays. His antiquarian contemporary John Lydus (*De Magistratibus* 3. 25, 3. 51) adduces a *Peleus* fragment and a phrase common to *Bacchae* 13 and *IA* 707.

Of the early Byzantine historians, Procopius seems not to cite him, but his continuator Agathias does once (*Histories* 3.1. 2). Wilson (1994: 91 n. 27) detects the echo of an unspecified fragment in Olympiodorus of Thebes' (fr. 23 Blockley) "every inch a tyrant, as the saying goes." In his prefatory *Dialogue between History and Philosophy*, Theophylact Simocatta mentions *Alcestis*, "proud of knowing a play outside the school list" (Wilson 1983: 59), though it was familiar to the likes of Ignatius the Deacon, the *Suda*, and the fifteenth-century satire *Mazaris*. Theophylact elsewhere quotes *Andromache* 184.[11]

Euripides bulked large in late Roman and Byzantine Egypt, evidenced by nearly one hundred papyri, notably an apparent actors' copy of the *Cresphontes* and one of *Helen*. By contrast, the earliest manuscript (*Jerusalem*, *Gr. Patr. Taphou* 36) belongs to the tenth or eleventh century. He shared literary dominance with Homer (the predictable hit-parade topper), Demosthenes, and Menander. Scholiasts gave their attention to

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[9] Examples in LSJ. There might be confusion with the cognate Aristotelian (*Gen. an.* 763b2) "*eurypodes*." Diphilus (*apud* Athenaeus 247A–B) in an anti-Euripidean tirade foists upon the tragedian the slang sense "dice throw of forty" that belongs to a homonym; cf. *Pollux* 9. 101. According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (eleventh ed.), "whimsical fancy has even suggested that his name was meant to commemorate the first check of the Persian fleet at Artemisium."

[10] *Epistle to Mill* (ed. A. Dyce, London 1836, repr. Toronto 1962). The passages are conveniently tabulated by Jeffreys (1990: 179), commenting "these scraps are of little textual significance in the history of the transmission of the Euripidean plays," whereas Patzig (1901: 610) believed the chronicler's quotations were first-hand.

[11] *On Predestined Terms of Life* (ed. C. Garton & L. Westerinck, Buffalo 1978) 8.23–24.

the so-called school series over the alphabetic ones. Orus (c. 450) drew on *Hecuba* commentaries for his grammatical work.[12]

"Ignatius (sc. the Deacon) surprises us with a quotation of Euripides' *Orestes* 140; since this play was scarcely read in Byzantium, one must wonder if he knew the line only as a quotation" (Wilson 1983: 75). A strange claim. Wilson himself later (1983: 179) says it was the third play of the regular school syllabus, furthermore (1983: 162) linking one of Psellus' essays with the play's beginning.[13] As seen, it was well known to Julian. By the fourteenth century, it would form a regular school triad with *Hecuba* and *Phoenissae*. The play is quoted by (e.g.) the *Suda*, Eustathius, Nicetas Choniates, the satires *Timarion* and *Mazaris*, and Theoctistus the Studite. Furthermore, Eustathius (*Siege of Thessalonica* 23) echoes *Orestes* 279, Aristophanes' famous "weasel" line; near the end of his *Siege*, Eustathius inserts the Euripidean stock finale, "Such was the end of the affair." Nicetas (*History*, Pref. 3) introduces *Orestes* v.397 as "the words of the sage." Likewise, he (ch. 136) introduces *Hippolytus* 612 (the notorious "oath" line) as "the tragedian's words," applying it to a shifty barbarian, whilst elsewhere (chs. 146, 636) citing *Electra* 771 and *Hecuba* 655 without attribution. Theoctistus disarmingly glosses *Orestes* 638–639 as "the words of Tragedy. I don't know the source of this quotation or how it occurred to me."[14] This may be the moment to subjoin that, according to his biographer Robert McCrum (London 2005: 29, 431), P.G. Wodehouse read the *Orestes* at his Dulwich school where he concentrated on Classics, which (like fellow-Dulwichian Raymond Chandler) he often said "was the best form of education I could have had as a writer."

The Byzantines' favourite *Orestes* tag was "barbarised by barbarians" (v. 485), used either straight or parodied. Found as far back as a letter[15] of Apollonius of Tyana, it generally occurs in epistolographers, e.g., Philetos Syndaenos (*Ep.* 13; 10th-Century). Theophylact of Ochrid (*Ep.* 21),

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[12] For richer detail, Wilson 1983: 12,18,32,52. The Egyptian texts are *P Oxy.* 27. 2458 and *P Berol.* 5005. Murray observed in the *codicum catalogus* affixed to the Preface in vol. 1 of his *OCT* edition (1902) that the Jerusalem manuscript "praeter multos novos errores vix quidquam offert." For Orus and Euripides, see Alpers (1981: 87–101).

[13] In his *Anthology of Byzantine Prose* (Berlin & New York 1971), 80, Wilson traces the "strange plural" *prothumiais* in one of Psellus' letters to *Orestes* 708, ignoring its presence in *Iliad* 2. 588.

[14] *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium: The Posthumous Miracles of the Patriarch Athanasios* I, ed. A.-M. Talbot (Brookline, Mass. 1983), 54; cf. my review in *Speculum* 59 (1984), 702–704.

[15] Apollonius, *Ep.* 34; in Philostratus' *Life* (7. 14), the sage quotes *Orestes* 396.

Michael Choniates, brother of Nicetas (*Ep*. 28, parodied to condemn the bad Greek of contemporary Athens), and John Tzetzes (*Ep*. 13, ironically of his wretched Constantinopolitan existence).

In its incomplete pre-1959 form, Photius' *Lexikon* contains ninety-five Euripides quotes, fourty-four more in its preface, of which ninety-four derive from our extant plays.[16] His *Amphilochia* (no. 150) has an allusion to the lost *Lamia*. If only the Patriarch had included poetry in his *Bibliotheca*, we would know a lot more about the number of Euripidean plays still circulating.[17] Is the *Suda*'s present tense "seventy-seven survive" just unthinking reproduction of its source?[18] How many of the (counting the *Rhesus*) fifty-eight lost ones disappeared before the sack of 1204?[19] Byzantine allusions to perished plays are commonly regarded as taken from earlier florilegia or lexica. Photius (*Bibliotheca*, cod. 16) is clear on the value of Stobaeus' assemblage: "his book is of obvious use as an aide-mémoire for those who have actually read the books he cites. For those who have not, it provides a convenient short-cut, as well as being generally helpful to would-be orators and writers." The activities of an anonymous tenth-century copyist-teacher (Browning 1954: 413, 419) shed light on manuscript production and reliability: "Professional scribes have very high standards. I have not. So long as I copy the necessary, I care nothing for elegance" (*Ep*. 53); "Many manuscripts have

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16 The first complete text was discovered (1959) at the Zavorda monastery in Macedonia. Its first two volumes, covering about half the alphabet, have been published (Berlin 1982, 1998) by C. Theodoridis. Volume one (I do not have the second to hand) contains three tiny new Euripidean fragments, all under Alpha (2272, 2953, 3161). Likewise with Aeschylus (A 246, 3226, 3296); nothing new of Sophocles.

17 On possible reasons for its exclusion, Baldwin (1978: 9–14); on Photius and Wilson (1994), see Baldwin (1994a: 373–391).

18 Usually assumed to be Hesychius of Miletus, for literary biographies. Biographical notices in manuscripts of Euripides have the same present tense, with discrepant numbers; cf. Dieterich (1907: 1287) for an attempted disentanglement. For full investigation of the *Suda*'s methods, see my 'Aspects of the *Suda*,' (2006). Modern estimates, e.g. his recent Loeb editor, D. Kovacs (1994: 13), put the number of plays available to Alexandrian editors at seventy-eight. For the *Suda*'s and other ancient lives of Euripides, Kovacs (1994: 3–28).

19 How many (e.g.) shared the fate of the *Phaethon* text, two of whose pages were torn out in the sixth century to patch up the *Codex Claromontanus* containing St. Paul's Letters? While 1204 remains the logical moment for large-scale loss, it is notable that Nicetas Choniates' long (some would say interminable) account does not actually specify destruction of books. This may (of course) be assumed, whilst not forgetting modern doubts (beginning with Gibbon) about the supposed conflagrations of the Alexandria Library from Julius Caesar to the Arab Conquest; cf. Canfora (1989). The post-1204 *Life of Euripides* by Thomas Magister (c. 1275–c. 1347) contains no play titles or statement of number of dramas preserved.

variant readings. When I saw the book [unspecified—BB] with its many marginal notes, I was amazed at the corrector and wondered what was left for me to do, except briefly indicate redundancies or omissions. To copy it out again because of trifling orthographical variants seems pointless. Anyway, how can I judge between variants?" (*Ep.* 88). A further letter (*Ep.* 88) speaks of problems, apparently associated with cost, in acquiring a text of Sophocles. In any case, overall it is not enough merely to wonder if quoters of "non-syllabus" now-lost plays took them second-hand. We need also to ask (even if we cannot answer) why did they choose these specific dramas to quote?[20]

The other relevant "big-ticket" issue is correlation between art and drama. Whilst lavish with their pictorial provisions, Collard-Cropp-Lee (1995: 3–4) assert, "Our attitude towards artistic representations as guide to reconstruction of Euripides' plays is very cautious," stigmatising T.B.L. Webster (1970a) *et hoc genus omne* for pressing such material "sometimes imaginatively far." This question was Byzantinely pursued by K. Weitzmann (1949: 159–210), whose examination of multiple classical scenes persuaded him that there must have been illustrated manuscripts of the plays. As a neutral, I fancy Weitzmann overstates his case—many of his examples could easily have been the products of the artists' own mythological imaginations—but there may be a case to be overstated. As he observes, John the Deacon (eleventh or twelfth century) was able in his commentary on Hermogenes to quote hypothesis and prologue of the *Stheneboea*, likewise of *Melanippe the Wise*, for both of which there are illustrations, just as the earlier (seventh or eighth century) Moses of Choerene, the "Father of Armenian History," was able to do for the *Peliades*.[21] Given all this, the broad debate should continue.

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[20] For an example (Baldwin 1987:11–12, for fuller discussion), why did Michael Italicus (ed. P. Gautier, Paris 1972, 216) go to *Alcmaeon in Psophis* to illustrate the common enought topic of matricide? To show off his knowledge of a marginal play? This is the only time he adds Euripides' name. Other quotations (*Medea* twice, *Hecuba*, *Phoenissae*) were expected to be picked up by his audience.

Incidentally, Byzantine news does not always travel fast among Euripidean editors. Though Michael's authorship has been known for a good century, G.A. Seek's edition (Munich 1981) of the fragments still left it in the anonymity of Cramer's *Anecdota Oxoniensia*. For the current state of play as a whole, see McHardy-Robson-Harvey (2005), with Cropp's review in the electronic *BMCR* 11.14 (2005).

[21] Weitzmann's John the Deacon tends to be dubbed John the Logothete by Euripidean editors. Those who know their Moses—a select bunch, I dare say—credit him with extensive reading of Greek secular literature. His *ODB* notice provides basic information and bibliography.

This issue makes it piquant that the *Suda*'s Euripides started out as a painter, before turning to rhetoric and philosophy, then embracing tragedy when he saw Anaxagoras endangered by his teachings. The *Life* comports both romance and reality. We have Euripides born on Salamis day, twice married and divorced, father of three, torn to shreds either by dogs or women maddened by his intrigue with either another man's wife or King Archelaus' catamite. Heady stuff. Contrariwise, the biographer disbelieves in his greengrocer mother (cf. the British satirical magazine *Private Eye*'s characterisation of Prime Minister Edward Heath as "The Grocer"), and realises that the misogyny charge sprang from his natural morose reserve.

Short adjacent notices (E 3691–3694 Adler) mention homonymous playwriting son and nephew, illustrate Euripidean diction by quoting fragment 1086, and remark how Aristophanes calls the dramatist "Little Euripides" in the manner of lovers' nicknames. There follows (E 3696 Adler) a definition of "Euripus," strictly geographical with no link to the playwright's name.

"Some say he wrote seventy-five plays, other ninety-two; seventy-seven survive." No titles are listed. Could this imply that the Byzantine repertoire was less rigid than generally thought? True, the same goes for Sophocles (S 815 Adler). But it is a far cry from the entry on Aristophanes (A 3932 Adler), which states "We did . . ." followed by enumeration of our eleven extant comedies.[22]

Another victim of Sudaesque cynophagy was Lucian: "I suppose you don't think Euripides is truthful when he puts the gods on stage and shows them saving heroes and killing villains and blasphemers like yourself?" (*Zeus Rants* 41). This[23] provoked a typical scholiast's rant, "You clown . . . ," one of thirty-nine abusive Byzantine epithets heaped upon him.[24] When these manic marginalists quote Euripides (usually *Hippolytus*, *Medea*, *Phoenissae*), they do so without attribution. One (on Lucian, *Charon* 1) knew that he had written a *Protesilaus*. On Lucian's *Zeus Rants* 1, a passage pullulating with Euripidean parodies, he is singled out with Eupolis, Aristophanes, "and others like these" to exemplify the difference between *Tragodein* and *Hypotragodein*.

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22 A striking personal touch. LSJ signal this use of *pratto* as very rare.

23 Lucian's only significant remark on the dramatist; cf. Baldwin (1973: 122).

24 On the Lucian scholia (ed. H. Rabe, Leipzig 1906), Baldwin (1980: 219–234).

One of Lucian's most vitriolic scholiasts was Bishop Arethas. Another of his victims was the controversial politician-writer Leo Choirosphactes (*c.* 850–d. after 919), whom he once abused thus:

> Put your wisdom on the stage, go live in theatres with actors and mimes and all that scum. Go strut with Dionysuses and devils, if that's what you want … Go shout the odds about some antediluvian Hecuba who has accommodated many of your godless tastes to her own secret and disgusting appetites …[25]

Browning (1968: 402) took this to refer to a private play reading club, a notion scouted by Wilson (1975: 14–15) who sees no link between this *Hecuba* and Euripides,' proposing to emend the name to *Hecale*. I hope Browning was right, as I do with the now much-challenged view that Photius' *Bibliotheca* reflects the activities of a Byzantine Great Books Club. Arethas' description of Hecuba is certainly not incompatible with Conacher's (1967: 153) "Medea-like fiend."

Browning also (1963: 67–81) edited an anonymous eleventh-century treatise *On Tragedy*, conceivably the work of Michael Psellus.[26] This short (barely three pages) text credits Euripides with introducing polychordia and the "ant-hill" musical style ("new information"—Browning), also *chorika apo skenes*, where a "puzzled" Browning adopts Webster's verbal suggestion that this refers to the subsidiary choruses in (e.g.) the *Alexandros* and *Antiope*. Also, this tribute: "Euripides is on the whole more versatile in his use of scales and melodic effects than his predecessors, and he made use of the appropriate rhythms, namely single and double bacchiacs, the lesser Ionic, and (though rarely) the proceleusmatic"—Browning endorses this last statement as correct.

Michael Psellus' *To One Who Raised the Question: Who was the Better Poet, Euripides or Pisides*? (ed. A.R. Dyck, Vienna 1986) represents what the *ODB*'s notice of the dramatist calls the only serious Byzantine literary criticism of him. As I have said before (Baldwin 1985a: 107), no modern student would hesitate for one second over the answer to a question that condemns the taste of those who raised it. The text's ending is aggravatingly too mutilated to show Psellus' own verdict. He emphasises

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[25] *Scripta Minora* II, ed. L.G. Westerinck (Leipzig 1968), 204–205. For complete translation and commentary, see my contribution to R. Beacham (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Stage: A Documentary History* (Cambridge, forthcoming). Cognate Baldwinian items appear in W. Tydeman (ed.), *The Medieval European Stage 500–1550: A Documentary History* (Cambridge 2001), 35–36, 184–185.

[26] For full translation and commentary, Baldwin (n. 25 above); Kovacs 1994: Kovacs (1994: 50–51) reproduces the Greek text with a largely unannotated English version.

the technical aspects of Euripidean stagecraft too much for Dyck's taste ("a terminological fog"), perhaps surprisingly for one who—unless we believe in Browning's clubs—had never seen a play performed. Psellus credits Euripides with "eighty or more plays, always full of grace and charm, not just diction[27] but the passions," a judgement exemplified by his quoting of *Orestes* 136 ("reducing the audience to tears") and 140–141, criticised by Wilson (1983: 179) as being here "confused," though the text is more to blame than the author. Euripides is commended for his superior grasp of poetry, "unless you prefer Sophocles." The latter's plots and characterisations are superior, though Euripides' music is better, and both he and Aeschylus (later assailed for the defects of *Prometheus Vinctus*) had deeper ideas, more elevated language, dignity, and elegance. The depiction of Hecuba and Odysseus (*Hecuba* 218 ff.) "deviates from propriety," a far cry from Conacher's (1967: 155) complimentary "skilful devices and dramatic expectations" aroused by this passage.

Apart from his aforementioned self-deprecatory use of *Orestes* 485, Tzetzes, like Eustathius, knew and used the *Cyclops*, "a rare text never included in the school syllabus" (Wilson 1983: 196, 204). In his *Letters*, he sometimes introduces a quotation by Euripides' name; sometimes the reader is left to pick it up. His two citations from *Iphigenia in Tauris* fall into each category, both striking in the light of Wilson's (1983: 177) surprise that Psellus should have "unexpectedly borrowed a whole line from this play, one of those forming part of the so-called alphabetic series that seems to have been almost unknown to Byzantium until it was brought to light again in the early fourteenth century."

As befits a Lucian imitator, the anonymous twelfth-century satire *Timarion* opens with a flurry of quotations from Homer and Euripides.[28] A parody of *Medea* 1317, a verse previously played upon or pastiched by Aristophanes (*Clouds* 1397), Heliodorus (*Ethiopica* 1. 8), and the *Christus Patiens* (121, 437) is postluded by a straight quotation (introduced by Euripides' name) of *Orestes* 1–3, lines also quoted by (e.g.) Theodore Prodromus (*The Sale of Lives*, ed. La Porte du Theil, Paris 1810, 142) and Anna Comnena (*Alexiad* 15. 2) apropos her own misfortunes. At

[27] Elsewhere, in a eulogy of John Chrysostom (text in Dyck 72), Psellus acknowledges contemporary—no names, no pack drill—criticisms of Euripides' "imprecise diction."

[28] For a complete exploration, see Baldwin (1984). My candidate for the authorship is Michael Italicus. Relevant Lucian openings are those to *Zeus Rants* and the Menippean *Necyomanteia*. These linguistic details are not all noticed by *Timarion* editors R. Romano (Naples 1974) and M.D. Macleod (Oxford 1987). For Lucian's influence on Byzantine literature in general, Baldwin (1994b: 1400–1404).

Timarion 3, again with Euripides named, a description of Phaedra hunting comes largely verbatim from *Hippolytus* 218–219, originally parodied in a fragment of Aristophanes preserved by Athenaeus (133B). As does Plutarch (*Moralia* 52B), the author gives the lines in the reverse order from that of Euripides' manuscripts with the verb in the singular, forming a sequence that the play's best modern editor (Barrett, 1964) says must be wrong. Either the author took his version via Plutarch or knew a text of Euripides that differed from the extant ones. Otherwise, the *Timarion* contains a possible allusion to the *Cyclops*, a quotation from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (1129b28) that a scholiast says belongs to *Melanippe the Wise*, and a couple of lines (236, 1078) from the *Bacchae*.

The equally anonymous later Lucianic satire, *Mazaris*, composed around 1415, falls in the last years of Byzantine history, hence serves as suitable finale.[29] Three of its four Euripidean quotations (*Alcestis* 253–254, *Hecuba* 1–2, *Orestes* 136–137—the first and third of these plays said (as earlier seen) by Wilson to be Byzantine rarities) come in an opening rush. The fourth (*Orestes* 268) occurs around the middle. All are incorporated in the text without attribution, the reader being expected to recognise them.

Postscript

Euripides in the West is no part of the present essay.[30] Suffice it to say that he came a long way from Arnobius' scornful (*Against the Pagans* 7. 33) "Does the anger of Hercules fade if the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles or the *Hercules* of Euripides is acted?" to Dante's inclusion of him with tragedians Antiphon and Agathon, plus Simonides, in the first circle of Purgatory (22. 10) amid those "Piue Greci, che già di lauro ornar la fronte." Byzantium played its part in the transmission. For a notable instance, the twelfth-century manuscript *Laurentianus* 31.10, containing eight plays, was the exemplar from which knowledge of Euripides passed to Renaissance Italy via its owner Leonzio Pilato, who transcribed nearly four hundred lines of the *Hecuba* for Boccaccio. There was also the Italian Simon Atumanos, appointed Bishop of Gerace in 1348, who acquired during a visit to Constantinople "the famous copy of the alphabetic plays of Euripides" (Wilson 1983: 269).

[29] For a detailed analysis of the *Mazaris*, Baldwin (1993: 345–358).
[30] For the full story, Wilson (1993).

"On Wednesday, June 19 (*sc.* 1784), Dr Johnson and I returned to London; he was not well today, and said very little, employing himself chiefly in reading Euripides." Boswell, *Life* 4, 311.

GREEK TRAGEDY AND A NEW ZEALAND POET[1]

JOHN DAVIDSON

An important factor in the ongoing survival of ancient drama has been its capacity for reinterpretation by succeeding generations. There is, of course, reinterpretation in the sense of literary and/or socio-historical analysis, one of a number of related fields to which Martin Cropp has made such a significant contribution. However, there is also reinterpretation through re-performance, in a variety of theatres for different audiences, a phenomenon which has attracted particular scholarly attention in recent years.[2] Closely connected with this is reinterpretation through the creation of entirely new plays which, though using ancient plays as a platform, have branched out in new directions more directly in tune with the concerns of the age in which they are written. These new plays then attract interpretation both in their own right and also against the backdrop of their classical models. It is the aim of this paper to explore three such twentieth-century plays written by the New Zealander James K. Baxter (1926–1972).

Baxter is best known as a poet, and a prolific one at that. However, throughout his career he wrote as many as twenty-two plays, including four inspired by Greek tragedy.[3] These were written in 1967 and 1968 while he held the Burns Fellowship at the University of Otago and first produced either in those years or, in one case, in 1970, all at Dunedin's Globe Theatre whose founders, Patric and Rosalie Carey, were aiming for the production of drama that could be freed as far as possible from commercial imperatives. Two of the plays, *The Sore-Footed Man* (based on Sophocles' *Philoctetes*) and *The Temptations of Oedipus* (based on the

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[1] I am delighted to be able to contribute a paper to this volume. Martin Cropp has supported my work on Greek drama and assisted my career in significant ways. I have also greatly benefited from his generous hospitality on my visits to Calgary and Banff. In writing on a New Zealand poet, I am mindful too of Martin's close association with the Antipodes in general. As far as the paper itself is concerned, I would like to acknowledge the advice and assistance of David Carnegie in particular, as well as the editors of this volume.

[2] See e.g. Hall et al. 2000, and Macintosh et al. 2006.

[3] The majority of these are collected in McNaughton 1982.

Oedipus at Colonus) retain an ancient Greek setting,[4] while *The Bureaucrat* (based on the *Prometheus Bound)* and *Mr O'Dwyer's Dancing Party* (based on the *Bacchae*) are given a contemporary context. Baxter used all his plays, including these "Greek" ones, both in order to present in dramatic form the same workings of his inner mind that found expression in his poetry and also as a possibly more effective vehicle for his passionate criticism of New Zealand society.

In the decade or so after Baxter's death, a certain amount of critical attention was paid to his plays, including the "Greek" ones, three of which attracted notable re-performances. Since then, however, they have been largely neglected, and it therefore seems fitting to offer a reassessment now. This makes particular sense in the context of a revival of interest in Baxter's poetry in the last decade. The poetry, given that there is so much of it, has always been the subject of much more extensive scrutiny, but even in this case, after the flurry of activity in the 1970s and early 1980s, there was something of a lull until the mid-1990s.

A key element in Baxter's poetry is his use of mythology, especially classical mythology. Baxter himself had much to say on the subject of mythologizing in general, his views being well represented by the following often-quoted statement from one of five basically autobiographical essays published together in 1967:

> An alcoholic grave-robbing friend said to me the other day, as we sat and watched the milkbar cowboys come and go—"I took the wrong turn round the cabbage tree, Jim, a long time ago; and since then I've not been able to change it." He was mythologising his life; and that's what a writer does. The trouble is, I can't demythologise it. What happens is either meaningless to me, or else it is mythology.[5]

He put it another way like this: "Poetry is not magical but mythical. It presents the crises, violations and reconciliations of the spiritual life in mythical form because this is the only way in which the conscious mind can assimilate them."[6] Critics have picked up on Baxter's own analysis. Thus Weir (1970: 17), for example, author of the first comprehensive study of the poetry, written before the poet's death, speaks of it as being "a way of ordering the chaos of experience." With regard to the plays, Lawson (1974: 13) notes that what Weir says about the poetry applies to

[4] For extended discussions specific to these plays, see Lawson 1974: 19–40 and 79–104, Davidson 1977: 49–56, and Davidson 1995: 43–54. The text of the plays can also be found in Baxter 1971.

[5] Baxter 1967a: 122.

[6] Baxter 1967a: 23.

them as well. Again, this is simply to echo Baxter's own sentiments. Thus, in the Introduction attached to the published versions of *The Sore-Footed Man* and *The Temptations of Oedipus* he writes: "Without the dramatic role, life tends to be experienced as chaos. The unveiling of this chaos is perhaps the theme of all my plays."[7] Doyle (1976) gives to his chapter on the plays the title "Unveiling Chaos: Baxter's Drama."

Baxter often expressed admiration for the dramas of ancient Greece, and it is therefore not surprising that he took them as the point of departure for some of his own plays. There was, however, an important mediation in the form of twentieth-century plays, especially Sartre's *The Flies (Les Mouches)* in the case of *The Temptations of Oedipus* and Giraudoux's *Tiger at the Gates* (Christopher Fry's translation of *La Guerre de Troie n'aura pas lieu*) in the case of *The Sore-Footed Man*. Eugene O'Neill has also been mentioned in this context, but McNaughton (1973: 190) perceptively points out that it is in one of the "non-Greek" plays, *The Devil and Mr Mulcahy*, that Baxter most closely approaches the soul of *Desire Under the Elms* and *Mourning Becomes Electra*. Baxter also read T.S. Eliot's Greek-inspired plays, although there are few palpable echoes of them in his own work. McKay (1990: 229) records that the suggestion to use Greek models specifically à la Eliot was actually made to Baxter by Carey who then lent his copies of the Eliot plays.

Irrespective of other influences, however, Baxter was at the same time responding to the original Greek tragedies themselves, and it is on this response that we shall be concentrating here. His Greek was minimal, and it seems that the translations he used were the Penguin Classics—E.F. Watling for Sophocles, and Philip Vellacott for the *Prometheus Bound* and *Bacchae*. Because more critical attention has generally been paid to *The Temptations of Oedipus* than to the other "Greek" plays, we shall exclude it from consideration here[8] and concentrate on Baxter's approach to one play by each of "Aeschylus", Euripides and Sophocles.

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[7] Baxter 1971: ix–x.

[8] This play is the one which best maintains dramatic tension throughout. It presents, as Baxter puts in his introductory remarks, "Oedipus the yogi who wins by losing to Theseus the Commissar." Antigone has a baby (there are strong hints that Oedipus is the father) who, at the end of the play, is made scapegoat for a plague and sacrificed. There is further probing of the incest theme through the character Ismene, and Baxter sees "the interior crux" in the conversation between Oedipus and Polyneices which reveals the latter's choice of the freedom to die as a soldier rather than the alternative freedom "of being a man without a fixed dramatic role."

At an early stage of his tenure of the Burns Fellowship in Dunedin, Baxter was introduced to H.D.F. Kitto who happened to be visiting the University of Otago. McKay (1990: 229–230) records that, after an hour's conversation with Kitto, Baxter said to Carey: "That's all I need to know about the Greeks. I've got it all out of him." Later, in a lecture, Baxter acknowledged that Kitto had, among other things, made him change his erroneously critical attitude to aspects of Aristotle's *Poetics*.

In the poem "To Patric Carey", written on 23 December 1968, Baxter chooses Aeschylus to represent the Greek tragedians:

> From beaches grey with ambergris
> The pressure of invention came,
> Like waves that penetrate through combs of sand,
> That single, first, unknowable proposition
> Published in theatres of stone
> By actors roaring through great hollow masks
> Not thunder, no, but the life of Aeschylus
> Decaying to a hard wave-polished bone.[9]

At that time, Aeschylean authorship of the *Prometheus Bound* was much less questioned than it is today,[10] and one can assume that, in writing *The Bureaucrat*, Baxter believed that Aeschylus was his dramatic forerunner. However, as Lawson (1974: 43) rightly notes, the main source of interest for Baxter in the Prometheus story was not so much the Greek play as the figure of Prometheus himself. In a number of poems, spread across the greater part of his career, Baxter either directly identified with aspects of the fire-bringing Titan or otherwise exploited elements in his story. Indeed, in writing about another of his plays, *The Spots on the Leopard*, he suggested that its myth was "the same one that haunted the Greeks—'Why am I and you at the same time criminals and not criminals?' It is perhaps the Promethean myth ..."[11]

Baxter's own characterization of his "Aeschylean" play is interesting. McNaughton (1982: 336) prints the author's brief programme note to the Globe Theatre production, which includes the following remarks: "*The Bureaucrat* is a work of black comedy ... *The Bureaucrat* finished up, I think a good deal nearer to Kafka than to Aeschylus." Yet vestiges of the Greek play are clearly present. Baxter's version is set in an office

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[9] Weir 1979: 429.

[10] Most influential in recent times for questioning Aeschylean authorship has been Griffith 1977.

[11] Baxter 1967b: 21–22. The same statement, taken from a radio talk which Baxter delivered in 1967, can also be found in McKay 1978: 219.

replicating the School Publications Branch of the Department of Education where he worked for a number of years. The central character, John Fireman, is trapped like the "Aeschylean" Prometheus and "nailed to the bloody rock!" On the other hand, as Lawson (1974: 44) emphasizes, he is largely an anti-Prometheus figure. While he himself at first believes that he is bringing fire in the form of enlightenment to children reading his school bulletins, it is made clear that he is in fact simply part of an unimaginative, restricted and restrictive bureaucracy. His very name indeed implies that his function is to extinguish the flame.

The series of conversations which Fireman has in his office with various other characters clearly follows the general pattern in the Greek play by which Prometheus is visited in turn by the Chorus, Oceanus, Io and Hermes. Baxter's "chorus," however, consists of a group of three cleaning women, who only appear in the evenings when the bureaucrat has gone home. They are given an Aeschylean flavour in one scene where they are transformed into Furies, the identification being made explicit through their description of themselves as "The Gentle Ones."

Baxter finds no place for Oceanus or Hermes. He does, however, explore some possibilities inherent in the figure of Io, the wandering, gadfly-afflicted victim of Zeus' lust. She becomes Io Gould, and the identification with her Greek model, made explicit in her very name, is reinforced in a number of ways. In her first interview with Fireman, for example, she makes specific reference to the Io story (as Fireman himself has already done in connection with the Prometheus story in general in an earlier interview with another character), and then engages in a dance which Baxter's stage direction indicates should be "uninhibited" yet expressing "conflict and reluctance" like "the heifer tormented by the gadfly." As Lawson (1974: 49–50) also points out, she recognizes that suffering is an integral part of the human condition, a lesson which Fireman has yet to learn. We are touching here, of course, on the Aeschylean "*pathei mathos*."

From the very beginning, Fireman has some understanding of the "vulture pecking at my liver." As the play progresses, however, his interviews with the various characters lead him towards a new awareness. Lawson (1974: 45) rightly expresses this in terms of how Fireman has gained insight into Prometheus' secret which could produce change in his world. At the end of the play, though, he is still chained to his desk, unable to utilize his knowledge. Thus an important motif in the *Prometheus Bound* is preserved in an adapted form in *The Bureaucrat*, and the unseen, threatening Zeus of the Greek play finds its counterpart in the unseen

and equally menacing "Director." Even Kratos finds an equivalent in the voyeuristic policeman, Constable Power, though McNaughton (1973: 191), given that an essentially serious personification has become a parody, is fully justified in terming this equivalence "ridiculous," and Campion (1968: 9) must surely have tongue in cheek when, in his review of a Wellington production of the play, he calls the policeman's report "the Greek messenger speech *par excellence*."

All in all, then, Baxter in this case is only responding half-heartedly, and ironically at that, to the Greek "model," often losing sight of the play as such in order to focus rather on aspects of the wider Prometheus story which allow him to attack bureaucracy and the police in particular, and deal with favourite issues such as unsatisfactory marriage, prurience, repressed sexuality, emotional scarring, and personal and sexual liberation.

Euripides' *Bacchae* is an extremely hard act to follow, and modern adaptations run the risk of being little more than a pale shadow of their model. Baxter's play *Mr O'Dwyer's Dancing Party* is no exception and, indeed, can only be regarded, at least from one point of view, as an emasculated vestige of the Greek tragedy. It has to be said, though, that Baxter was not really trying to rival or rewrite Euripides, but to use the new play to make a further exploration of the concerns already well aired in *The Bureaucrat* together with related issues such as the phenomenon of suburbia, the relative freedoms which are appropriate to men and women, and the position of the outsider in conformist and barren New Zealand society.

Baxter's strategy is different from the one he used in *The Bureaucrat*. This time, attention is not overtly drawn to the Greek substratum through the names of the characters or through allusions to the myth itself. Instead, the audience and readers are left to notice hints and recognize parallels, and someone unfamiliar with Euripides' play would probably have no inkling that there was a Greek connection at all.

The central character of the play, John Ennis, is a prosperous builder living in a wealthy Auckland suburb. Though he himself enjoys considerable sexual and other freedoms, he is scandalized at his wife's decision to join other suburban housewives in an "expressive dance group" under the tutorship of the wild Irishman Tom O'Dwyer. However, O'Dwyer tricks Ennis into going on a pub crawl with him and brings him back to his own house, roaring drunk, where the dance group is gathered. The women then strip him and humiliate him, his own wife riding on his back as he crawls on all fours until he collapses in pain with a badly

wrenched back. The play's action is framed by scenes between Ennis and Ephraim Feingold (an elderly, blind survivor of Auschwitz) at the beginning, and O'Dwyer and Feingold, in the vicinity of Ennis' hospital bed, at the end. Lawson (1974: 62) expresses the thrust of the play in terms of Ennis' "forced recognition of the chaos at the heart of his existence, and of the void in the Western culture of which he is a part."

It is interesting to see what Baxter identifies in the Euripidean Pentheus as useful for his own equivalent character. Most important is the desire to repress the freedom of others, allied with a refusal to acknowledge an alternative vision of life introduced from outside the confines of his own "kingdom." However, Baxter has allowed what was a covert prurience in Pentheus, unmasked by Dionysus,[12] to be transformed into wide-ranging sexual gratification in the case of Ennis. He finds, of course, no place for the unequal contest between human and deity which, in the *Bacchae*, inevitably modifies one's perception of Pentheus, whatever his faults.

The task of transforming the Dionysus figure is always going to be a difficult one for any modernizing adapter of Euripides' play. Baxter's solution perhaps borders on the banal, given the very middle-class suburban context in which he places him, but there is at least something mysterious about O'Dwyer, and he is given the power to unlock a yearning for self-expression in the women, who are clearly enthralled by his charisma, while at the same time being able to manipulate and "destroy" an apparently tough and successful businessman. Baxter combines aspects of the generous-spirited, grandfatherly Cadmus and the blind, rationalizing Teiresias in the figure of Feingold, although there is a touch of the outsider Dionysus in him as well. His "chorus" of women serve to combine the Euripidean chorus of eastern Bacchantes with the largely unseen Theban devotees of the god.

Both McNaughton (1973: 191) and Lawson (1974: 61) state that the play is structurally close to its Euripidean model, but this is something of an exaggeration. Baxter works in a number of echoes of the *Bacchae*, there is one scene which follows to some extent along the lines of its equivalent in the Greek play, and the overall action resulting in the "downfall" of the Dionysus figure's adversary is roughly the same. But that is as far as it goes.

In a very broad sense, the *Bacchae* is evoked before a word is spoken, through the presence of a wine bottle and glasses on the table where Ennis

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[12] See e.g. Segal 1997: 197.

and Feingold are playing chess. Alcohol turns out to be almost a motif, frequent references being made to wine, booze, and the pub. In particular, in their second conversation O'Dwyer deceptively "apologizes" to Ennis for being drunk in their first. He has brought a bottle with him to this second meeting, and encourages Ennis to drink, the first step on the discontented husband's road to the inebriated state in which he is handed over to the women who themselves are drinking while waiting for O'Dwyer to arrive for their next dance class.

With regard to other points of contact with the Greek play, Lawson (1974: 65 and 68) rightly notes Ennis' expressed intention to use force to prevent O'Dwyer from holding a dance class in "his" house and also O'Dwyer's talismanic pine cone. There is also the fantasy of one of the women, while she is dancing, that O'Dwyer has horns on his head. And one could usefully add the opening words of the play, spoken by Feingold ("The wind is blowing from the mountains"), the mountain "motif" being kept alive later as well. The use of the expression "The 'Io' dance" by O'Dwyer may possibly reflect the Euripidean ritual cry "Io Bacche," although a reference to the dance of Io Gould in *The Bureaucrat*, written in the same year, is perhaps more likely.

The most extended parallelism with the *Bacchae*, however, surprisingly passed over by Lawson (1974), comes in O'Dwyer's conversation with Ennis when he arrives at the house for the first time, a conversation which replicates the cut and thrust of stichomythia. Thus, O'Dwyer tells Ennis that his people live in the mountains, and in the course of the exchange about dancing and religion, he says: "There are many kinds of gods. (*He taps his breast*) This is where they live," which mirrors the stranger's words to Pentheus that Dionysus (in Vellacott's (1954) translation) is "close by me" and "Here at my side." O'Dwyer also emphasizes his travelling and his experience of other countries, with California, appropriately enough for the 1960s, being singled out. Then there is this sequence:

> JOHN What time of day do you hold your rehearsals? I reckon—
> TOM In the evening usually. When it's dark you often get a better performance.
> JOHN I'll bet. Women are like hedgehogs—they uncurl—
> TOM If there was any harm in it, the time of day would make no difference.
> JOHN If I had my way, O'Dwyer, I'd set the cops on you!
> TOM Be careful, Mr Ennis—you mightn't have it all your own way—
> JOHN I reckon you're half drunk.
> TOM What would the sentence be? Tell me that.
> JOHN First, you'd have that long stinking hair cut off—

At one point too there is even a nice point of inversion when O'Dwyer "compliments" Ennis on "An intelligent answer" to his question.

Critical opinion has not, in general, been kind to this play. However, *Mr O'Dwyer's Dancing Party* does escape the artificiality which besets *The Bureaucrat* with its forced allusions to the Greek myth. It is interesting too in that it represents Baxter's only flirtation with Euripides. And there is an irony here. It is rather to Aeschylus and Sophocles that Baxter looks in his obvious idealization of Greek tragedy, yet it is Euripides who on occasion offers the sort of "cynical" intellectualizing which Baxter introduces into all of his "Greek" plays. It seems, however, that his gut feeling was to take this element from modern drama, not from Euripides, thus leaving the Greeks as a group intact on a kind of pedestal.

We come now to Baxter's response to Sophocles. In "Letter to Sam Hunt", another poem written in 1968, he mentions how he learned "... that Sophocles / Heard in the thunder of Greek seas / ... A voice proclaiming to the land / That men are banks of broken sand, / And various other things that I / May put in plays before I die."[13] The image of "banks of sand" is perhaps not one which many people would immediately associate with Sophocles, but the idea of humanity's brokenness is another matter.

In *The Sore-Footed Man*, despite the obvious innovations, we can see Baxter responding directly to a Greek drama in a way that he certainly did not do vis-à-vis the *Prometheus Bound* or the *Bacchae*. The play retains its Sophoclean setting, and begins with Odysseus and Neoptolemus arriving at the place where Philoctetes had been abandoned many years before. Their conversation while Neoptolemus actually searches for the cave follows the Watling translation of Sophocles very closely. At one point, however, this echoing leads to an inconsistency. Watling has Odysseus say:

> The man is here all right, no doubt about it.
> This is his home; he can't be far away;
> How could he be, crippled with that old sore?

Baxter's version runs:

> It must be Philoctetes. He can't be far off. How could he be, crippled with that old wound?

The problem is that Baxter's Lemnos is inhabited, and Philoctetes even has a wife!

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13 Weir 1979: 431.

Before this point of the introductory scene there are two interesting inserts into the initial Sophoclean dialogue which outlines the circumstances of Philoctetes' abandonment after the snake bite. Very early on, Neoptolemus is made by Baxter to say: "I had a horse once. A great big beautiful Thessalian stallion . . . ." At first sight, there seems no reason for this. However, the Watling translation contains, in addition to *Philoctetes*, three other Sophoclean tragedies—*Electra, Ajax* and *Women of Trachis*. It so happens that in the prologue of the *Electra*, Watling makes Orestes say to the tutor: "Faithful old friend, your goodness to me is beyond question. Trust a thoroughbred horse, however old, to be keen in the charge and never fail you in a tight place . . . ." One may well assume that Baxter read all the plays in the Watling volume and it is a reasonable deduction that Neoptolemus' first-scene horse derives from a combination of this reference in the *Electra* prologue and the tutor/messenger's allusion later in the play to "Orestes with his Thessalian horses" when he is reporting the fictitious chariot race.

In Baxter's first scene, after the discovery of the cave, Odysseus, as in the Sophoclean play, convinces Neoptolemus to co-operate with him in a plan to trick Philoctetes, but he also contrasts his approach to life at some length with that of Ajax, whose suicide is emphasized. Once again, it seems a reasonable guess that this insert resulted from Baxter's reading of Watling's translation of the *Ajax*.

The focus on Ajax can also be seen in Act II of Baxter's play. A section of this basically follows the Sophoclean sequences which involve Philoctetes' first encounter with Neoptolemus, their exchange of stories, and the intervention of the pseudo-merchant (in Baxter's case, this is actually Odysseus disguised as a sailor). It is instructive that, apart from Achilles himself, Ajax is the only other Greek at Troy about whom Baxter's Philoctetes questions Neoptolemus, and the young man's confirmation of his death—"Gone into the darkness"—echoes the Watling Neoptolemus' words: "Ay, gone into the darkness." Interestingly, while the appearance of the pseudo-merchant is an integral part of Sophocles' developing plot, the Baxterian equivalent is not necessary, since his plot develops along very different lines. This results from Baxter's decision to give Philoctetes a wife, there being scenes between her and her husband and between her and Odysseus. It is, in fact, the wife who steals the bow.

The pivotal character in Sophocles' play is the young Neoptolemus, caught between two opposing models of "fatherhood" in Philoctetes

and Odysseus and burdened with a conflict of loyalties.[14] Given Baxter's approach to the story, however, Neoptolemus becomes almost surplus to requirements and is squeezed into a minor role. Concerns are centred on the other two Sophoclean characters.

Baxter's comment on Philoctetes, in the Introduction to the published version of *The Sore-Footed Man* and *The Temptations of Oedipus*, is most instructive, revealing both his own lack of appreciation of the depth of the Sophoclean figure and also the way in which he conceptualized him for a modern context:

> The situation of the main character in Sophocles' Philoctetes, cogitating in solitude on his island, mirrored so exactly the predicament of the modern intellectual. But Sophocles' Philoctetes was an inveterate wailer and groaner; it would not do to keep him like that . . .[15]

As Lawson (1974: 28) rightly emphasizes, Baxter therefore strips his Philoctetes of any vestige of Sophoclean nobility or even genuine endurance, making him instead a very ordinary man who can bore others with his philosophizing, a man trapped in a domestic routine. Doyle (1976: 143) is quite justified in saying that his "wounded foot is the mark of his humanity" and that he is a "victim-figure," but Baxter makes him say, when talking about his wife's nagging: "That's the real wound, not the one in my foot . . . ."

It is Odysseus, however, who becomes, as Baxter notes in his Introduction, "in a sense" the main character of the play, a man who "derives his sanction from the fertilising power of action itself."[16] Doyle (1976: 143) describes him as "the apparently conscienceless man of action and expediency". He comes closer to the Sophoclean figure than Baxter's Philoctetes comes to his Sophoclean counterpart. Lawson (1974: 26) points to the quality of ethical relativism in each case. There is, of course, an important difference. Odysseus for Baxter is also the *deus ex machina* figure who, by seducing Philoctetes' wife, is able to free him from his navel-gazing and self-pity, and open the way for him to return to Troy and embrace risk again. As he puts it at the end of the play, referring to Philoctetes' mentor whose unseen presence has been made prominent throughout: "The bow of Hercules, carried by a man who wishes to be secure, is useless as a stalk of grass. You have to become Hercules—or rather, become Philoctetes. When you were young, you lived with

[14] See e.g. Davidson 2001.
[15] Baxter 1971: viii.
[16] Baxter 1971: viii.

danger. . . .” This Odysseus, acknowledging that the human condition is one of suffering and always ready to face his own death, is a “hero” and a direct reflection of Baxter’s view of himself.

The Sophoclean play sees the liberation of Philoctetes from his island prison. Baxter’s version is similar to an extent, although in this case the liberation is rather one from the inhibiting female factor, a constant preoccupation of Baxter throughout his life. Moreover, Lawson (1974: 25) notes that there is no sense of an overarching order in the scheme of things. Baxter, in his Introduction, makes it plain too that there is no longer any place for the kind of values that Sophocles could put before his audience: “. . . the Homeric code of military honour can mean little to modern audiences accustomed, at least by way of the mass media, to the regular functioning of impersonal army machines and genocidal massacres in the swamps of Asia.”[17]

Baxter thus bounces off Sophocles in a sometimes original and effective way while at the same time offering a personal response to the chronicle of his own often disturbed life and the concerns of the 1960s. There are, of course, touches of the low-key, as when a paroxysm in Sophocles turns into a siesta in Baxter. The Baxterian chorus consists of three sailors, crew of Odysseus, not Neoptolemus, who operate in interludes independently of the main characters, apart from the brief contribution of one of the sailors to the first scene. Baxter himself suggests “the enigma of freedom” as the core of his play and this seems closer to the mark than the assessment of McNaughton (1973: 191) who speaks of “an accomplished play on the theme of commitment.”

In conclusion, how are we to assess Baxter’s achievement? Throughout his adult years Baxter was a larger-than-life figure who had attained an almost iconic status by the time of his death. His plays made a considerable impact at the time of their first production and were generally welcomed as an important development in New Zealand drama. Critical enthusiasm did, however, wane, so that Carnegie (1982: 10), in reviewing McNaughton (1981), was already asking why the latter had devoted a full chapter to Baxter in his book on New Zealand drama.

With regard to the “Greek” plays, critical opinion has been divided, though *The Temptations of Oedipus*, Baxter’s last play, has generally been regarded as the most successful. There has also been general agreement that Baxter’s admixture of “street language” is often inappropriate and

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[17] Baxter 1971: viii.

jarring. Smith (1968: 60–61) described *The Sore-Footed Man* in terms of "a polished and tightly reasoned battle of wits and emotions," and noted the popularity of *The Bureaucrat*, while expressing some dissatisfaction with it himself. McNaughton (1973: 191) dismissed *Mr O'Dwyer's Dancing Party* as "a painfully contrived effort" but had kinder words for the "French connection". Indeed, this same critic (McNaughton 1998: 346) was later to write of "Baxter's articulate and urbane Greek characters."

Whatever view one takes of the quality of Baxter's Greek plays, the very fact that he wrote such plays is an interesting phenomenon in itself. Harcourt (1978: 130) quotes Patric Carey as saying to Baxter: "The only real theatre is the Greek." And it seems beyond doubt that Carey was an important factor in bringing a hint of the theatre of Dionysus to New Zealand in the 1960s.[18] But it took a Baxter to write the new plays, and the result, it seems fair to say, was a distinctive, albeit minor contribution to the *Nachleben* of Greek tragedy. It may be that, despite the arguably superior quality of the Sophoclean plays, it is in fact *Mr O'Dwyer's Dancing Party* which turns out to be of most historical significance. This is because it will ultimately be assessed in the context of a range of other plays with connections to the themes of Euripides' *Bacchae* written and performed in a number of countries in the 1960s, a phenomenon surely reflecting the concerns of that most "Dionysiac" of decades.

[18] The Careys had already, since the late 1950s, produced a series of productions of Greek tragedies and comedies, some of them outside in their own garden. See Manton (1960).

PART SEVEN

APPENDIX

EURIPIDES' LOST *PHOENISSAE*: THE FRAGMENTS

Donald J. Mastronarde

In these two editions, item numbers preceded by one asterisk (*) are explicitly ascribed to Euripides but only conjecturally assigned to *Phoenissae*; items preceded by two asterisks (**) lack any explicit indication of the author or of the work. For testimonia with many sources, only the most important are given here. For omitted sources, see the Teubner edition.

First Edition (showing how the evidence for the "lost" play would have looked at the time of August Nauck's second edition of tragic fragments published in 1889)

TESTIMONIA

1. Apoll. Dysc. *de constructione* 93 [*GrammGr* 2:2.78, 3 ff.]
As examples of using the names of literary works without or with the article, the grammarian gives πρῶτον Ἀλκαίου, Φοίνισσαι Εὐριπίδου ("first book of Alcaeus, *Phoenissae* of Euripides") versus αἱ Φοίνισσαι Εὐριπίδου περιέχουσι τὸν Θηβαϊκὸν πόλεμον, τὸ πρῶτον Ἀλκαίου ἀνέγνωμεν ("The *Phoenissae* of Euripides contains as its subject the Theban war. We read the first book of Alcaeus.").

2. Diod. Sic. 13.97.6 (preliminaries of the sea-battle at Arginusae)
"The Athenian general Thrasybulus, who was in command for that day, had had a dream of the following sort during the night: he dreamed that he and the other six generals were performing Euripides' *Phoenissae* before a full theater audience in Athens; and he dreamed that, with their opponents performing *The Supplicant Women*, his side won a Cadmean victory, and that all the generals died, in imitation of the fate of those who attacked Thebes."

3. Plut. *Mor*. 348F–349A (a Spartan's criticism of Athenian expenditures on recreation, specifically the theater)
"If the total cost of each of the plays is reckoned up, it will be apparent that the demos has expended more on *Bacchae*, *Phoenissae*, *Oedipuses*, *Antigone*, and the sufferings of Medea and Electra than they spent waging war against the Persians over leadership and freedom."

4. Sch. Aristoph. *Ran*. 53 (on an allusion to *Andromeda*)
"Why didn't he mention instead one of the beautiful plays produced just a little earlier [sc. than *Frogs* in 405], *Hypsipyle*, *Phoenissae*, *Antiope*? The *Andromeda* was seven years earlier [sc. in 412]."

5. Sch. Aristoph. *Acharn*. 443 (incorrectly detecting an allusion in Dikaiopolis' insulting reference to the Acharnian choreuts whom he wants to bamboozle)
"Through these words too Aristophanes is disparaging Euripides, because he brings on choruses that either sing material that is not pertinent to the subject-matter of the plot (instead they narrate some mythical story or other, as in *Phoenissae*) or fail to passionately take the side of those who have been wronged (instead they oppose them in the midst of their troubles)."

6a. Aristotle *EN* 1167a32–34 (discussing *homonoia* and its absence)
"But whenever one person wants himself [sc. to rule exclusively], like the characters in *Phoenissae*, people engage in civil strife."

** 6b. Epictetus *Diss*. 4.5.29
"Nothing other than this is what caused Eteocles and Polyneices [to behave as they did]: the belief about tyranny, the belief about exile, namely that the latter is the worst of ills, and the former is the greatest of goods."

** 6c. Epictetus *Enchir*. 31.4 (cf. Simplicius, *comm. in Enchir*. p. 92)
"This is what made Polyneices and Eteocles enemies to each other: believing that tyranny is good."

** 6d(?). Paus. 10.5.3 (there are memorials of Oedipus' misfortunes all over Greece: Cithaeron, Corinth, Phocis . . .)
"And for the Thebans to an even greater degree there is notoriety from the marriages of Oedipus and the injustice of Eteocles."

7. Pollux 4.129
"The *distegia* is sometimes a second-story room [διῆρες δωμάτιον] in a royal palace, such as the one from which in *Phoenissae* Antigone views the army."

* 8. ps.-Apollodor. *Bibl.* 3.73–75
"Now this Teiresias, when the Thebans sought an oracle from him, told them they would be victorious if Menoeceus son of Creon offered himself as a sacrificial victim to Ares. After hearing this Menoeceus son of Creon slaughtered himself in front of the gates. When the battle occurred, the Cadmeans were chased together up to the walls, and Capaneus grabbed a ladder and climbed the walls using it, and Zeus struck him with a thunderbolt. (74) After this happened, there was a rout of the Argives. And since many were being destroyed, once both armies decided this was best, Eteocles and Polyneices fought in single combat for the kingship, and they killed each other. And when an intense battle again arose, the sons of Astacus put on the best display of valor. For Ismarus killed Hippomedon, Leades killed Eteoclus, and Amphidicus killed Pathenopaeus. (75) But according to Euripides, Periclymenus son of Poseidon killed Parthenopaeus. And Melanippus, the remaining son of Astacus, wounded Tydeus in the belly."

** 8a. Plut. *Pelopidas* 21.3 (on human sacrifice for victory in war, some cite old examples of Macaria daughter of Heracles and Menoeceus son of Creon)

** 8b. Epictetus *Diss.* 3.20.5–6 (Menoeceus benefitted in no small way from dying, by preserving his patriotism and nobility and avoiding cowardice and baseness)

** 8c. ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.73 (Teiresias prophesied to the Thebans on the need for sacrifice; Menoeceus heard it and sacrificed himself)

** 8d. Ammonius *de impropriis* 24 (grammatical observation noting difference between "Ajax or Menoeceus killed himself" and "Eteocles and Polyneices killed each other")

** 8e. Lucian *de saltat.* 43 (destruction of Menoeceus as one part of story of Seven against Thebes)

** 8 f. Paus. 9.25 (Menoeceus willingly sacrificed himself when Polyneices attacked Thebes)

** 8g. Philostratos *Imag.* 1.4 (ΜΕΝΟΙΚΕΥΣ) (in response to Teir.'s prophecy, Men. dies "without his father's knowledge" [λαθὼν τὸν πατέρα])

** 8h. Liban. *progymnasmata* 11.22
"What would Menoeceus say when he wants to sacrifice himself on behalf of the victory of his fatherland?" "1. The seer revealed the starting-point for decision

and proclaimed in what way it is necessary for the city to be saved or, on the contrary, go to ruin. My father is totally governed by natural feelings and wants his son to be kept alive, and he gives me the password for flight, condemning our country to destruction and enslavement. 2. But I could never become a betrayer of my own country, nor so cowardly and ignoble in the face of death that I fail to give to my fatherland victory and the ability to remain always in the same dignified stature in the future. 3. Death is common to all, and it is unavoidable that all men, once born, die, but what is characteristic of men with the right ideas is to accept one's death with one's dignity intact. Now then, if I should be persuaded by my father and take advantage of flight, the city will be captured, its walls will fall, there will be much slaughter of the men in their prime, the children and women will be enslaved, and the great name of Thebes will not have its glory in Greece. 4. My life would be deserving of reproach, if I should not choose to die for Greece. But if I should submit to the sacrifice and apply the blow to myself, then the camp of the enemy will fall, those who have attacked us will pay the penalty, and our city will be famed far and wide for its victory monuments, having its freedom in full measure, taking pride in its victory. Everyone will credit this result to me, and Menoeceus will be often mentioned in praise and encomia, having honors like those for a god. 5. One must not, then, behave like a coward. How many have fallen in the line of battle! How many have received the blow while waging war! I too myself must become one of these and win repute that is greater than theirs. For there is no encomium for them once they have died for their fatherland, but for me is reserved the whole sum of glory and I will have honors worthy of a god and remembrance in all minds for having died on behalf of my own country."

** 8i. ps.-Nonnus, *schol. mythologica* 4.9 ("having heard this oracle and wishing to free his city from the siege, Menoeceus gave himself for slaughter without his father Creon's consent" [δίχα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Κρέοντος])

** 8j. Sch. vet. Soph. *Ant.* 1303 (some identify Megareus with "the Menoeceus who sacrificed himself")

** 8k. Cf. pseudo-Justin Martyr, *quaestiones et responsiones* 491C; Greg. Naz. vol. 35, p. 592, 9 and *carm. moralia* col. 729, 5; Simplic. *comm. in Epict. Enchir.* 27, 23; Olympiod. *in Pl. Phaedonem* 1.8; Theodoretus, *graec. affect. cur.* 7.43; both Aeneas *Theophrastus* 68, 12 and Sch. Ael. Arist. 119, 5 write as if Creon willingly sacrificed his son for the city.

* 9(?). Joannes Malalas, *Chronographia* p. 53 (at the end of a version of the early history of Thebes and incidents ranging from Laius down to the Seven)

"All these incidents just recorded the learned Palaephatus set out in true form. For the learned Euripides set out in poetic manner a drama about Oedipus and Jocasta and the Sphinx. For Africanus the chronographer set out the history of the kings of Thebes."

This could refer to the content of the choral ode *Phoen.* 1019–1054 as well as the prologue, but the phrasing suggests a whole play on the subject, and so the sentence is generally accepted as a testimonium to Euripides' *Oedipus* (test. ii in Kannicht).

** 10(?). ps.-Apollodor. *Bibl.* 3.57
"Eteocles and Polyneices came to an agreement with each other about the kingship, and they determined that one of the two would rule for a year at a time. Now, some say that Polyneices ruled first and surrendered the kingship to Eteocles after a year, and some say that Eteocles ruled first and refused to surrender the kingship."

** 11. Accius, *Phoenissae* frr. I–XIII (TrRF pp. 244–247 Ribbeck)
Fr. I seems to overlap with our Fr. 42 (address to sun); other fragments could be conjectured to be spoken by Eteocles (VII), Polyneices (VIII), Teiresias (X), and one is apparently addressed to Oedipus (XII).

Dramatis personae attested in fragments: Jocasta, Antigone, Eteocles, Polyneices, Creon, Teiresias; suggested by testimonia: Menoeceus, (?) Oedipus (uncertain because we can't say how closely Accius' *Phoenissae* followed the details of Eur.'s play; the reference of Malalas, Test. 9, is more likely to be the tragedy *Oedipus*).

The chorus of Phoenician women can be inferred from title of the play.
Prologue-speaker: uncertain.

Date: after 412 (Test. 4). The plays performed in the same tetralogy can only be guessed at: scholars might have conjectured that *Oedipus* and *Antigone* could have formed a trilogy with *Phoenissae*, and some might have proposed that the three plays mentioned together in Test. 4 were all from the same year.

Plays of the same name are known for the early tragedian Phrynichus (similar in plot to Aeschylus' *Persians*: TrGF 3 F 8–12, with 3 T 5, 10d), and for the comic poets Strattis (fr. 46–53 = PCG VII.644–648) and Aristophanes (fr. 570–576 = PCG III:2.292–296); also tragedies of Accius and Seneca, and an Atellan farce by Novius. For other tragic treatments of the attack of the Seven against Thebes, see Aeschylus' *Septem* and TrGF adesp. 458, 665 (many think the latter is an exercise in imitation, not a real play).

FRAGMENTA

Prologue

Fr. 1 [= 18–20]
Origen *Cels.* 2.20; (18 only) Stob. 4.22d.92, *Et. Gen.* α 527; alii

μὴ σπεῖρε παίδων ἄλοκα δαιμόνων βίᾳ·
εἰ γὰρ τεκνώσεις παῖδ' ἀποκτενεῖ σ' ὁ φύς,
καὶ πᾶς σὸς οἶκος βήσεται δι' αἱμάτων.

Antigone views the army from a second-story room

Fr. 2 [= 90] *Et. Magnum* 274, 25

μεθῆκε μελάθρων ἐς διῆρες ἔσχατον

Polyneices and his mother

(a) *initial greetings*

Fr. 3 [= 344–348a] Plut. *de exilio* 606F; Sch. Ap. Rhod. 4.808–809; *Et. Magn.* 285, 28

ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε σοι πυρὸς ἀνῆψα φῶς
νόμιμον ἐν γάμοις,
ὡς πρέπει μητρὶ μακαρίᾳ.
ἀνυμέναια δ' Ἰσμηνὸς ἐκηδεύθη
λουτροφόρου χλιδᾶς

*Fr. 4 [= 357–360] Stob. 3.39.22

μῆτερ, φρονῶν εὖ κοὐ φρονῶν ἀφικόμην
ἐχθροὺς ἐς ἄνδρας· ἀλλ' ἀναγκαίως ἔχει
πατρίδος ἐρᾶν ἅπαντας· ὃς δ' ἄλλως λέγει,
λόγοισι χαίρει, τὸν δὲ νοῦν ἐκεῖσ' ἔχει.

Fr. 5 [= 273] Sch. Aristoph. *Aves* 348

κἀκεῖσε καὶ τὸ δεῦρο, μὴ δόλος τις ᾖ.

(b) *the ills of exile*

Fr. 6 [= 388–393] Stob. 3.40.9; Musonius, 391–392; Stob. 3.13.11, Stob. 3.39.17; Plut. *Mor.* 599E; cf. Cicero *ad Att.* 2.25.1 [393a]

⟨ΙΟ.⟩ τί τὸ στέρεσθαι πατρίδος; ἦ κακὸν μέγα;
⟨ΠΟ.⟩ μέγιστον· ἔργῳ δ' ἐστὶ μεῖζον ἢ λόγῳ.

⟨ΙΟ.⟩ τίς ὁ τρόπος αὐτοῦ; τί φυγάσιν τὸ δυστυχές;
⟨ΠΟ.⟩ ἓν μὲν μέγιστον· οὐκ ἔχει παρρησίαν.
⟨ΙΟ.⟩ δούλου τόδ' εἶπας, μὴ λέγειν ἅ τις φρονεῖ.
⟨ΠΟ.⟩ τὴν τῶν κρατούντων ἀμαθίαν φέρειν χρεών.

Fr. 7 [= 406–407] Stobaeus 3.39.3

⟨ΙΟ.⟩ ἡ πατρίς, ὡς ἔοικε, φίλτατον βροτοῖς·
⟨ΠΟ.⟩ οὐδ' ὀνομάσαι δύναιτ' ἂν ὡς ἔστιν φίλον.

*Fr. 8 [= 396–397, 402–405] Plut *de exilio* 606C–E

⟨ΙΟ.⟩ αἱ δ' ἐλπίδες βόσκουσι φυγάδας, ὡς λόγος.
⟨ΠΟ.⟩ καλοῖς βλέπουσαί γ' ὄμμασιν, μέλλουσι δέ.

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⟨ΙΟ.⟩ φίλοι δὲ πατρὸς καὶ ξένοι σ' οὐκ ὠφέλουν;
⟨ΠΟ.⟩ εὖ πρᾶσσε· τὰ φίλων δ' οὐδέν, ἥν τι δυστυχῇς.
⟨ΙΟ.⟩ οὐδ' ηὑγένειά σ' ἦρεν εἰς ὕψος μέγα;
⟨ΠΟ.⟩ κακὸν τὸ μὴ ἔχειν· τὸ γένος
{δὲ} οὐκ ἔβοσκέ με.

*Fr. 9 [= 430–432a] Plut. *de exilio* 606F

(ὡς αὐτὸς [sc. Polyneices] μετὰ μικρὸν ὁμολογεῖ)
πολλοὶ ⟨δὲ⟩ Δαναῶν καὶ Μυκηναίων ἄκροι
πάρεισι, λυπρὰν χάριν ἀναγκαίαν δ' ἐμοὶ
διδόντες.

Fr. 10 [= 438–440] Stobaeus 4.31a.2 (cf. Plut. *Mor*. 497B, with ἀνθρώποισιν εὑρίσκειν φίλους in second line)

πάλαι μὲν οὖν ὑμνηθέν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐρῶ·
τὰ χρήματ' ἀνθρώποισι τιμιώτατα,
δύναμίν τε πλείστην τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἔχει.

The formal agon

(a) *Polyneices*

Fr. 11 [= 469–472] Stobaeus 3.11.1, alii

ἁπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφυ,
κοὐ ποικίλων δεῖ τἄνδιχ' ἑρμηνευμάτων·
ἔχει γὰρ αὐτὰ καιρόν· ὁ δ' ἄδικος λόγος
νοσῶν ἐν αὑτῷ φαρμάκων δεῖται σοφῶν.

(b) *Eteocles*

Fr. 12 [= 503–506] Stobaeus 4.6.3; Plut. *Mor.* 481A

ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδέν, μῆτερ, ἀποκρύψας ἐρῶ,
ἄστρων ἂν ἔλθοιμ' αἰθέρος πρὸς ἀντολὰς
καὶ γῆς ἔνερθε δυνατὸς ὢν δρᾶσαι τάδε,
τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥστ' ἔχειν τυραννίδα.

Fr. 13 [= 524–525] Stobaeus 4.6.4 (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 18D, *Mor.* 125D–E); translated into Latin in Cicero, *de officiis* 3.82, who says that Julius Caesar loved to quote the Greek couplet

εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρή, τυραννίδος πέρι
κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν, τἄλλα δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεών.

Fr. 14 [= 515–517] Orion, *Antholog.* 1.8; cf. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 14, alii

χρὴ δ' αὐτὸν οὐχ ὅπλοισι τὰς διαλλαγὰς, [διαλογάς Orion]
μῆτερ, ποιεῖσθαι· πᾶν γὰρ ἐξαιρεῖ λόγος
ὃ καὶ σίδηρος πολεμίων δράσειεν ἄν.

(c) *Jocasta to her sons*

(i) to Eteocles

Fr. 15 [= 528–530] Stobaeus 4.50a.1; Sch. in Dionysii Thracis *Artem Grammaticam*, *GrammGr* I:3.166, 4–6 (identifying speaker); Sext. Emp. *adv. math.* 1.62

ὦ τέκνον, οὐχ ἅπαντα τῷ γήρᾳ κακά,
Ἐτεόκλεες, πρόσεστιν· ἀλλ' ἡμπειρία
ἔχει τι δεῖξαι τῶν νέων σοφώτερον.

*Fr. 16 [= 531–540] Dio Chrys. *Orat.* 17.8–9; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 481A, et al.

τί τῆς κακίστης δαιμόνων ἐφίεσαι
πλεονεξίας, παῖ; μὴ σύ γ'. ἄδικος ἡ θεός.
πολλοὺς δ' ἐς οἴκους καὶ πόλεις εὐδαίμονας
εἰσῆλθε ⟨κἀξῆλθ'⟩ ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν χρωμένων·
ἐφ' ᾗ σὺ μαίνει. τοῦτο κάλλιστον βροτοῖς,
ἰσότητα τιμᾶν καὶ φίλους εἶναι φίλοις
πόλεις τε πόλεσι συμμάχους τε συμμάχοις
συνδεῖν· τὸ γὰρ ἴσον νόμιμον ἀνθρώποις ἔφυ,
τῷ πλέονι δ' ἀεὶ πολέμιον καθίσταται
τοὔλασσον, ἐχθρᾶς θ' ἡμέρας κατάρχεται.

Fr. 17 [= 546–547] Theodoret. *Graec. affect. cur*. 4.40; Oenom. apud Euseb. *praep. evang*. 6.7.30; 546 Isidor. Pelus. *ep*. 4.58

εἶθ' ἥλιος μὲν νύξ τε δουλεύει βροτοῖς,
σὺ δ' οὐκ ἀνέξει δωμάτων ἔχειν ἴσον;

(iii) to Polyneices

*Fr. 18 [= 570] Oenom. apud Euseb. *praep. evang*. 6.7.29

ἀσύνετα δ' ἦλθες καὶ σὺ πορθήσων πάτραν

(iv) uncertain which brother addressed

Fr. 19 [= 555–557] Plut. *Mor*. 116A; cf. Stobaeus 4.31d.104, 4.31d.98

ὥς φησιν Εὐριπίδης, τὰ χρήματα οὐκ
ἴδια κέκτηνται βροτοί,

*****

τὰ τῶν θεῶν δ' ἔχοντες ἐπιμελούμεθα.
ὅταν δὲ χρῄζωσ', αὔτ' ἀφαιροῦνται πάλιν.

Fr. 20 [= 554] Stobaeus 4.32a.4; Clemens Alex. *strom*. 6.2.24.7

ἐπεὶ τά γ' ἀρκοῦνθ' ἱκανὰ τοῖς γε σώφροσι.

Fr. 21 [= 582] Priscian *Institut*. 1.11 & 2.12 (*GrLat* II.10, 14, II.52, 5)

ἀπωλόμεσθα. δύο κακὼ σπεύδεις, τεκνον

(v) to both

**Fr. 22 [= 460–461a] Athen. 4.51

κατὰ τὴν Στράττιδος τοῦ κωμῳδιοποιοῦ Ἰοκάστην, ἥτις ἐν ταῖς
ἐπιγραφομέναις Φοινίσσαις φησίν·
παραινέσαι δὲ σφῷν τι βούλομαι σοφόν·
ὅταν φακῆν ἕψητε, μὴ 'πιχεῖν μύρον.

After the agon-speeches: sharp exchanges of Et. and. Pol. in trochaic tetrameters

*Fr. 23 [cf. 637] Quintilian 5.10.31

nam et illud apud Euripiden frigidum sane, quod nomen Polynicis ut argumentum morum frater incessit.

Fr. 24 [= 598a] Apoll. Dysc. *de conjunct*. [*GrammGr* 2:1:1.230, 3]

⟨ET.⟩ κᾆτα σὺν πολλοῖσιν ἦλθες ⟨. . .⟩ ;

Fr. 25 [= 599] Stobaeus 4.13.19

⟨ΠΟ.⟩ ἀσφαλὴς γάρ ἐστ' ἀμείνων ἢ θρασὺς στρατηλάτης.

Fr. 26 [= 597] Stobaeus 4.31c.75

⟨ΠΟ.⟩? εἰσορῶ· δειλὸν δ' ὁ πλοῦτος καὶ φιλόψυχον κακόν.

Fr. 27 [= 600a] *Et. Magnum* 527, 49.

κόμπος εἶ.

**Fr. 28 [= 621–622] Epictetus 2.22.13

⟨ΠΟ.⟩ ποῦ ποτε στήσῃ πρὸ πύργων; ⟨ΕΤ.⟩ ὥς τί μ' † ἐρωτᾷς τῷδ' †;
⟨ΠΟ.⟩ ἀντιτάξομαι κτενῶν σε. ⟨ΕΤ.⟩ κἀμὲ τοῦδ' ἔρως ἔχει.

Teiresias and Creon (and Menoeceus)

Fr. 29 [= 854–855] Sch. Ael. Arist. 118, 10

κἀκεῖ γὰρ ἦν τις πόλεμος Εὐμόλπου δορός,
οὗ καλλινίκους Κεκροπίδας ἔθηκ' ἐγώ

*Fr. 30 [cf. 856–857] [Plato] *Alcib.* II 151b

ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ ὁ Κρέων Εὐριπίδῃ πεποίηται τὸν Τειρεσίαν ἰδὼν ἔχοντα τὰ στέφη καὶ ἀκούσας ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπαρχὰς αὐτὸν εἰληφέναι διὰ τὴν τέχνην

The battle narrative

*Fr. 31 [= 750] *Et. Magnum* 477, 15 Gaisford

ἴσους ἴσοισι πολεμίοισιν ἀντιθείς.

*Fr. 32 [= 1099] Sch. vet. Soph. *Ant.* 106

λεύκασπιν εἰσορῶμεν Ἀργείων στρατόν.

Fr. 33 [= 1135–1136] Scholia in Lucianum 1.8.

(Ἄδραστος)
ἑκατὸν ἐχίδναις ἀσπίδ' ἐκπληρῶν γραφῇ
Ὕδρας

*Fr. 34 [cf. 1156–1158] ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.75

ὡς δὲ Εὐριπίδης φησί, Παρθενοπαῖον ὁ Ποσειδῶνος παῖς Περικλύμενος ἀπέκτεινε

Fr. 35 [= 1172–1182a, omisso 1179] Schol. in Lycophronem 436 [cf. Scholia in Lycophronem 433 line 13]

Καπανεὺς δὲ πῶς εἴποιμ' ἂν ὡς ἐμαίνετο;
μακραύχενος γὰρ κλίμακος προσαμβάσεις
ἔχων ἐχώρει, καὶ τοσόνδ' ἐκόμπασεν,
μηδ' ἂν τὸ σεμνὸν πῦρ νιν εἰργαθεῖν Διὸς
τὸ μὴ οὐ κατ' ἄκρων περγάμων ἑλεῖν πόλιν.
καὶ ταῦθ' ἅμ' ἠγόρευε καὶ πετρούμενος
ἀνεῖρφ' ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἀσπίδ' εἱλίξας δέμας,
ἤδη δ' ὑπερβαίνοντα γεῖσα τειχέων
βάλλει κεραυνῶι Ζεύς νιν· ἐκτύπησε δὲ
χθών

Duel and death of sons of Oedipus

**Fr. 36 Aristoph. *Phoen*. fr. 570 K–A (Athenaeus 4.41)

ὅτι δὲ ἀρχαῖον ἦν τὸ περὶ τοὺς μονομάχους καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης εἴρηκεν ἐν Φοινίσσαις οὕτως·
ἐς Οἰδίπου δὲ παῖδε, διπτύχω κόρω,
Ἄρης κατέσκηψ', ἔς τε μονομάχου πάλης
ἀγῶνα νῦν ἑστᾶσιν.

Fr. 37 [= 1364a &1375] Diod. Sic. 10.9.8 (quoting an anonymous Pythagorean)

καὶ τοῦτο γνοίη ἄν τις ἐπιστήσας τοῖς ἐν ταῖς Εὐριπίδου Φοινίσσαις στίχοις, ἐν οἷς οἱ περὶ τὸν Πολυνείκην εὔχονται τοῖς θεοῖς, ὧν ἡ ἀρχὴ
βλέψας ἐς Ἄργος,
ἕως
εἰς στέρν' ἀδελφοῦ τῆσδ' ἀπ' ὠλένης βαλεῖν.
οὗτοι γὰρ δοκοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς εὔχεσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα ταῖς ἀληθείαις καταρῶνται.

**Fr. 38 [= 1447–1450, 1450A, 1451–1452] Teles apud Stob. 3.40.8

θάψον δέ μ' ὦ τεκοῦσα, καὶ σύ, σύγγονε,
ἐν γῇ πατρῴᾳ, καὶ πόλιν θυμουμένην
παρηγορεῖτον, ὡς τοσόνδε γοῦν τύχω
χθονὸς πατρῴας, κεἰ δόμους ἀπώλεσα.

*****

καὶ γῆς φίλης ὄχθοισι κρυφθῆναι καλόν.

*****

συνάρμοσον δέ μου βλέφαρα τῇ σῇ χερί,
μῆτερ.

*Fr. 39 [= 1453] Lucian *pro lapsu* 2 (Polyneices on the point of death)

> καὶ χαίρετ᾽, ἤδη γάρ με περιβάλλει σκότος.

Fragmenta incertae sedis

Fr. 40 Scholia in Aristoph. *Ran.* 1185

> ἀποκτενεῖν τὸν πατέρα: παρὰ τὰ Εὐριπίδου ἐν Φοινίσσαις εἰρημένα περὶ Οἰδίποδος καὶ Λαΐου·

Perhaps from the prologue narrative.

**Fr. 41 [= 68a] Plut. *vitae* 388A = *Pyrrhus* 9

> θηκτῷ σιδήρῳ δῶμα διαλαχεῖν ⟨⏑ -⟩

Perhaps from the prologue narrative. This line is quoted as tragic, but not specifically Euripidean, so it could be treated as an *adespoton*; but since it is a trimeter form of Oedipus' curse on his sons, the temptation to assign it to *Phoenissae* would be strong.

Fr. 42 [= 3] Stob. 1.25.6, alii

> Ἥλιε θοαῖς ἵπποισιν εἱλίσσων φλόγα,

An address to the sun might come from the prologue, but could also form the opening words of another entering character or introduce an invocation of the sun as witness to a statement.

*Fr. 43 [= 283, 285] Schol. *Odyss.* 12.181

> μέλλων δὲ πέμπειν μ᾽ Οἰδίπου κλεινὸς γόνος,
> ἐν τῷδ᾽ ἐπεστράτευσαν Ἀργεῖοι πόλιν

This fragment is easily assigned to the play because it mentions the son of Oedipus and the moment when the Argives brought an army against Thebes. One wonders whether anyone would have identified the "me" of these lines as the chorus; the lack of a destination makes the fragment even less helpful.

Fr. 44 [cf. 1062] Herod. *de prosod. cathol.* [*GrammGr* 3:1.232, 8], cf. idem *de prosod. Iliac.* [*GrammGr* 3:2.41, 32]; sch. Iliad. 3.354a

> λιθόβολον εἷμα κατειργάσω

Apparently from a lyric passage; "you accomplished a garment made by casting stones" seems highly artificial (and obscure of reference), so some might have declared the fragment corrupt. But if taken at face value, the

line would imply stoning (cf. *Il.* 3.57 λάϊνον ἕσσο χιτῶνα) of someone either within the play or in a mythical story narrated within the play.

Fr. 45 [= 1025] Herod. περὶ παθῶν [*GrammGr* 3:2.362, 7 ff., cf. 3:2.688, 42]

> χαλαῖσί τ' ὠμοσίτοις

Clearly from lyric; someone might have conjectured that the words refer to the Sphinx.

Fr. 46 [= 1015–1018] Stobaeus 4.1.1

> εἰ γὰρ λαβὼν ἕκαστος ὅ τι δύναιτό τις
> χρηστὸν διέλθοι τοῦτο κεἰς κοινὸν φέροι
> πατρίδι, κακῶν ⟨ἂν⟩ αἱ πόλεις ἐλασσόνων
> πειρώμεναι τὸ λοιπὸν εὐτυχοῖεν ἄν.

Gnomic; unclear whether from the *agôn* or another scene, where, for instance, it could have been spoken by Creon or Teiresias. It is unlikely that anyone would have challenged Euripidean authorship, though we now know that most recent editors bracket these lines at the end of Menoeceus' speech.

Fr. 47 [= 198–201] Stobaeus 4.22g.198

> φιλόψογον δὲ χρῆμα θηλειῶν ἔφυ.
> σμικρὰς δ' ἀφορμὰς ἢν λάβωσι τῶν λόγων,
> πλείους ἐπεισφέρουσιν· ἡδονὴ δέ τις
> γυναιξὶ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς ἀλλήλας λέγειν.

Gnomic: it would have been mysterious how these fit into the play, although it would not have been impossible to guess the lines have something to do with Antigone's appearance in the play, since she is an unmarried girl, and Euripides regularly makes explicit the transgression of public appearance of such girls.

Fr. 48 [= 1320–1321] Stobaeus 4.57.9

> τοῖς γὰρ τεθνεῶσι χρὴ τὸν οὐ τεθνηκότα
> τιμὰς διδόντα χθόνιον εὐσεβεῖν θεόν.

Gnomic: from the content we might have guessed at a burial debate after Polyneices' death, and it is improbable that anyone would have guessed that this is Creon speaking of the funeral rites of Menoeceus.

Fr. 49 [= 821b] *Et. Magnum* 626, 38

> ὄνειδος
> λαμβάνεται καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κλέους, ὡς Εὐριπίδης ἐν Φοινίσσαις. Ἔστι δὲ τῶν μέσων λέξεων, ὡς τύχη, καὶ ζῆλος, καὶ δόλος.

Fr. 50 [= 1408b] Schol. Eur. *Or.* 1082

> ὁμιλίᾳ χθονός

Fr. 51 [= 1209] Sch. Eur. *Or.* 1633

> ἔα τὸ λοιπόν· δεῦρ' ἀεὶ γὰρ εὐτυχεῖς

Fr. 52 [= 28b] Sch. *Il.* 22.221

> ἱπποβουκόλοι

Fr. 53 [= 86b–87] Sch. Dion. Thrac. *GrammGr* I:3.289, 20–21

> ⟨×⟩ εἰ σοφὸς πέφυκας, οὐκ ἐᾶν βροτῶν
> τὸν αὐτὸν ἀεὶ δυστυχῆ καθεστάναι·

This is readily identified as an address to a god (probably Zeus, but δαίμων is another possibility) akin to nouthetetic prayers. We cannot be sure where in the play it comes, but one might conjecture that Jocasta is the most likely speaker.

Fragmenta dubia

*Frag. Dub. 1 [= 24b] Sch. Ap. Rhod. 1.1265–1272b

> καὶ Κιθαίρωνος λέπας

If from *Phoen.*, this could be from the prologue or some other reference to Oedipus' life, even in a lyric passage.

**Frag. Dub. 2 [cf. 130] *Et. gen.* s.v. ἡμέριοι

> ἡμέριοι· οἱ ἄνθρωποι· ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς ἡμέραν ζῆν· ἐν ὑπομνήματι Φοινισσῶν

This might be taken to imply that the word was in the text of *Phoen.* itself, but the inference is uncertain, and with the full play before us we see that ἁμερίων is an inferior reading at line 130.

**Fr. Dub. 3 [= 1688] Plut. *Mor.* 72C

> ὁ δ' Οἰδίπους ποῦ καὶ τὰ κλείν' αἰνίγματα;

This is quoted just before Eur. *Her.* 1250, so could reasonably be guessed to be Euripidean, and then his *Phoen.*, *Oedipus*, and *Antigone*(?) would be the logical possibilities.

Second Edition (showing how the "lost" play would appear to scholars of today)

Sigla used for papyri: Π^{1} through Π^{22} as listed in Mastronarde CCTC 1994 or Diggle OCT 1994; add Π^{23} (= P. Oxy. 67.4566) and Π^{24} (P. Tebt. Suppl. 1245, *ZPE* 160 (2007) 29–31, with a few letters of lines 261–267; but this could not be recognized as from *Phoenissae*); testimonial papyri Π^{aa} through Π^{k} as listed in Mastronarde CCTC 1994; add Π^{m} (Luppe *Archiv* 1997: 96); note that the siglum Π^{a} in Diggle OCT 1994 is our Π^{g}, while Diggle's Π^{b} is Π^{h}. Note also I have not attempted to show all details of the papyri as in a complete critical edition, but am rather presenting the most interpretable portions in a simplified form. For the readings of the papyri, in addition to the original publications, see J.M. Bremer in *Mnemosyne* 36 (1983) 293–305 and J.M. Bremer and K.A. Worp in *Mnemosyne* 39 (1986) 240–260.

TESTIMONIA

Test. 1–11 as in first edition above.

Several testimonial papyri (Π^{c}, Π^{d}, Π^{i}, Π^{j}, Π^{k}, Π^{m}) all overlap with passages given in other sources, so do not add to our knowledge (except as to the widespread knowledge of certain lines); but Π^{c} is important because it allows us to see that our previous Frr. 15 and 16 are continuous. Π^{aa}, Π^{b}, Π^{e}, and Π^{f} would not have been recognized as reflecting *Phoenissae*. Three others are of some significance:

1a. fragments of the epitome

Π^{g} is the more substantial and certain fragment:

Φ[ο]ίνισσαι ὧν ἀρχή{ι}
ἥ[λ]ιε [θοα]ῖ[ς ἵπποισι]ν εἱλίσσ[ων] φ[λόγ]α·
[ἡ δὲ ὑπόθ]εσις[·
]τὴν[ ]βαις βα
]ν[ ]ν απε[
]εινος εἰσ
]γημ[
]λ[

desunt aliquot lineae

]ι[..]δ[ ]το[
]λεως[[μεν[

]αγιον[ ]μ[
]ανισκ[
]αξε[
]των αρ[
[ ]
τεσα[
αυτ[..]ιοκ[
παῖδας ἑαυτ[ ]σε[π]εσφ[αξ]εν[]ο[
ταύτης ἀδελ[φὸς] Κρέων παρελ[
τὴν βασιλείαν[· ο]ἱ δὲ Ἀ⟨ρ⟩γεῖοι τῆι μάχη[ι τ]ρ[ε]
φθέντες ἀπε[χώρ]ησα[αν·] Κ[ρ]έων δὲ παρρη-
σιαστικώτερο[ν] τῆι τύ[χη]ι χρώμενος
τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν Καδμείαν τῶν πολεμίων
πεσ[ό]ντ[α]ς εἰς τ[α]φὴν οὐκ [ἔ]δωκεν· Πολυ-
νείκην δ' ἀκήδευτον ἔρ⟨ρ⟩{ε}ι[ψε]ν· Οἰδίποδ[α]
δὲ φυγάδα τῆς π[όλεως] ἀπέστειλε[ν]·
ἐφ' ὧ[ν ο]ὐ φυλάξ[ας τὸ]ν ἀνθρώπων νό-
[μο]ν·]ν οὐ λοιπογραφή-
σας[ ]παρα[ ]ν[δυστυ]χεῖς
ἐλεήσας

Π[h]
Ἐ]τεοκλῆς π[ca. 6]ων τὴν ἐν θ[ήβαις
τ].ν ἀδελφ[ὸν Πολυ]νεικην απε[
.]αιου φυγα[ca. 6–7]ς παραγε[ν
...]ς ἔγημεν[ca. 6–7]ρατ[..]βα..[
...]ουκ[.]τε[
...]ενο[.]κ[
]ονιδων συ[
]των ἐπεισε[
]παραγενέσθα[ι
τ]ῆς τυραννίδ[ος
τέ]κνα συναγαγ[
πα]ραταξομεν[
]υς ἐκ τῆς[

1b. Favorinus, *de exilio* = Π[a]

Favorinus for the most part simply confirms what we knew before (Frr. 7, 8, 15–16), mainly from Plutarch's *de exilio*. But this papyrus gives one new trimeter (Fr. 5a); allows us to fill out line 40 in the expanded Fr. 1 since Favorinus' traces overlap with an unascribed line quoted in Diogenes Laertius and Stobaeus; and gives us more of lines 367–370 in Fr. 6.

NEW EVIDENCE FROM WORKS OF ART

A. Six Homeric bowls (2nd cent. BCE, probably made in Macedonia), catalogued as MB 45–50 in Sinn 1979, with illustrations on his Tafeln 18–20.

These do not in fact have the words Euripides or *Phoenissae* on them, but the labelled characters correspond to those we know to have appeared in the play and fit so well with what can be reconstructed that it is legitimate to include them as new testimonia. Moreover, the illustration on one seems closely related to the Roman lamp (B), which does have PHOENISSA inscribed.

The scenes attested are:

1. [MB 45a Sinn] Creon supplicating Teiresias, with Manto beside the seer (all three characters labelled), evidently from the scene in which Teiresias demanded the sacrifice of Creon's son. We already knew that Creon resisted the demand, but not that he supplicated Teiresias. Menoeceus is not shown in this illustration.
2. [MB 45b, 47 Sinn] Polyneices and Eteocles in single combat, with personified Thebe next to Eteocles (all three labelled).
3. [MB 45c, 46 Sinn] A messenger starting to move away, with Jocasta turning back to Antigone, who is emerging from the door (all three labelled). This scene suggests how Jocasta went to the battlefield for her suicide and how Antigone was brought back onto the scene so that she can later mourn the corpses.
4. [MB 45d Sinn] Antigone supplicating Creon (both labelled). Together with Π^{g}, this suggests a little of the ending of the play.
5. [MB 48a, 48b, 49 Sinn] Eteocles dead, Polyneices dying, Antigone mourning, and Jocasta stabbing herself (all labelled) with personifications of the father's Curses or Erinyes (only ΠΑΤΡΩΙΑΙ survives of the label, above the one remaining demon-figure; it is postulated that two similar figures have been lost). Four additional figures of soldiers, in pairs, represent the two armies, with the two Thebans racing toward Jocasta as if to stop her suicide (so correctly Robert, whereas Sinn describes them as putting the Argives to flight), and the whole is framed by labelled personifications of Thebes and Argos.
6. [MB 50 Sinn] Blind Oedipus reaching for something; from the inscription, one can assume that the bodies of his sons and Jocasta were depicted, and one might guess that Antigone was present too to be the recipient of Oedipus' request. We cannot say whether Creon was

illustrated. Inscription: [ΟΙΔΙ]ΠΟΥΣ ΚΕΛΕΥΕΙ Α[Γ]Ε[ΙΝ ΠΡΟΣ] / [ΤΟ] ΠΤΩΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΜΗΤ[ΡΟΣ ΤΕ] / [ΚΑΙ] ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΥΙΩΝ.

B. Roman clay lamp (1st half of 1st century CE) with inscribed PHOENISSA (sic) and POLYN (*LIMC* s.v. Eteokles 43)

This shows in a circular relief the brothers on either side in different stages of collapse and Jocasta between them stabbing herself. PHOENISSA could be a mistake for PHOENISSAE, or it could be taken to be the name of the woman, if the artist who inscribed it copied a traditional picture but no longer knew this was Jocasta. But in either case, the illustration must at an earlier point have claimed to reflect *Phoenissae*.

C. Other Etruscan and Roman art-works (*LIMC* s.vv. Antigone 5, Eteokles 20–28, Iokaste 8)

These are of less certain relevance to reconstructing the play. The duel and mutual fratricide of the brothers is depicted on a number of Etruscan burial urns, sometimes with one or two women present or trying to intervene, occasionally with Oedipus present too or the suicide of Jocasta. A remarkable terracotta pediment group (*LIMC* s.v. Eteokles 26) from a temple in the Etruscan site of Telamon/Talamone (2nd cent. BCE) shows both brothers slumping in death, with the one on the left supported by a woman (perhaps Jocasta), and between them a kneeling Oedipus with arms upraised, mourning. A Roman sarcophagus (*LIMC* s.v. Antigone 5) depicts Jocasta, Antigone, and Oedipus present as the two brothers start to attack each other. Seneca's placement of Antigone, Oedipus, and Jocasta all on the battlefield before the duel seems to be related to the form of the story popular in Etruria and Rome; the idea of the family's intervention looks, to us who have *Phoenissae* in full, as if it is post-Euripidean, but some scholars have suggested that such an incident already goes back to an archaic *Thebaid*.

FRAGMENTA

Prologue

Fr. 1 [expanded, =3–40, from Π^{16} with Π^{11}, Π^{17}, and 18–20 from testimonia, 21 from ΣArist. Ach. 263b, 32 from ΣTheoc. 6.2–3d, 34–35 from Strabo 16.38; also incorporates Fr. 52 [ἱπποβουκόλοι] and Fr. dub.1 [=

24b]; and Π[a] gives a full text of 40, which was known without ascription from Diog. Laert. 6.55 and Stob 3.17.15; line 3 also in Π[d]]

ΙΟΚ. Ἥλιε, θοαῖς ἵπποισιν εἱλίσσων φλόγα,
ὡς δυστυχῆ Θήβαισι τῆι τόθ' ἡμέραι
ἀ[κτ]ῖν[' ἐφ]ῆκας, Κάδμος ἡνίκ' ἦλθε γῆν
τήνδ', ἐκλιπὼν Φοίνισσαν ἐναλίαν χθόνα·
ὃς] παῖδα γήμας Κύπριδος Ἁρμονίαν ποτὲ
Πολύδωρον ἐκξ ... υ .. τοῦ δὲ Λάβδακ[ον
φῦναι λέγουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦδε Λάιον.
ἐγὼ δὲ παῖς μὲν κλή⟨ι⟩ζομαι Μενοικέως,
Κρέων τ' ἀ[δε]λφὸς .... [ ]υ
καλοῦσι δ' Ἰοκάστην με· τοῦτο γὰρ πατὴρ {ε}
ἔθετο. γαμεῖ δὲ Λάιός μ'· ἐπεὶ δ' ἄπαις
ἦν χρόνια λέκτρα τἄμ' ἔχων ἐν δώμασιν,
ἐλθὼν ἐρωτᾶι Φοῖβον ἐξαιτεῖ θ' ἅμα
παίδων ἐς οἴκους ἀρσένων κοινωνίαν.
ὁ δ' εἶπεν· Ὦ Θήβαισιν εὐίπποις [ἄναξ,
μὴ σπεῖρε παίδων ἄλοκα δαιμόνων βίαι·
εἰ γὰρ τεκνώσεις παῖδ', ἀποκτενεῖ σ' ὁ φύς,
καὶ πᾶς σὸς οἶκος βήσεται δι' αἵματος.
ὁ δ' ἡδονῆι δοὺς ἔς τε βακχεῖον πεσὼν
ἔπειρεν ἡμῖν παῖδα, καὶ σπ[εί]ρας βρέφος
γνοὺς τἀμπλάκημα το[ῦ θε]οῦ τε τὴν φάτιν,
λειμῶν' ἐς Ἥρας καὶ Κιθαιρῶνος λέπας
δίδωσι βουκόλ[οισιν ἐκθ]εῖναι βρέφος
σφυρῶν σι[δηρᾶ κ]έν[τρ]α διαπείρας μέσων·
ὅθεν νιν Ἑλλὰς ὠνόμαξεν Οἰδίπουν.
Πολύβου δέ νιν λαβόντες ἱπποβουκόλοι
φέρουσ' ἐς οἴκους εἴς τε δεσποίνης χέρας
ἔθηκαν. ἡ δὲ τὸν ἐμὸν ὠδίνων πόνον
μαστοῖς ὑφεῖτο κα⟨ὶ⟩ πόσιν πείθει τεκεῖν.
ἤδη δὲ πυρσαῖς γένυσιν ἐξανδρούμενος
παῖς οὑμὸς ἢ γνοὺς ἤ τινος μαθὼν πάρα
ἔστειχε τοὺς φύσαντας ἐκμαθεῖν θέλων
πρὸς δῶμα Φοίβου, Λάιός θ' οὑμὸς πόσις
τὸν ἐκτεθέντα [παῖδα μαστεύω]ν ι[2–3]ν
εἰ μηκέτ' εἴη, καὶ ξυνάπτετον πόδα
ἐς ταὐτὸν ἄμφω Φωκίδο[ς σχιστῆς ὁδοῦ.
καί νιν κελεύει Λ[αΐ]ου τρο[χηλάτης·
Ὦ ξένε, τυράννοις ἐκποδὼν μεθίστασο.

With this fragment so restored, it becomes obvious that Accius *Phoen.* fr. I reflects this opening pretty closely:

Sol, qui micantem candido curru atque equis
flammam citatis fervido ardore explicas,

quianam tam adverso augurio et inimico omine
Thebis radiatum lumen ostentum tuum?

entryFr. 1a [new = 46–69, from Π^{16}, Π^{19}, Π^{17}]

Σφὶγξ ἄρ[
Κρέων δ’ ἀ[
ὅστις σο[φ
τούτωι ξ[
μούσας ἐ[μὸς π]αῖς Οἰ[δίπους × - ᴗ -
ὅθεν τύ[ραννος τ]ῆσδ[ε γῆς καθί]στατα[ι
× - ᴗ -]θλα τῆσ[δε -]άνει χθονός, [verse omitted in Π^{17}]
γαμεῖ δὲ [-]εκοῦσ[ᴗ - ×]ὼς τάλας
οὐδ’ ἡ τεκ[οῦσα - ᴗ - × -]μένη.
τίκτ[ω ᴗ - × - ᴗ] δύο μὲν ἄρσενας,
Ἐτεο[κλέα × - ᴗ] Πολυνείκου / [ᴗ -,
κόρας [ᴗ - ×]ς· τὴν μὲν Ἱσμήνη[ᴗ -
ὠνόμ[ασε, - × -]εν Ἀντιγόνην ἐγώ.
μαθ[- ᴗ - × - ᴗ] μητρώιων γάμω[ν
ὁ πά⟨ν⟩τ[ᴗ - × Οἰδίπο]υς παθήματα
ἐς ὄμ[μα - × - ᴗ]ν [ἐ]μβάλλει φόνον
× - ᴗ - × - ᴗ]ν [αἱ]μάξας κόρας.
× - ᴗ - × -] ἐ[μ]ῶν σκιάζεται,
× - ᴗ - × - ᴗ -]ήμων τ[ᴗ -
× - ᴗ - × - ᴗ - × -]μάτω[ν.
× - ᴗ - × - ᴗ]ῆς τύχ[- ᴗ -
[ ]
× - ᴗ - × - ᴗ - × - ᴗ]δε.
× - ᴗ - × - ᴗ - × -]όρ[ο]υς

Antigone views the army from a second-story room

Fr. 2 [= 90] unchanged from first edition

Fr. 2a [= 106–118 and 128–140 from Π^{3}]

⟨Θε.⟩ ἰδού, ξύναψον, παρθέν’{ον}· ἐς καιρὸν †δεμε·
κινούμενος γὰρ τυγχάνει Πελασγικὸν
στράτευμα· χωρίζουσιν ἀλλήλων λόχο⟨υ⟩ς.
⟨Αν.⟩ [.]πότνια παῖ Λατοῦς Ἑκάτα, κατάχαλκον
2–3]ν ὅπλοις πεδίον ἀστράπτ{α}⟨ε⟩ι.
⟨Θε.⟩ οὐ γάρ τι [ca. 5]ς ἦλθε Πολυνείκη[ς χθ]όνα,
πολλοῖς [ca. 6–7]ις, μυρίοις ὅπλ[ca. 7–8]ν.
⟨Αν.⟩ ἆρα πύλαι
[ca. 11]κότ ... ἔμβ[2–3]λαϊνοις ἀμφ[
[ca. 14]ιχεος ωρμαστ[αι
[ca. 16]πόλιν αλ[

⟨Αν.⟩ [ ]
γεγονότα γηγενέθλαν προσόμοιος ἀστερω-
πὸς ἐν γραφαῖσιν, οὐχὶ πρόσπολος ἁμερίωι
γέννα⟨ι⟩.
⟨Θε.⟩ τὸν δ' ἐ{υ}ξαμείβον⟨τ'⟩ οὐχ ὁρᾶ⟨ι⟩ς Δίρκης ὕδωρ;
⟨Αν.⟩? λοχαγός ἄλλος ἄλλος .τε τευχ[
τρόπου
τίς οὗτός ἐστι; ⟨Θε.⟩ παῖς μὲν Οἰ{κ}⟨ν⟩[εως] ἔφυ
Τυδεύς, Ἄρης δ' Αἰτωλὸς ἐν [× -] ἔχει.
⟨Αν.⟩ οὗτος ὁ τᾶς Πολυνείκ[
αὐτοκασιγνήτα⟨ι⟩ νύμφας ὁ[
ὡς ἀλλλ..χλοισμυχο. [
ca. 5]φ[2]οι γὰρ παισίν[
ca. 15]ες[

Polyneices and his mother

(a) *initial greetings*

Fr. 3 [expanded = 280–298, 307–310, 337–351 from Π[13] fr. 1, col. i–ii and Π[8], with 344–348a from Plut. *de exilio* 606F; Sch. Ap. Rhod. 4.808–809; *Et. Magn.* 285, 28, and subsumes Fr. 43 = 283 + 285]

⟨Χο.⟩ θ]ρ[έ]ψασά με,
]δων δορὸς
]νθάδ' ἀκροθίνιον.
μέλλων δὲ πέμπειν μ' Οἰδίπου κλεινὸς γόνος
]ίο. τ' ἐπ' ἐσχά[ρ]α[ς,
ἐν τῶιδ' ἐπεστράτευσαν Ἀργεῖοι πόλιν.
]στις ὢν ἐλ[ή]λ[υθ]ας
πύ]ργωμα Θηβαία[ς] χθονός.
⟨Πολ.⟩]Οἰδίπους ὁ Λαΐου,
]παῖς Μενοικέως·
Πολυνείκ]ην με Θηβαῖος λεώς.
⟨Χο.⟩]ρας προσπίπτω σ', ἄναξ,
]ν σέβουσα ·
πα]τρώ⟨ι⟩αν.
]λε πρόδρομος,
μᾶτερ;

quot versus desint incertum

]έρος, 306b
]τ' ὄρεγμα βοστρύ[χ
χ]ρωτα χαίταις πλοκ[
]δέραν ἐμάν.

quot versus desint incertum

σὲ δ', ὦ τ[έκνον,] καὶ γάμοις ἤδη κλύω (v.l. γάμ]οισιν δὴ)
ζυγέντ[α] παιδοποιὸν ἁδονὰν
ξένοισιν ἐν δόμοις ἔχειν, (]εινεχειν v.l.)
ξένον δὲ κ[ῆδος] ἀμφέπειν,
ἄλασ[τ]α μα[τρὶ ..]δε Λαΐωι τε
τῶ⟨ι⟩ πάλαιγεν[εῖ,
γάμων ε[ca. 6] ἄταν.
ἐγὼ δ' οὔτε σοι πυρὸς ἀνῆψα φῶς
νόμιμον ἐν γάμοις
ὡς πρέπει ματρὶ μακαρίαι·
ἀνυμέναια δ' Ἰσμηνὸς ἐκηδεύθη
λουτροφόρου χλιδᾶς,
ἀνὰ δὲ Θηβα[ί]αν πόλιν †ἐσίγαος
σ]ᾶς ἔσοδοι νύμφας.
ὄλοι]το τάδ' εἴτε σίδα[ρ]ος
ca. 7 εἴτ]ε πατ[ὴρ] ὁ [3] αι[

*Fr. 4 [= 357–360] unchanged from first edition

Fr. 5 [= 273] unchanged from first edition

Fr. 5a [new =363], from Π[a]

ὥστε ξιφήρη χεῖρα ἔχειν δι' ἄστεως

(b) *the ills of exile*

Fr. 6 [expanded = 364–377, 379–392 from Π[13] fr. 2–3, also 367–370 in scraps in Π[a], with 388–393 from Stob. 3.40.9; Musonius, 391–392; Stob. 3.13.11, Stob. 3.39.17; Plut. *Mor.* 599E; cf. Cicero *ad Att.* 2.25.1 [393a]; all of 393 in Π[i]; 368 in whole from unascribed quotation in Plut. *Mor.* 526F]

ca. 6]πρόσ[
ca. 5]αί [τ]ε κα[
ca. 4]η πατρῶι[
ca. 4]ιος [ἰ]δὼν [..] λα[ ]θεῶ[ν
γυμνάσιά θ' οἷσιν ἐνετράφην Δίρκης θ' ὕδωρ·
ο]ὐ δικα[ί]ω[ς ἀπ]ελαθεὶς ξένην π[όλιν
...]ων δι' ὄσ[σ]ω[ν ὄ]μμ' ἔχων δακρύρ[ροον.
...] ἐκ γὰρ ἄλγ[ους] ἄλγος αὖ, σὲ δ[
....] ξυρῆκε[ς καὶ] πέπλους μ[ελα- cf. Alc. 427
....]σαν· οἴμο[ι τῶν] ἐμῶν ἐγὼ [κακῶν,
ὡς δ]εινὸν ἔχ[θρα], μῆτερ, οἰκ[είων φίλων.
... δ]υσλ[ύ]τ[ο]υς [ἔχο]υσι τὰς διαλ[λαγάς.
πρ]έσβυς ἐ[
]ι [

quot versus desint incertum

Οἰ]δίπ[
]αμε[
]γ[ca. 6–7]ερα[3]φ[
]υτα[ca. 5]ρειν τὰ τῶ[ν
ca. 7]ρωμαιμ[..]ι σὴν δάκω [
ca. 6]ᾶ χρή⟨ι⟩ζω· διὰ πόθου δ' ἐλή[λυθα.
⟨Πο.⟩ [ca. 8]ω, μηδὲν ἐνδεὲς λίπ[
ca. 5 βο]ύλει, ταὔτ' ἐμοί, μῆ[τερ, ⏑ - 387 om.
⟨ΙΟ.⟩ τί τὸ στέρεσθαι πατρίδος; ἦ κακὸν μέγα;
⟨ΠΟ.⟩ μέγιστον· ἔργῳ δ' ἐστὶ μεῖζον ἢ λόγῳ. (v.l. μᾶλλον)
⟨ΙΟ.⟩ τίς ὁ τρόπος αὐτοῦ; τί φυγάσιν τὸ δυστυχές;
⟨ΠΟ.⟩ ἓν μὲν μέγιστον· οὐκ ἔχει παρρησίαν.
⟨ΙΟ.⟩ δούλου τόδ' εἶπας, μὴ λέγειν ἅ τις φρονεῖ.
⟨ΠΟ.⟩ τὰς τῶν κρατούντων ἀμαθίας φέρειν χρεών. 393

Fr. 7 [= 406–407] unchanged from first edition (but 406 also in Π[a])

*Fr. 8 [396–397, 402–405] unchanged from first edition (but 403 also in Π[a])

*Fr. 9 [= 430–431] unchanged from first edition

Fr. 10 [= 438–440] unchanged from first edition

The formal agon

(a) *Polyneices (see now also Fr. 12)*

Fr. 11 [= 469–472] unchanged from first edition (but 469 also in Π[m])

(b) *(i) end of Pol.'s speech and beginning of Eteocles'*

Fr. 12 [expanded = 493–512 from Π[12] with 503–506 from Stobaeus 4.6.3; Plut. *Mor.* 481A, and now also 499–500 from Galen VIII 636 Kühn, with ascription also given by Π[k]]

ἀποστεροῦ[
καὶ ταῦθ' ἐκ[
λόγων ἀθροί[
καὶ τοῖσι φα[ύλοις
Χο. ἐμοὶ †εἰ μὴ[
τεθράμμ[εθ
⟨Ετ.⟩ εἰ πᾶσι ταὐτὸν καλὸν ἔφυ σοφόν θ' ἅμα,
οὐκ ἦν ἂν ἀμφίλεκτος ἀνθρώποις ἔρις·
νῦν [
π[

ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδέν, μῆτερ, ἀποκρύψας ἐρῶ·
ἄστρων ἂν ἔλθοιμ' ἡλίου πρὸς ἀντολὰς (v.l. αἰθέρος)
καὶ γῆς ἔνερθε, δυνατὸς ὢν δρᾶσαι τάδε,
τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥστ' ἔχειν Τυραννίδα.
τοῦτ' οὖν τ[ὸ
ἄλλω⟨ι⟩ παρε[
ἀνανδρία γ[άρ
τοὔλασσον ε[
ἐλθόντα συ[
τυχ[

(b) *(ii) elsewhere in Eteocles' speech*

Fr. 13 [= 524–525] unchanged from first edition

Fr. 14 [= 515–517] unchanged from first edition (but the passage is also in Π^{k})

(c) *Jocasta to her sons*

(i) to Eteocles

Fr. 15–16 [= 528–540, text unchanged, but Π^{c} now proves the lines continuous; add Π^{12} as source of ends of 533–534; 531–536 in Π^{a}, and 536 in Π^{j} for second part; 529–530 also known from an inscription *BCH* 49 (1925) 88 no. 15

Fr. 16a [new = 543–548 ends only, from Π^{12}, overlap with Fr. 17 not detectable]

]τε φῶς
]
]κώμενον.
]ς,
]
]κη;

Fr. 17 [= 546–547] unchanged from first edition

(iii) end of address to Eteocles, beginning of address to Polyneices

Fr. 18–20 [expanded =552–575 from Π^{15}, 565–569 from Π^{12} and previous Fr. 18 = 570, Fr. 19 = 555–557, Fr. 20 [= 554]

.]πολλὰ μοχ[θ
βούλει; τί δ[
ἐπεὶ τά γ' ἀρκοῦνθ' ἱκανὰ τοῖς γε σώφροσι.
οὔτοι τὰ χρήματ' ἴδια κέκτηνται βροτοί,
τὰ τῶν θεῶν δ' ἔχοντες ἐπιμελούμεθα·

ὅταν δὲ χρήιζωσ' αὔτ' ἀφαιροῦνται πάλιν·
ὁ δ' ὄλβος οὐ βέβα[ιος
ἄγ', ἥν σ' ἔρωμ[αι
π[ό]τ[ε]ρα τυραν[νεῖν
ἐρεῖς τυραννεῖν; η[
Ἀ]ργεῖά τ' ἔγχη δό[ρυ
ὄ]ψη⟨ι⟩ δαμασθὲν ἄσ[τυ
ὄ]ψη⟨ι⟩ δὲ πολλὰς αἰχμα[λωτ
β]ία⟨ι⟩ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν πολεμίων[
δ]απανηρὸς α[π]λοῦρος ὃν ζ[ητ
γ]ενήσεται Θή[βαισ]ι· φιλότιμ[
σο]ὶ μὲν τάδε [αὐδ]ῶ· σὺ δέ, Πο[λύνεικες ⏑ -
ἀ]μαθεῖς Ἄδρα[στο]ς χά[ρ]ιτ[ας
ἀσύνετα δ' ἦλθες καὶ σὺ πορθήσων πόλιν.
φέ]ρ', ἂν ἕλη⟨ι⟩ς δ[
πρ]ὸς θεῶν, τρο[
πῶ]ς δαὶ κατάρ[ξ
κα]ὶ σκῦλα γράψ[εις
Θή]βας πυρώσα[ς

(iv) uncertain which brother addressed

Fr. 21 [= 582] unchanged from first edition

(v) to both

**Fr. 22 [= 460–461a] unchanged from first edition

After the agon-speeches: sharp exchanges of Et. and. Pol. in trochaic tetrameters

*Fr. 23 [cf. 637] unchanged from first edition

Fr. 24 [= 598] unchanged from first edition

Fr. 25 [= 599] unchanged from first edition

Fr. 26 [expanded 591–597 plus 601–604, 615–618 from Π^{12}, with previous Fr. 26 = 597 from Stobaeus 4.31c.75]

ο]ὖντα[
]αγεῖσα νο[
κ]ομίζ[ο]υ τειχέω[ν
]δ' ἄτρωτος ὅστις εἰς[
β]αλὼν †ταὐτὸν οὐκ ἀπ[
]ω βέβηκεν· εἰς χέρας [
⟨Πο.⟩ εἰσορῶ· δειλὸν δ' ὁ πλοῦτος καὶ φιλόψυχον κακόν.

quot versus desint incertum

⟨Πο.⟩]αιτῶ σκῆπ[τρα
]θ’· ἐγὼ γὰρ τὸν[
]ἔχων τὰ πλ[
⟨Ετ.⟩ [ἀπαλ]λάσσου δὲ [603
]μοὶ πατρ[

quot versus desint incertum

τ]ύχοις [615
..]θένου[
⟨Ετ.⟩ [τά]σδ’ ὄψη⟨ι⟩ ποτ[έ.
⟨Πο.⟩ [ὦ κασίγ]νηται.
⟨Ετ.⟩ [ ]ς ἀνακαλεῖς ἔχθι[στ
⟨Πο.⟩ [ ]ἀλλά †σὺ με χαῖρε
⟨Ιο. ⟩ [ ]υν πάσχω, τέκνον. 618

Fr. 27 [= 600] unchanged from first edition

**Fr. 28 [= 621–622] unchanged from first edition

new scene: Eteocles and Creon

Fr. 28a [new, =690–703 and 719–739, from Π[12]; perhaps recognizable as beginning of scene if traces above 690 are recognized as preceding lyric lines in eisthesis]

⟨Ετ.⟩ χώρει σὺ καὶ κόμιζε[690
Κρέο[ντ’], ἀδελφὸ[ν] μη[τρὸς
λέγων τάδ’, ὡς οἰκεῖα κα[
θέλω πρὸς αὐτὸν σ[
πρὶν ἐς μ[άχ]ην τε κ[
καίτοι [ca. 7]ν μ[
ὁρῶ γὰ[ρ] αὐτὸν πρὸς δ[
Κρ. ἦ πόλ[..]πηλθο[
Ἐτεόκλεες[
φ[ca. 4]ας τ[ca. 4]θον[
καὶ [ca. 3] ἐγ[ὼ] σ’ ἔχρη⟨ι⟩ζ[ον 700
πολ[ca. 6]υρον ἐν[
ὡς ἐς [ca. 6] συν[.]ψα[
- [..]ουσα[ca. 6]α[

quot versus desint incertum

]πόνου.
]τ[720
]
]ς τινάς;
]ολεῖν.
]λόχου;

]πάλιν.
]ωσι πλέον.
]κνέφ[α]ς.
]προσβάλω δόρυ;
]νικῆσαι ἔδει.
]ωρεῖν[
]θαι καλῶς.
]Ἀργείων στρατόν;
]ασιν πέριξ.
]ω πόλιν;
σ]οφός.
]σοφωτέ[ρ]α;
]ν, ὥς ἤκουσ' ἐγώ ...
]ὁ γὰρ σθ[ένος] βραχύ.
]οσκειν[

Fr. 28b [new, =768–789, 792–806, from Π^{10}, end of same scene as 28a]

]σον
]μον,
]Κρέον·
]εται,
]μψάμην
]φας ... σ
]πτω, Κρέον·
ca. 3]ερ κρατη[ca. 6]Πολυν⟨ε⟩ίκους νέκυν
ca. 2]ποτε ταφ[ca. 6–7]δε Θηβαία⟨ι⟩ χθονί,
ca. 3]σκειν δὲ[ca. 7]ντα, κἂν φίλοις τις ἦι.
ca. 3]έρετε τε[ca. 6]οπλά τ' ἀμφιβλήματα
ca. 4]ς ἀγῶ[ν]α τὸν προκείμενον δορός [781 omitted]
ca. 4]Εὐλα[βεί]αι, χρησιμωτάτηι θεῶι,
ca. 4]ευχ[όμε]σθα τήνδε διασῶσαι πόλιν.
⟨Χο.⟩
ca. 4]ύμοχθος Ἄρης, τί ποθ' αἵματι
ca. 4]νάτωι κ[ca. 8–9]μίου παρά
ca. 7–8]ταῖς;
ca. 7–8]αλλιφοροι[ca. 6]νοισι νε
ca. 6]ωρας
ca. 7–8]ον ἀμπε[ca. 5]λωτοῦ κατὰ
ca. 7–8]ταμε[
ca. 7–8]αις χ[ca. 10]π[

quot versus desint incertum

]βαινων
]
]
]
]νοπλον

]τειχεα
]
]ε
]λευσιν
]λυθηρατα
]χιονοτροφον
]
]προτεθεντα
]
]ψαιβρεφος
]
]πισαμον
]ονουδει

Fr. 28c [new =829–833 from Π^{12}, assuming it can be recognized as lyric by line-length and possible Doric participle ending]

]ατο
]
]να
]
]νοισι

Teiresias and Creon (and Menoeceus)

Fr. 28d [new = 846–851 and 861–867 from Π^{12}]

]αὐτοῦ, τέκνον·
]βύτου φιλεῖ
κο]υφίσματα.
σ]πουδη, Κρέον;
]ξαι σθένος
]βαλὼν ὁδοῦ.

quot versus desint incertum β[
ηδ[
ἐμ[
τί δ[
Τε. Ἐτε[οκλ
χ[
λ[

Fr. 29 [= 854–855] unchanged from first edition

*Fr. 30 [cf. 856–857] unchanged from first edition

Fr. 30a [new = 898–900 and 931–934 from Π^{12}]

]ίαν.

]η τάχα.
]αι θέλω;

quot versus desint incertum

δεῖ τόνδε θ[931
ἐγένετο Δίρκ[
σφαγέντα φον[
Κάδμου παλ[

End of episode, choral ode, and arrival of messenger for next episode

Fr. 30b [expanded, 1015–1018 from old Fr. 46, 1017–1047, 1064–1071 from Π^2 and Π^7, incorporating previous Fr. 45 [= 1025]; not enough of 1067 survives here to allow us to recognize that the full line is quoted in *Et. Gen.* α 593]

Εἰ γὰρ λαβὼν ἕκαστος ὅ τι δύναιτό τις
χρηστὸν διέλθοι τοῦτο κεἰς κοινὸν φέροι
πατρίδι, κακῶν [ἂ]ν αἱ πόλεις ἐλασσόνων
πειρώμεναι τὸ λοιπὸν εὐτυχοῖεν ἄν.

⟨Χο.⟩ [ἔ]βας [ἔβ]ας ὦ [πτε]ροῦσσα, Γᾶς λόχευμα
[ν]ερτ[έ]ρου τ᾽ Ἐ[χί]δνας,
[Κα]δμε[ί]ων ἁ[ρ]παγά,
[π]ολύφορος πολύστονος
[μι]ξοπάρθενος,
δάιον τέρας,
φοιτάσιν πτ[ε]ροῖς
χαλαῖσί τ᾽ ὠμοσίτοις·
Διρκαίω[ν ἅ π]οτ᾽ ἐκ
[τ]όπων νέους πεδαίρουσ-
ἄλυρον [ἀ]μφὶ μοῦσαν,
ὀλομέναν τ[ca. 4]ύν,
ἔφερες[ca. 9–11]πατρίδι
φόνια φο[ca. 5–7..]θεῶν
ὃς τάδ᾽ ἦν ὁ [πρ]αξας.
ἰάλε{δε}μοι δὲ ματέρων,
ἰάλε{δε}μοι δὲ παρθένων
ἐστέναξαν οἴκοις·
ἰηϊήιον βοάν,
ἰηϊήιο[ν] μέλος
ἄλλος ἄλλον ἐπωτότυξε (v.l. εποτο[)
διαδοχαῖς ἀνὰ πτόλιν.
βρονταῖ δὲ στεναγμὸς
ἀχά{ι} τ᾽ ἦν ὅμοιος,
ὁπότε πόλεος ἀφανίσειεν (v.l. αποτε[..]λεως)
ἁ πτεροῦσσα παρθένος τιν᾽ ἀν[δρῶν.

χρόνωι δ᾽ ἔβα Πυθίαις[
Οἰδίπους ὁ τλάμων
Θηβαίαν τάνδε γᾶν
τότ᾽ ἀσμένοις, πα[
ματρὶ [.]αρ[
δυσγ..[

desunt vv. xvii

ὁρμη[
οθε[
[ ]
Αγ. ὠή, τ[
[.]νο[
ὠὴ μά[λ᾽ αὖθις
ἔξελθ᾽, α[
[..]ξ[

Messenger scene with Jocasta, reporting attack of the Seven

Fr. 30c [new, =1079–1095 from Π^{9} and Π^{12}, with an overlap with Photius πυργηρούμενοι; overlap at 1083–1086 places the two papyri relative to each other]

⟨Αγ.⟩ ἑστᾶ[σ ca. 5–6]στοι κοὐκ ἀνὴρ⟨π⟩αστα[ι πό]λι[ς.
⟨Ιο.⟩ἦλ[θ ca. 4]πρὸς κίνδυνον Ἀργ[- - ⏑]ρός
⟨Αγ.⟩ἀκμή[ν ca. 3 α]ὐτήν· ἀλ⟨λ⟩᾽ ὁ {κα}Καδμε[ι - ⏑]ης
{ - }κ⟨ρ⟩είσ[σων ..]πέστη τοῦ Μυκηνα[ίου δο]ρός.
⟨Ιο.⟩ἓν εἰπ[ὲ .... .]εῶν, ε⟨ἴ⟩ τι Πολυνείκους πέρι
{ - }οἶσθα [ca.4]λει μοι καὶ τόδ᾽, εἰ λεύσσει φά[ο]ς.
Αγ. ζῆι σοι[σ]υ[ν]ωρὶς εἰς τόδ᾽ ἡμέρας τέκνων.
Ιο. εὐδα[ιμ]ον[οί]ης. πῶς γὰρ Ἀργεῖον δόρ[υ
πυλῶ[ν] ἀπεστήσα⟨σ⟩θε πυργηρούμενοι;
λέξον, γέ{ι}ροντα τυφλὸν ὡς κατὰ στέγας
ἐλθοῦσα τέρψω, τῆσδε γῆς σεσωμένης. (ελθωσα Π^{9})
⟨Αγ.⟩ ἐπεὶ Κρέοντος παῖς ὁ γῆς ὑπερθαν[ὼν
πύργων ἐπ᾽ ἄκρων ⟨σ⟩τὰς μελάνδε[τον ξί]φος
λαιμῶι διῆκε, [τ]ῆιδε γῆι σωτήρ⟨ι⟩ον,
λόχους ἔνειμαν ἑπτὰ καὶ λοχαγέτας (λωχους Π^{9})
πύλας ἐφ᾽ ἑ[πτ]ά, φύλακας Ἀργείου δο[ρός,
]ου[....]ιωτας μὲν[ ]ταις

*Fr. 31 [= 750] textually unchanged from first edition, but one might now speculate that it comes from an earlier scene (such as the new Eteocles-Creon scene), since there is no overlap with new Fr. 30c]

Fr. 32–33 [expanded = 1097–1107, 1113–1137 from Π^{1} and Π^{12}, with prev. Fr. 32 =1099 Fr. 33 = 1135–1136a]

ὡς τῶ⟨ι⟩ νοσοῦντι τειχέων εἴη δορὸς
ἀλκὴ δι' ὀλίγου. περγάμων δ' ἀπ' ὀρθ⟨ί⟩ων
λεύκασπιν εἰσορῶμεν Ἀργείων στρατὸν
Τευμησσὸν ἐκλιπόντα καὶ τάφρου πέλας
δρόμωι ξυνῆψαν ἄστυ Καδμείων χθονός. (Καδμείας s.l.)
παιὰν δὲ καὶ σάλπιγγες ἐκελάδουν ὁμοῦ
ἐκεῖθεν ἔκ τε τειχέων ἡμῶν πάρα.
καὶ πρῶτα μὲν προσῆγε Νηίσταις πύλαις
λόχον πυκναῖσιν ἀσπίσιν πεφρικότα
ὁ τῆς κυναγοῦ Παρθενοπαῖος ἔκγονος (-παίου ἐγγόνου Π[1])
...... ἔχων οἰκεῖον ἐν μέσω⟨ι⟩ σάκει

desunt aliquot versus

Ὠγυγ[
ἔστ⟨ε⟩ιχ[
στικτ[
τὰ μ[
βλέ[π]οντα, τ[
ὡ[.] ὕστερον[
†ομ[ο]λογω[
Τυδ[ε
χα[
τι[
ο[
αρ[
ἐπ[
εὖ πως στρόφιγξιν ἔνδοθεν κυκλουμ[εν -
πόρπαχ' ὑπ' αὐτόν, {ωστον} ὥστε μαίνεσθαι δοκ[εῖν.
ὁ δ' οὐκ ἔλασσον Ἄρεος ἐς μάχην φρονῶν
Καπανεὺς προσῆγε λόχον ἐπ' Ἠλέκτραις πύ[λαις· (προσηκε Π[1] a.c.)
σιδηρονώτου δ' ἀσπίδος κύκλοις ἐπῆν
γίγας ἐπ' ὤμοις γηγενὴς ὅλην πόλιν
φέρων μοχλοῖσιν ἐξανασπάσας βάθρων,
ὑπόνοια⟨ν⟩ ὑμῖν οἷα πείσεται πό[λις.
ταῖς δ' ἑβδόμαις Ἄδραστος .. πύλα[ισιν] ἦν,
ἑκατὸν ἐχίδναις ἀσπίδ' ἐκπληρῶν γραφῇ,
ὕδραν ἔχων λαιοῖσιν ἐν βραχ{ε}ίο{ι}⟩σιν (v.l. ὕδρας)
Ἀργεῖον αὔχημ'· ἐκ δὲ τειχέων μέσ[ων

*Fr. 34 [cf. 1156–1158] unchanged from first edition

Fr. 35 [= 1172–1182a, omisso 1179] unchanged from first edition

Duel and death of sons of Oedipus

**Fr. 36 unchanged from first edition

Fr. 37 [= 1364a &1375] unchanged from first edition

**Fr. 38 [= 1447–1450, 1450A, 1451–1452] unchanged from first edition

*Fr. 39 [= 1453] unchanged from first edition

new scene: Antigone and Oedipus mourning in lyrics

Fr. 39a [new = 1499–1581 and 1710–1736 from Π[5], using only WG307, because impossible to add scraps of WG305 confidently]

]δάκ[ρ]υσι δάκρυσι[..]δόμος, ἰὼ δόμος, ἀνακαλέσωμαι
]α σύγγονα, ματέρα καὶ τέκνα, χάρματα Ἐρινύος, ἃ δόμον Οἰδιπόδα
] τᾶς ἀγρίας ὅτε δυσξύνετ[.]. ξυνετὸν μέλος ἔγνω Σφιγγὸς ἀοιδοῦ σῶμα
]οι τίς Ἑλλὰς ἢ βάρβαρος ἢ τῶ[ν] προπάροιθε εὐγενετᾶν ἕτερος ἔτλα—
]ν τοσῶνδε αἵματος εν.αμερίου τοιάδε ἄχεα φανερά φανερά—
]λίζηι τίς ἄρ' ὄρνις δρυὸς ἢ ἐλάτας ἀκροκόμοις ἐμ πετάλοις μουνα
]ρημα ἐμοῖς ἄχεσι συνωιδό[.].λινον αἰάγμασιν ἃ τούσδε προκλαίω—
]άζωουσα τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον ἐν λειβομένοισιν δακρύοις.—ετινα πρῶτον
]αγμον ἀπὸ χαίτας βάλω; ματρὸς ἐμᾶς ἐν διδύμοις γάλακτος παρὰ μασ[τ]οῖσ[
]λόμεν' †ἀπείσματα δισσῶν; ὀτοτοτοτοτοτοῖ, λίπε σοὺς δόμους, αλ[
]αιε, δεῖξον, Οἰδιπόδα—ὅσον αἰῶνα μέλεα μέλεος ὃν ἔτι δώ[
]ασι σοῖσι βαλὼν ἕλκεις μακρόπουν ζόαν.—κλύεις, ὦ κ. [
]δυστήνοισι δεμνίοις ἰαύων;—τί μ', [ὦ] πα[ρ]θέ[νε] ... τ[
]ς φῶς λεχήρη σκοτίων ἐκ θαλάμων οἰκ[τ]ρ[
]νέκυν ἔ[ν]ερθεν ἢ πτανὸν ὄν. - [ca. 12]—δυ[
].ι σοι τ[έ]κνα λεύσσει φ[άος[ca. 6]λοχο[ς] παρὰ βάκτροις πόδα σὸν[
]ἀὲν ἐμόχθει, πάτε[ρ] .μοι[..] - ... οι ἐμῶν παθέων· πάρα γὰρ στ[
]σαι ψυχαὶ ποίαι μοίραι φῶς ἔλιπον, τάδε μοι, τέκνον, αὔδα - [
]ασ[...]λλ' ὀδύναισι λέγω· σὸς ἀλάστωρ ξίφεσι βρίθων καὶ π[
]τερο. [ ]—ετι τόδε καταστένεις τέκνα - [
]ν ἀελίου φάος ὄμμα[τ]ος αὐγ[
[ ]
[ ]
]σινορο[
]κοινὸ[ν] ἐνυάλιον[ca. 9]λέοντ[
]αν λοιβὰν φόνιον ἃν ἔλαχε Ἄρης ωπ[
φ]άσγαν[ο]ν εἴσω σαρκὸς ἔπεμψε ἄχει[
]ε συνήγαγεν, ὦ πάτ[ca. 6]έροισιν ἄχη μελάθροις θεὸς ὃς τάδε[
]ε χείρα φίλαν πάτ[ca. 8]πομπίμαν ἔχων ἐμὲ ὥστε ν[1710 ff.

]υμ ... οδα. ος ἀθλί[ca. 6 γ]ενόμεθα γενόμεθα ἄθλι . [
] - [ ]που θυ[ca. 5]τίθημι ἴχνος; βάκτρα πόθι φέρω, τ[
]τίθειω[ca. 9]ἰσχύν—ἰὼ ἰώ, δυστυχε[σ]τ[
]—ἰὼ [ca. 11]ἐγὼ τλάς—τί τλάς; ουχο[
]μ ..σ .ν καλλίνικον οὐρανὸν[
]αα. δω τάδε σ' ἐπέμενε μέλ[
[ ]

Fragmenta incertae sedis

Several of these are now placed in context, and one additional papyrus fragment joins this category.

Fr. 40 unchanged from first edition

If this statement (that Oedipus killed his father) was found in the prologue narrative, then it fell between our Fr. 1 and Fr. 1a.

**Fr. 41 [= 68a] unchanged from first edition (we cannot place it in new Fr. 1a because only line-end survives in papyrus while last word of line is missing from the quotation).

Fr. 42 [= 3] now first line of Fr. 1

*Fr. 43 [= 283, 285] now part of Fr. 3, and known to be non-consecutive lines

Fr. 44 [cf. 1062] unchanged from first edition

Fr. 45 [= 1025] now part of Fr. 30b

Fr. 46 [= 1015–1018] now part of Fr. 30b (still not enough context available to raise doubts about authenticity)

Fr. 47 [= 198–201] unchanged from first edition

Fr. 48 [= 1320–1321] unchanged from first edition

Fr. 49 [= 821b] unchanged from first edition

Fr. 50 [= 1408b] unchanged from first edition

Fr. 51 [= 1209] unchanged from first edition

Perhaps with a clearer notion that the first messenger reports to Jocasta and that she subsequently goes to the battlefield, one might conjecture that "Leave the rest aside. Up to this point in time you are fortunate" is addressed to Jocasta before she learns of the duel of her sons.

Fr. 52 [= 28b] now part of Fr. 1

Fr. 53 [= 86–87] unchanged from first edition

Fr. 54 [= new, 646–656 from the Rylands Library part of Π^2, identified by the editor as from the same roll as P.Oxy 224, although the exact basis of this identification is not stated]

νοτὶς ε[
Δίρκας χ[
καὶ βαθυ[
Βρόμιον ε[
μάτηρ διο[,
κισσὸν ὃν[
ἑλικτὸς ευ[
χλοηφορο[
καὶ κατασκ[
[β]άκχε[ιο]ν χ[
[..]σ[

Clearly a lyric passage.

Fragmenta dubia

One of these is now placed and no longer dubious; three additional fragments from papyri join this category.

*Frag. Dub. 1[= 24b] now part of Fr. 1

**Frag. Dub. 2 [cf. 130] no change from first edition

**Fr. Dub. 3 [= 1688] no change from first edition

**Fr. dub. 4 [new, =171–184, 220–226, 625–635, from Π^4]

The papyrus scrap with 625–635 was found separately, but these papyri are known to be by the same scribe and may be from the same roll, in which case they are probably from the same play. There is no decisive indication that we are dealing with *Phoenissae*, but we may note that fr. a has the ends of trimeters alternating with lyric lines (possible dochmiac), and that a servant is addressing a "mistress"; moreover, if μετρῶν is understood to be a participle and *hybris* against the city is involved, one could conjecture that Kapaneus and Thebes are at issue and that the mistress addressed is Antigone. In that case, the chariot driving and something or somebody *sôphrôn* might refer to Ampharaus. In fr. b, the mention of Thebes could reinforce these hints, and the farewell could be guessed to be that of Polyneices at the end of the *agôn*-scene. But we could

not ascertain whether these are the line-ends of trimeters or tetrameters, since the left margin is lost.

a.

]ς π[ο]θεν
ἡ]νιοστροφεῖ βεβ[ώς
]ὦ δέσπο⟨ι⟩ν' ὅδε
]ης φιλαίματοι ῥοαί
θ]ύγατερ Ἀελίου
χρ]ύσεον κύκλοιν φέγγος
]καὶ σώφρονα
]ων {ε}ἰθύνει
]δ ἐφυβρίζει πόλει
]
]εις τεκμαίρεται
κάτω{ι} τείχη μετρῶν
]ιος βαρύβρομοι
]φῶς αἶθαλο
]ριαν[...]ρ

quot versus desint incertum

γαμασ[
βωλατ[
υδωρ[
θενιο[
ωλαμ[

b.

]ξίφος
μα]ρτύρομαι
]ομαι χθονός
]ουσγ[
]αιτιωι
]αι χθονός
]α χαίρετε
]ς ὑμᾶς ποτ[ε]
π]έποιθα σὺν θεο[ῖς
θηβ[αί]α[ς χθ]ονός

**Fr. dub. 5 [new, =244–250, from Π^{20}]

The combination of "seven-gated" and "Phoenician" suggests this may be from Phoenissae, although other plays on a Theban theme could not be ruled.

κοινὰ δε[...]π[
ἑ]πτάπυργος α[
Φ]οινισσασα ..[

...]νον αιμα[
... κ]ερασφόρο[υ
....]τεστιμ[
ca. 5–6]πτο[

**Fr. dub 6 [new, = 1327–1337, from Π^{23}]

This can be guessed to accompany the arrival of a messenger ("I see," "face," "will announce"), and the presence of "concerning life" and Oedipus after a dative plural ending makes it tempting to think we have the arrival of the news of the death of the brothers.

]σαγα[
]αιταδε[
]ητηπα[
π]ερὶ ψυχῆς κ[
]οῖσιν Οἰδίπ[ου
]εἰσορῶ τόδ[ε]
]πρόσωπον[
ἀγ]γελεῖ τὸ δρ[ώμενον.]
]ον ἢ τίνας[
]φρ[
]λαγ[

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